

Studies  
in  
Japanese  
Literature  
and  
Culture

VOLUME 4: INTERACTION OF KNOWLEDGE

2021



National Institute of Japanese Literature



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Published by  
National Institute of Japanese Literature  
Tokyo

Center for Collaborative Research on Pre-modern Texts,  
National Institute of Japanese Literature (NIJL)  
National Institutes for the Humanities

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Website: <https://www.nijl.ac.jp>

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PRINTED IN JAPAN  
KOMIYAMA PRINTING CO., TOKYO

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# A Genealogy of Saikaku's *ukiyo-zōshi*

Daniel STRUVE

## Introduction

In an article published in 2014 in *Bungaku* 文学,<sup>1</sup> Nakano Mitsutoshi 中野三敏 repeated his previous call for an extension of the term *gesaku* 戯作, or “comical writings”—used to describe most vernacular prose from the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century onward—to those prose works of Ihara Saikaku 井原西鶴 (1642–1693) known collectively as *ukiyo-zōshi* 浮世草子, and even to the literary works of the early 17<sup>th</sup> century known as *kana-zōshi* 仮名草子. This article, presented the same year at the spring session of the *Saikaku kenkyū kai* 西鶴研究会 (Society for Saikaku Studies), was the starting point of a heated debate, something which is seldom seen lately in the field of Edo-period literary studies. Nakano Mitsutoshi's view was rejected by his colleagues in Saikaku studies, and the debate ended once again inconclusively.<sup>2</sup> Still, this episode is notable because it underlined the need to retell and reinvent the history of Edo-period prose literature, and to replace the existing narrative based on traditional categories such as *kana-zōshi*, *ukiyo-zōshi*, *yomibon* 読本, and *gesaku*. These are probably still indispensable, but are also too vague and lack precise definitions, being in addition too local, something that makes it difficult to relate Edo-period literature to the global movement of world literature in modern times.<sup>3</sup> Nakano Mitsutoshi is certainly right when he underlines the continuity between Saikaku—or even Saikaku's predecessors—and later prose writers (*gesakusha* 戯作者) such as Hiraga Gennai 平賀源内

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<sup>1</sup> “Saikaku gesakusha setsu saikō” 西鶴戯作者説再考, *Bungaku* 15:1 (2014), pp. 140–158. In this article, Nakano Mitsutoshi argues that Saikaku's *ukiyo-zōshi* should be included in the broad category of Edo-period comical prose *gesaku*, as defined by the following three characteristic features: (1) a positive affirmation of reality and the absence of any critical stance towards the existing order and authorities, (2) a style of literature giving more importance to expression than to content and characterized by its playfulness and parodic spirit, and (3) a body of content mainly consisting in a mixture of moralistic and comical discourse.

<sup>2</sup> Reactions to Nakano's article by Shinohara Susumu 篠原進, Udō Hiroshi 有働裕, Nakajima Takashi 中嶋隆, Horikiri Minoru 堀切実, Someya Tomoyuki 染谷智幸 and others can be read on the official site of *Saikaku kenkyū kai*. See: <https://bungaku-report.com/saikaku/>

<sup>3</sup> In particular, Nakajima Takashi pointed out the importance of bringing in the viewpoint of literary history. Someya Tomoyuki's objections stressed the necessity of a broader perspective extending to other Asian countries, and proposed to categorize *ukiyo-zōshi* as *shosetsu* 小説 (novels), a Chinese term familiar to all the national traditions influenced by China.

(1728–1780) and Kyokutei Bakin 曲亭馬琴 (1767–1848). He is also right when he criticizes the old tendency of presenting Saikaku as an exception in his time, of relating him to our modern age rather than to his own literary and historical context. Yet paradoxically, Nakano's call for a historical approach to Saikaku also substantializes and de-historicizes the Edo period as a culture altogether different and separate from the general movement of world literature in modern times. Stressing continuity from the 17<sup>th</sup> through to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, he tends to overlook or minimize the important historical, social, and cultural differences between the early, middle, and late Edo periods. Finally, his insistence on the importance of expression and on the lack of political consciousness among Edo-period townsmen has the result of emptying Saikaku's literature of any serious content, putting the whole of Edo-period literature at risk of being reduced to a fancy or a hobby (*shumi* 趣味), unrelated to other fields in the human or social sciences. In other words, while he stresses the common comical inspiration of Edo prose from Saikaku to Bakin, Nakano Mitsutoshi does not propose a theory of laughter, limiting himself to the affirmation that Edo-period comical prose (*gesaku*) put parody and laughter in first place.

As was objected to Nakano Mitsutoshi by Nakajima Takashi, such an extension to Saikaku of the term *gesaku*, to be understood in a broad sense as encompassing all Edo-period literary production from *kana-zōshi* to late *yomibon* or *ninjōbon* 人情本, does not advance our understanding of the specific place occupied by Saikaku in Japanese literature at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. It simply blurs differences without solving the question of how Saikaku's works relate to the cultural and literary history of his time, or to the later developments of the movement he initiated. At the same time, it is clear that the need for a common designation for the popular prose of the Edo period is growing, as more and more works from the period are published and studied. And in point of fact, in the electronic version of *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 新編日本古典文学全集, Shōgakukan's reference collection of classical Japanese literature, Saikaku's *ukejyo-zōshi* are found classified under the category of *gesaku* already, pre-vindicating Nakano Mitsutoshi's appeals despite the skepticism they have met within academic circles. Such a situation makes it all the more important to probe further the precise nature and genealogy of the *ukejyo-zōshi* genre.

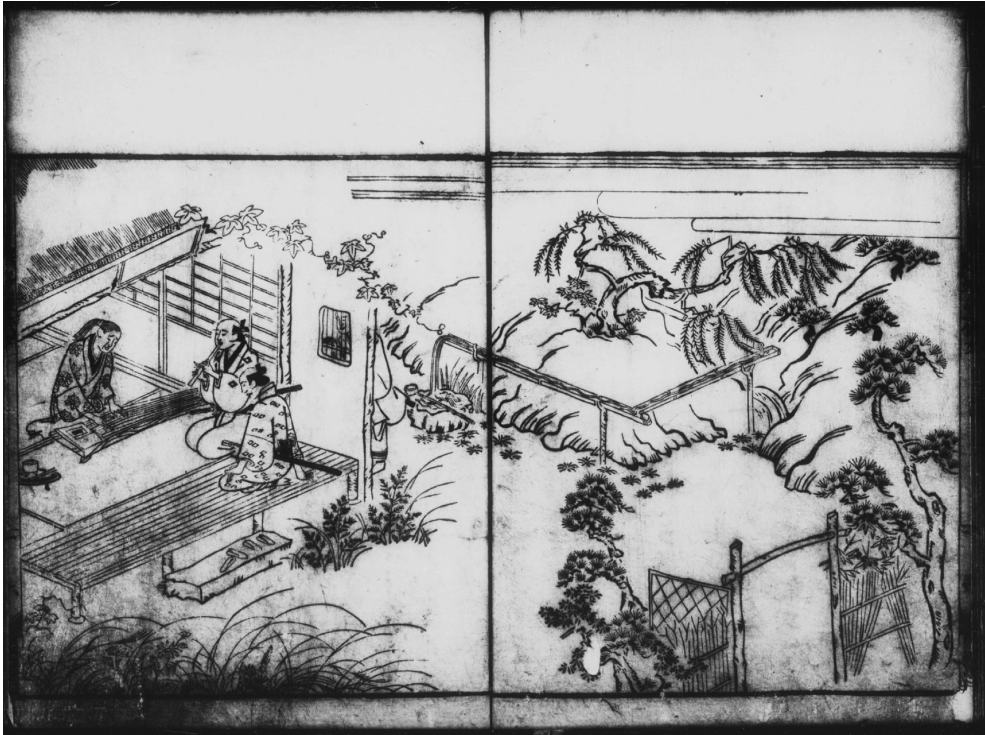
In the present study, I will limit myself to some aspects of the “genealogy” of Saikaku's *ukejyo-zōshi* works, without entering any further into the broader problem of their historical situation. While Saikaku's works may have been a new phenomenon on the scene of 17<sup>th</sup>-century Japanese literature, they did not spring out of nowhere, and the question of their origin cannot be avoided. Of course, there are many possible approaches to this problem, one of which might be to look into the relationship between Saikaku's prose and his *haikai* poetry. But the focus here will be on a different aspect, starting with the hints Saikaku himself provides to the reader to help him understand the meaning of his writings.

### 1. *The Life of an Amorous Woman (Kōshoku ichidai onna 好色一代女)*

*The Life of an Amorous Woman*, one of the most celebrated of Saikaku's works, is known for being the confession (*zange monogatari* 懺悔物語) of her life story by an old woman now retired to a hermitage called Kōshokuan 好色庵 (Hermitage of Passion) near Kyoto, as related to two young men who have come to visit her and ask her about her past. At the beginning of the work's first chapter, a man on his way from Osaka to Kyoto overhears the two men's conversation and follows them on a mountain path until they arrive at the Kōshokuan. Textual allusions, and the scenery of the hermitage as represented in the illustration, create an atmosphere reminiscent of *Essays in Idleness (Tsurezuregusa 徒然草)* by Kenkō-hōshi 兼好法師, a text widely reprinted, annotated, and imitated from the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and one therefore well-known to Saikaku's readers. No further mention is made of this character who has followed the young men to the Kōshokuan—and in whom we can recognize a representation of the author—but his importance is strongly underlined by his presence in the image illustrating this first chapter (**Figure 1**). In a setting reminiscent of Kenkō-hōshi's retreat as represented in illustrations of *Essays in Idleness*, a man is shown eavesdropping on the conversation between the old woman and her visitors.

This character evocative of the author is not only represented in the first chapter of Volume 1, both in the text itself and in the illustration: he in fact reappears at least two more times, at the beginning of the first and again the third chapters of Volume 3. This reappearance at key moments in *The Life of an Amorous Woman* of a representation of the author is hardly mentioned at all by any commentator of this work, yet it seems to bear heavily on the work's overall interpretation. For *The Life of an Amorous Woman* is not simplistically the monologue of a woman confessing the story of her life, but is rather the overlapping of at least two different voices: the voice of the author, and the voice of the old woman acting as proxy for the author while remembering her own life. The first chapter of Volume 3, entitled "A Townsman's Parlourmaid" (Chōnin koshimoto 町人腰元),<sup>4</sup> starts with a long introduction where a male character, apparently from Osaka, talks about the different experiences he had and the observations he made on a trip taken to Kyoto. He had encountered a funeral procession in the streets of Kyoto in the heat of summer and, as he followed it, overheard various conversations around him. Thus he learned that the man who was being buried was a merchant who had died prematurely for having married a woman of remarkable beauty. Then come some considerations on marriage. Among other things, the character affirms that one gets tired even of the most beautiful things, recounting a visit he once made to the bay of Matsushima, a place famous for its beautiful scenery, and how he got tired of it very quickly for all its splendor. He then complains that

<sup>4</sup> Here and below, English chapter titles reflect the translation of Ivan Morris, *The Life of an Amorous Woman and Other Writings* (New York: New Directions, 1963).



**Figure 1.** Illustration from *The Life of an Amorous Woman* (I.1). (Tokyo Metropolitan Library, Kaga Collection).

<https://doi.org/10.20730/100029312> (image no. 8)

women neglect themselves after they have gotten used to married life, so that one should rather not get married if a wife is not necessary to take care of the household. Then he again contradicts himself, and quotes a peasant he once met on another excursion in the Yoshino mountains. This old peasant had told him that the only solace capable of relieving his loneliness was the company of his wife. The final conclusion of this long essay-like development is: “Nothing is more difficult to get rid of or to control than this way of love!”<sup>5</sup>, which echoes a famous remark from *Essays in Idleness*: “The



**Figure 1a.** Ibid. Detail.

<sup>5</sup> 捨てがたく、やめがたきは、この道ぞかし。Ihara Saikaku *shū* 井原西鶴集 1, *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 新編日本古典文学全集 66 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1996), p. 461.

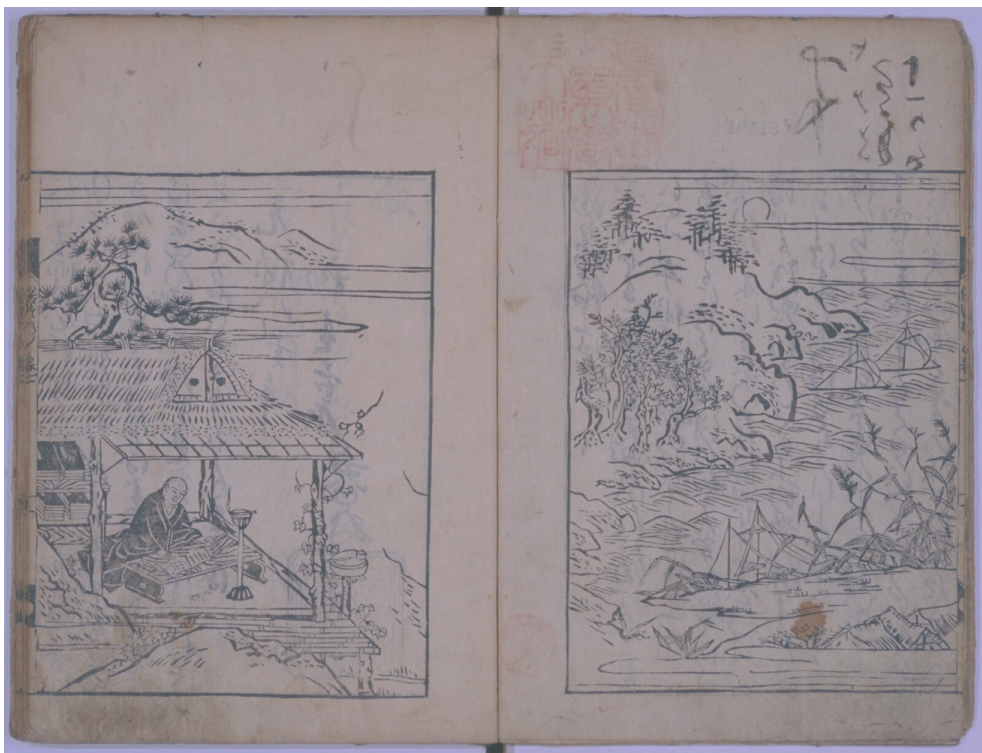
love of men and women is truly a deep-seated passion with distant roots. The senses give rise to many desires, but it should be possible to shun them all. Only one, infatuation, is impossible to control.”<sup>6</sup> This particular literary allusion to *Essays in Idleness* is in fact a central motif of *The Life of an Amorous Woman*, especially of the central chapters where the heroine experiences different positions as a household servant and where these words recur as a leitmotiv in almost every chapter. What is important to underline here is that this entire introduction to the first chapter of Volume 3 can be read as a fragment from an essay (*zuihitsu* 随筆), or as a pastiche by Saikaku of the *zuihitsu* style in the form of a series of free-ranging considerations on different matters, thematically related to subjects which are taken up in *Essays in Idleness* such as marriage, love, and funerals. A characteristic example is the affirmation that “one should never marry,” another quasi-quotation from *Essays in Idleness*.<sup>7</sup> If we admit that the heroine of *The Life of an Amorous Woman* acts as a proxy for the author, the whole work may be read as a modern version of *Essays in Idleness*, or as a “Vulgar *Essays in Idleness*,” to use the title actually given to one posthumous collection of Saikaku’s stories (the work known as *Saikaku zoku Tsurezure* 西鶴俗つれづれ). Indeed, *The Life of an Amorous Woman* can be seen as a series of considerations and observations on the ways of the modern cities, from the point of view of love and pleasure. Yet we know that in 1686 Saikaku was already working on merchant tales and exploring new approaches, whose influence can indeed already be traced in earlier works like *The Life of an Amorous Woman*. That such a reading of Saikaku as a sort of contemporary Kenkō-hōshi was familiar to the readers of his time is demonstrated by the way Saikaku’s portrait is placed by an editor at the beginning of the posthumous *Saikaku zoku Tsurezure* (Figure 2), a portrait that represents Saikaku as a modern Kenkō-hōshi contemplating from his hermitage the bay of Naniwa.

I see further confirmation of this reading in two other key passages of *The Life of an Amorous Woman*. The first of these is the passage in praise of letters and of letter-writing in the fifth chapter of Volume 2, entitled “A Woman Letter-writer Expert in Love Matters” (Shorei onna yūhitsu 諸礼女祐筆), which immediately precedes the first chapter of Volume 3 discussed above. This passage is famous because it was singled out by Kōda Rohan 幸田露伴 (1867–1947) as the only example of *bunshōron* 文章論 (discussion on the art of writing) by Saikaku.<sup>8</sup> In this chapter, the heroine gets serious, and tries her luck in the trade of being a public letter-writer and teacher of calligraphy, but soon ends up writing infallible love-letters for her clients until, at last, she becomes the victim of her own stylistic

<sup>6</sup> ただ、かのまどひのひとつやめがたきのみぞ。 *Tsurezuregusa* 徒然草, in *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 44 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1995), p. 88. *Essays in Idleness*, trans. Donald Keene (Tokyo: Tuttle, 1981), p. 9.

<sup>7</sup> 持つまじきは女なれども (後略)。 *Ibara Saikaku shū* 1 (op. cit.), p. 461; see *Essays in Idleness* (op. cit.), p. 163.

<sup>8</sup> “Saikaku” 西鶴, *Kokumin no tomo* 国民之友 (May 1890), p. 757.



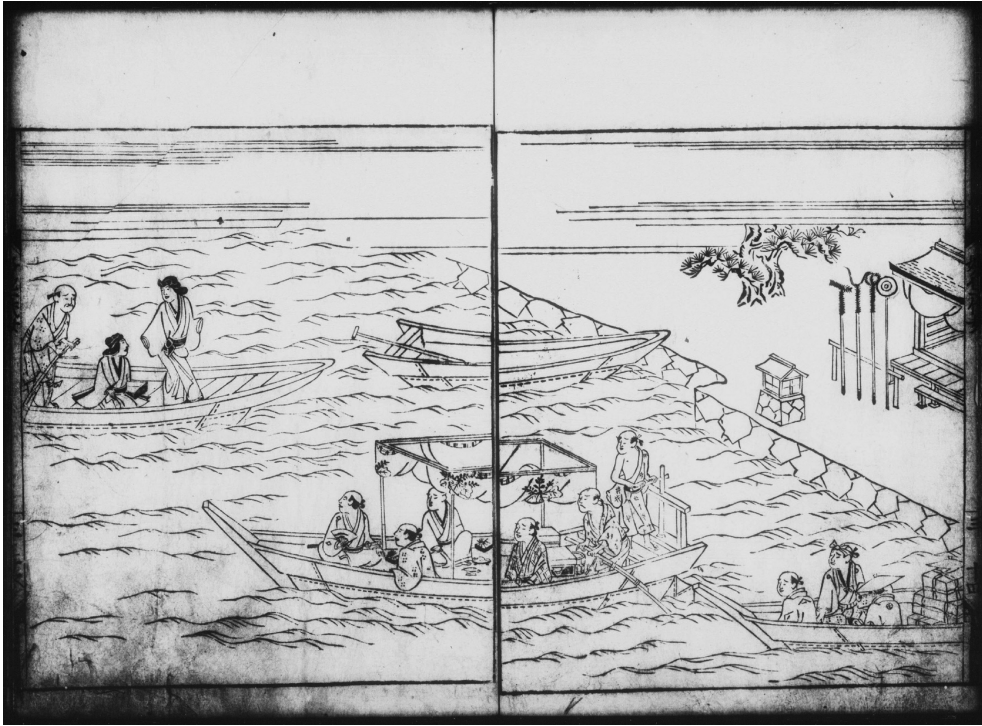
**Figure 2.** Opening illustration for *Saikaku's Vulgar Essays in Idleness* (*Saikaku zoku Tsurezure*). (Main Library, Kyoto University).

<https://rmda.kulib.kyoto-u.ac.jp/item/rb00013212> (image no. 3)

traps, when she falls in love with one of those clients who had asked her to write letters for him. “There is no better way to learn people’s feelings than letters,”<sup>9</sup> observes the narrator, and the voice we hear in this passage is indeed the voice of the author rather than that of the Amorous Woman herself.

The second passage does not seem to have attracted much attention so far. It is another long introduction, that of the third chapter of Volume 3, entitled “Singer Boats to Make Merry” (*Tawabure no utabune* 調謔歌船). The location is Osaka. A group of townsmen set up a place in a boat for a night party, but the boat gets stuck in the mud obstructing the channel, and the company is forced to wait for the rising tide in order to continue its journey and have dinner. No indication is given about the character who tells the story, but again we can recognize in him the figure of the author, who has already appeared in the initial chapters of Volumes 1 and 3 and now appears here also, sitting in the boat shown in the illustration (**Figure 3**). On this occasion he seems to be playing the

<sup>9</sup> みみ なぎけ たより  
文程、情しる便ほかにあらし。Ihara Saikaku *shū* 1 (op. cit.), p. 449.



**Figure 3.** Illustration from *The Life of an Amorous Woman* (III.3). (Tokyo Metropolitan Library, Kaga Collection).

<https://doi.org/10.20730/100029312> (image no. 68)

role of an entertainer for the rest of the company. To relieve the tedium of the waiting, he observes with some curiosity the flat boats called *akuta sutebune* 芥捨舟 (“garbage-disposal boats”) devised to take out the city waste at night. Then he picks up a letter from one of these boats and reads it aloud. It happens to be a business-style letter from a man in Kyoto trapped in a love affair and begging money from a friend in Osaka. The men assembled in the boat burst into laughter, but a city employee (*chōdai* 町代) well acquainted with their situations dampens their spirits, murmuring that all of them have similar financial troubles, and yet are still incapable of renouncing the pursuit of pleasure. Ashamed, the men promise to themselves to renounce the Way of Love. But the passage concludes skeptically with the same saying from *Essays in Idleness*: “Still it is impossible to control this way of love!”<sup>10</sup>

Read together, all these different passages can be seen as delivering a consistent message, and functioning also as clues for the reading of *The Life of an Amorous*

<sup>10</sup> なほやめがたきこの道ぞかし。Ibid., p. 475.

*Woman*, playing thus a structural and global role in the organization of the novel, on top of their more local role as introductions to separate chapters. The motif of the letter found in a heap of rubbish is a humorous variation on the canonical association, one frequently alluded to already by Saikaku in his *haikai* 俳諧, between the words *fumi* 文 and *chiri* 塵—an association that originates in Chapter 72 of *Essays in Idleness*:

Things which are not offensive, no matter how numerous: books in a book cart, rubbish in a rubbish heap.<sup>11</sup>

“Books” (*fumi*, which also means “letters”) and “dust” or “rubbish” (*chiri*, which in *waka* poetry has also the Buddhist meaning of “things of this impure world,” doubling as synonym for the *ukiyo* or “floating and sad world”) are thus set in relation.<sup>12</sup> The third chapter of Volume 3 starts with a sentence humorously rejecting this affirmation of Chapter 72: “It has been written ‘it is not offensive no matter how numerous,’ but nothing is more annoying than the waste that piles up in people’s houses.”<sup>13</sup> Saikaku’s genius is to have related the motif of old letters with the modern problem of city waste, in which he sees an image of the hidden life of townsmen. The thrown-away letter can be seen as an allegorical representation of Saikaku’s novel. Thrown away as a worthless piece of waste, it reveals its value and interest when collected and read by an observer of the ways of society, such as Saikaku, who in turn conveys it to his readers. We know that during approximately this same period, Saikaku was working on a collection of short stories in epistolary form called *Ten Thousand Thrown-away Letters by Saikaku* (*Saikaku yorozu no fumihōgu* 西鶴万の文反古), which he never completed, but which originates from this same conception, a fact he states clearly in his preface to the same unfinished collection.

Read together, these various passages from *The Life of an Amorous Woman* provide us valuable hints not only for the reading of this work, but also for the understanding of Saikaku’s larger literary project. They stress the key role played by the usually invisible author in mediating between the social and human reality on the one hand and the reader on the other. This aspect of Saikaku’s work has not been sufficiently taken into account in the past. The scholar who came closest to it was Taniwaki Masachika 谷脇理史, in an article where he connects Saikaku’s conception of literature not to *Essays in Idleness*, but rather to the *Tale of Genji* and

<sup>11</sup> *Essays in Idleness* (op. cit.), p. 64.

<sup>12</sup> These motifs resonate also with the following passage in *Essays in Idleness*, Chapter 19: “Mine is a foolish diversion, but these pages are meant to be torn up, and no one is likely to see them” (op. cit.), p. 20. In Saikaku’s times, this passage was often known in a slightly different version, reading: “these pages are meant to be thrown out.” This latter text is quoted in the postscript to *The Life of an Amorous Man*. See *Ihara Saikaku shū* 1 (op. cit.), p. 250.

<sup>13</sup> 多くても見ぐるしからぬとは書きつれども、人の住家に塵、五木の溜る程、世にうるさき物なし。 *Ihara Saikaku shū* 1 (op. cit.), p. 473.



its famous discussion on novels known as *monogatari-ron* 物語論.<sup>14</sup> In this article, Taniwaki attempts to relate Saikaku's view of *ukeiyo-zōshi* to the views expressed by Hikaru Genji in his discussion of novels, but he does so by connecting Saikaku to the *Tale of Genji* itself, ignoring the rich history of the reception in 17<sup>th</sup>-century Japan of *Essays in Idleness*, as well as the history of the essay genre (*zuibitsu*) that this persistent interest in *Essays in Idleness* helped to create.

## 2. *The Life of Wankyū (Wankyū isse no monogatari 椀久一世の物語)*

Thus a complete genealogy of Saikaku's *ukeiyo-zōshi* should take into account many different elements, but in this study I would like to place the emphasis on his work's links to the reception of *Essays in Idleness* during the 17<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>15</sup> emphasizing also its links to the development of a style of writing known as *zuibitsu* or *zuisō* 随想, a style influenced by Kenkō-hōshi's own work as well as its associated commentaries, and one which benefited greatly from the development of printing. We also know that written commentaries were not the only way in which *Essays in Idleness* was diffused, and that it was also spread by means of public lectures, something which certainly helped it gain much popularity. In discussing the influence that *Essays in Idleness* exerted on Saikaku, we do not intend so much to discuss Saikaku's personal knowledge of or appreciation of the text, but rather the overall cultural phenomenon that Kenkō's text represented. This includes such seminal works as *Nozuchi* 野槌, a commentary on *Essays in Idleness* by the Confucian scholar Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583–1657), and *Tsurezuregusa mondanshō* 徒然草文段抄, a compendium of various commentaries old and new by the *haikai* master Kitamura Kigin 北村季吟 (1624–1705), as well as *Kashōkei* 可笑記, a collection of moral considerations inspired by *Essays in Idleness*. This last work was a bestseller of the time, one which was frequently reprinted and widely used as a textbook, and which Saikaku himself referred to when he published his own *Shin Kashōkei* 新可笑記. This link connecting Saikaku's *ukeiyo-zōshi* with the non-narrative genre of *zuibitsu* or *zuisō*—as illustrated by the *zuisō*-like passage at the beginning of *The Life of an Amorous Woman*, or again in the first chapter of Volume 3—is key to any understanding of Saikaku's œuvre and its place in the movement of Edo-period vernacular prose. *The Life of an Amorous Woman* is a landmark work particularly rich in hints about Saikaku's literary ideas, similar in importance to

<sup>14</sup> Taniwaki Masachika, “Genji monogatari no juyō to Saikaku: bungei ishiki no kitei wo nasu mono” 「源氏物語」の受容と西鶴：文芸意識の基底をなすもの, *Kokubungaku kenkyū* 国文学研究 103 (1991), reprinted in *Saikaku kenkyū to hibyo* 西鶴研究と批評 (Tokyo: Wakakusa Shobō, 1996). I translated this important article in French under the title “La réception du *Roman du Genji* et Saikaku : les fondements de la conscience littéraire de Saikaku” in *Autour de Saikaku : le roman en Chine et au Japon aux XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles, Études japonaises* 1 (Paris: Les Indes savantes, 2004), pp. 53–68.

<sup>15</sup> For further detail on this subject, see Kawahira Toshifumi 川平敏文, *Tsurezuregusa no 17-seiki: kinsei bungei shichō no keisei* 徒然草の十七世紀：近世文芸思潮の形成 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2015).

*The Life of an Amorous Man*, of which it is a feminine replica as the similarity of the titles suggests. At the same time, *The Life of an Amorous Woman*, though categorized as a collection of amorous tales (*kōshoku-mono* 好色物), is closely related to Saikaku's later collections of merchant tales (*chōnin-mono* 町人物). Indeed, most of the tales in the former are in fact situated in the merchant quarters with the merchant life as their background, as are also the essay-like passages mentioned and quoted above. This is an affinity that can be found already in earlier works such as *The Life of Wankyū* (*Wankyū isse no monogatari*), the story of a wealthy merchant from Osaka known as Wankyū who exhausts his family fortune in the pursuit of pleasure. The opening lines of this short novel, comprised of two volumes and nine chapters, showcase a popular ritual at the shrine of Minoo 箕面 Benzaiten 弁財天 to the north of Osaka, where many townspeople come to pray for wealth. Among them is Wankyū, carried by four men in a palanquin and extravagantly dressed in a garment decorated with scenes from the *Tale of Genji*.

毎年正月七日に、津国箕面山の弁財天の富突とて、諸人福德を願ひまいる事あり。是を思ふに、皆欲に目の見えぬよるの道、浮世しやうちの悪所駕籠、四人そろへのひとへ物に染込の扇の丸、肩で風きらして行く人を見れば、大坂堺筋に名を聞きし椀久といへる男、しまぢりめんの浅黄に、白襦子の長羽織に、京の幽禅が墨絵の源氏、人の目だつ程なれども、其頃いまだ世に衣裳法度もなき時ぞかし。

Every year on the 7<sup>th</sup> day of the First Month, Benzaiten's lottery is organized at Mount Minoo in the Province of Tsu and many people come to beg the divinity to make them wealthy. When you think about it, everybody's eyes are obscured by greed; in the middle of the night here he goes on the Street of the Floating World, sitting in a palanquin used to go to the pleasure quarters, carried by four men dressed in the same unlined suits with an encircled-fan motif. They cut their way through the wind with their shoulders, and when you see them you know that they carry the famous Wankyū from Sakai Avenue in Osaka. Over a pale-green striped robe, and a long white-twill *baori* coat, there is a decoration of scenes from the *Tale of Genji* painted with ink by Yūzen in Kyoto—a very conspicuous sight indeed, but at that time edicts against luxurious dress had not yet been issued!<sup>16</sup>

*The Life of Wankyū* starts abruptly *in medias res*: Wankyū appears on the move from the very first lines and will not stop moving until he exhausts all his fortune and drowns in a canal in Osaka. In this sense, *The Life of Wankyū* is centered on the story of its main character. Nevertheless, it also presents elements of reflection that link it to *zuisō* literature. The underlined phrases *kore wo omou ni* 是を思ふに (“[w]hen you think about it”), *bito wo mireba* 人を見れば (“when you see them”), and *zo kashī* (“indeed”) exemplify this commentary-like style—one reminiscent of the style of *Essays in Idleness*—which here introduces into the background a narrator figure similar to the one who appears in the opening

<sup>16</sup> *Taiyaku Saikaku zenshū* 対訳西鶴全集 4 (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1978), p. 5.



**Figure 4.** Illustration from *The Life of Wankyū* (I.1). From the image collection in *Saikaku ukiyo-zōshi zen sashi-e gazō* 西鶴浮世草子全挿絵画像 CD, as included in *Saikaku to ukiyo-zōshi kenkyū* 西鶴と浮世草子研究 1 (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 2006).

chapter, or in Volume 3, of *The Life of an Amorous Woman*. This narrator is observing and commenting on the scene at some distance from the crowd “[whose] eyes are obscured by greed,” as well as from Wankyū, who has also come to beg for money, and whose mind is not set on getting wealthy but rather on spending and exhausting his parents’ fortune. His eyes too are obscured, though not by greed, but by his obsession with the world of pleasure. By contrast with the world of avarice represented by the townspeople, Wankyū stands for the extravagancy of the pleasure quarters which leads to ruin. The narrator stops short of criticizing this behavior and limits himself to describing the provocative luxury of Wankyū’s attire or hinting at the condemnation of extravagant spending by the shogunal authorities. The figure of the narrator is also made manifest by the poetic play on words found in *mina yoku ni me no mienu yoru no michi* 皆欲に目の見えぬよるの道, where the phrase *me no mienu* (the eyes are obscured, i.e. one cannot see), marked above by the wavy underline, is to be read not only with the words *mina yoku ni* that precede it—“everybody’s eyes are obscured by greed”—but also with the words *yoru no michi* that follow, i.e., eyes cannot see because of the darkness of the road at night. Such rhetorical figures, familiar in classical poetry as well as in *nō* 能 or *jōruri* 浄瑠璃 lyrical theater, occur from time to time in Saikaku’s prose. Their function is to add a pathetic tonality to some passages, but they serve also

to remind the reader that the narrator is a poet, engaged in the pursuit of wit and elegance, and familiar with the poetic tradition.

The goddess Benzaiten appears to Wankyū in his dream, surrounded by acolytes, and gives him the key from the family storehouse so he can spend the money therein for his pleasures (**Figure 4**). She warns him to act carefully and to restrict himself to the most affordable pleasures, but she is rebuked by an indignant Wankyū who rejects any such idea of compromise. This dispute between himself and Benzaiten, the goddess of Prosperity, occupies most of the chapter and sets the theme of the whole novel. Returning home, Wankyū finds a key hanging from the branch of a tree in front of his family house and so begins upon a life of dissipation which will end with his ruin.

*The Life of Wankyū* is of course a piece of fiction, and not an essay, but the narrative itself is about the conflict between two sets of values. This polyphonic nature of Saikaku's fiction relates it to the ongoing discussions found in the essay-like productions inspired by *Essays in Idleness*. Several essay-like passages can be found in *The Life of Wankyū*, such as in Chapter 2 of Volume 1, where Wankyū witnesses a conjugal quarrel at his friend's home, or as in Chapter 1 of Volume 2, with the episode of Wankyū's bankruptcy, where we can find a long essay-like development on domestic economy, starting with these words: "When one thinks about it, people's financial situations are always a matter of make-believe."<sup>17</sup> In many ways, the world of merchant stories collections (*chōnin-mono*) is already present in *The Life of Wankyū*.

### 3. *Some Final Words of Advice (Saikaku oridome 西鶴織留)*

Another important source for studying the link that exists between Saikaku's *ukiyo-zōshi* and the genre of the essay are the posthumous works published after Saikaku's death, such as the collection of epistolary short stories I have already mentioned, as well as, among others, the work *Some Final Words of Advice (Saikaku oridome)*, translated into English by Peter Nosco in 1980.<sup>18</sup> We do not know when Saikaku wrote these texts, nor the reasons for their remaining unfinished. But we can presume that some of these texts might have been written during the period of Saikaku's elaboration of those merchant tales which did see publication in two collections of short stories—*The Japanese Family Storehouse (Nippon eitaigura 日本永代蔵, 1688)* and *This Scheming World (Seken munesan'yō 世間胸算用, 1695)*<sup>19</sup>—only to ultimately be discarded and left unpublished for some reason. As such, they provide precious insights into Saikaku's working method as a prose writer. *Some Final Words of Advice* is made up of several unfinished projects, and

<sup>17</sup> これを思ふに、人みな内証は張物ぞかし。Ibid., p. 39.

<sup>18</sup> *Some Final Words of Advice*, trans. Peter Nosco (Tokyo: Tuttle, 1980).

<sup>19</sup> *The Japanese Family Storehouse*, trans. G. W. Sargent (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959); *This Scheming World*, trans. David C. Stubbs and Masanori Takatsuka (Tokyo: Tuttle, 1965).

is particularly interesting from this point of view, since it is closely related to the world of *Essays in Idleness* and contains many essay-like chapters or passages. Here I will comment on three examples from this work to illustrate the link between Saikaku's *ukiyo-zōshi* and essay literature.

The first example is from the second chapter of Volume 1, called “Secrets on Turning Mushrooms into Money” (Shinadama toru tane no matsudake 品玉とる種の松茸). It is a long chapter, in which short episodes from merchant life are intertwined with essay-like considerations on the difficulty of succeeding in your business if you have no money to begin with. This truth is illustrated by an evocation of the rapid change of seasons that leaves no time to breathe for the merchant who is always pressed by his debts:

ない物は銀にて、さる程にせはしの世や。節季節季は六十日の立事夢のごとし。正月の掛鯛の山草すこしかるゝとおもへば、はや蓬売声、軒の花菖蒲、今も所々に見ながら、灯笼出す暮に胸も躍て、蓮の葉の食ぬくもりもさめぬに、又菊の酒屋の書出し見れば、おもひもよらぬ酔の出るもおかし。(中略) 九月を過て大暮までは百日にあまれば、すこし爰にて息をすとおもへば、常の物前と違ふて、大分の払ひかた、心当ほど商ひしてから、たらぬ所見えて

...we would still lack the money. It certainly is a hectic world in which we live. The sixty days that lie between each of the five major festivals pass by as quickly as a dream. No sooner have the sprays of mountain shrubs with which we decorated our sea-bream offerings of the New Year begun to wither than we begin to hear the voice of the sagebrush hawker peddling his wares in preparation for the Festival of the Third Month. Even now we can still see stuck here and there among the eaves of the houses those irises left over from the Festival of the Fifth Month, and it is already time to hang out the lanterns of the Festival of All Souls. All this excitement is enough to make our hearts leap, and if we pause to remember that it is on the eve of each of the holidays that our bills fall due for payment, it really is enough to make our hearts skip a beat. It is funny the way our heads spin so unexpectedly upon seeing the bill from the liquor store for holiday chrysanthemum *sake* after the Festival of the Ninth Month when our rice balls wrapped in lotus for the Festival of All Souls have not even had a chance to grow old. (...) Just when you stop and think you can allow yourself a bit of a breather from paying all those holiday bills in the hundred or so days between the Festival of the Ninth Month and New Year's Day, you realize that what makes the New Year celebration different from other holidays is that you have to settle every last one of your outstanding debts.<sup>20</sup>

It is not difficult to see that the whole passage is a parody of the famous Chapter 19 of *Essays in Idleness*, beginning with the words “The changing of the seasons is deeply moving in its every manifestation,” and describing month after month, from spring through to winter, the changing of the seasons from the viewpoint

<sup>20</sup> *Taiyaku Saikaku zenshū* 14 (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1976), p. 20; *Some Final Words of Advice* (op. cit.), pp. 47–48.

of poetical emotion.<sup>21</sup> This elegant world of poetic emotion is humorously transposed by Saikaku into the cramped (*sewashi*) universe of the merchant city, with its very different kinds of emotions, among which the most notable is fear of the debt collectors. The superimposition of these two worlds, the poetic and the prosaic, is obviously a device that belongs to the technique of *haikai*, but here we see it imported into prose, creating a kind of “*zoku Tsurezure*” (*Vulgar Essays in Idleness*). Such a technique is also illustrated in the phrase underlined above by the use of the adjective *okashi*, a word characteristic of Classical Japanese prose—found thrice in Chapter 19 of *Essays in Idleness* and very frequently used in the *Pillow Book* (*Makura no sōshi* 枕草子) of Sei Shōnagon 清少納言—where it means “charming” or “interesting.” It is used here in its modern sense of “funny” and is humorously applied to the dizziness one feels when looking at the liquor-store bill. *Some Final Words of Advice* thus clearly points to *Essays in Idleness* as its model, or rather, as Gérard Genette would put it, as its “hypertext.”

The second example is to be found at the beginning of the third chapter of Volume 2, entitled “A Modern-day Kusunoki Masashige [楠木正成]” (Ima ga yo no Kusunoki bungen いまが世のくすの木分限).

吉田の兼好がひがし隣に、同じ北面の侍ひ、榎木原信道といへる人、屋形ならべて住ける。いかに禁裏の役人なればとて、五十余歳まで銭に文字ある裏表をも見しらず、然れば短尺の上下をも覚えず、公家にも俗にもならず男、明暮碁に打入て、三百六十日の立事をわすれ、大年の晦日には借錢に乞たてられ、其時代も覚悟わるき人の迷惑、今の世に替る事なし。留守つかふて戸をたゝかれたるあり様、松など灯連て、夜の明るまで、「酒屋で御座る」といふ声、せはしき人の心を書残せり。

Next door to the great writer Yoshida Kenkō there lived a man named Enokibara Nobumichi who served with Lord Yoshida in the palace guard of the Emperor Go-uda. Perhaps it was due to his service in the Imperial Palace, but even into his fifties the gentleman remained ignorant of the fact that copper coins had writings on both sides. Nor did he have any idea of how to hold a poem card right side up. This man, who could not properly be called either courtier or commoner, spent his days and nights playing *go* so intently that he lost all sense of time until the eve of the New Year, when he would find irate bill collectors at his door. People who lack proper foresight encountered the same troubles in that long-ago age that they do now. Lord Yoshida has left a splendid account of the agitated state of the man who pretends not to be at home when the bill collector, brandishing a pine torch through the long night, raps at the door and announces: “It’s the liquor store, sir.”<sup>22</sup>

Here again Saikaku is humorously alluding to Chapter 19 of *Essays in Idleness*, particularly to its evocation of the winter season and the New Year rituals at the Imperial capital:

<sup>21</sup> See *Essays in Idleness* (op. cit.), p. 20.

<sup>22</sup> *Taiyaku Saikaku zenshū* 14 (op. cit.), pp. 68–69; *Some Final Words of Advice* (op. cit.), pp. 99–100.

つごもりの夜、いたう暗きに、松どもともして、夜半過ぐるまで人の門たつき、走りありきて、何事にかあらん、ことごとしくののしりて、足を空に惑ふが、暁がたより、さすがに音なくなりぬるこそ、年の名残も心ほそけれ。<sup>23</sup>

On the last night of the year, when it is extremely dark, people light pine torches and go rushing about, pounding on the gates of strangers until well after midnight. I wonder what it signifies. After they have done with their exaggerated shouting and running so furiously that their feet hardly touch the ground, the noise at last fades away with the coming of the dawn, leaving a lonely feeling of regret over the departing old year.<sup>24</sup>

This fanciful evocation of Kenkō-hōshi and his fictitious neighbor is, of course, meant to be read as parody. Yet parody is not only a matter of form, as Nakano Mitsutoshi seems to imply, but also of content. As in the previous example, the parodic style here highlights the presence of the author, and his role as a modern-day Kenkō-hōshi. The description of Kenkō as “ha[ving] left a splendid account of the agitated state of the man” (*sewashiki hito no kokoro wo kakinokoseri*) can be applied to Saikaku himself. *Sewashi*, translated above as “hectic,” does not literally mean “agitated,” but rather something more like “cornered” or “hard-pressed.” It is a key notion in Saikaku’s representation of the life of the contemporary city as seen in, e.g., *This Scheming World*, and a notion which itself also originates in *Essays in Idleness*.

I will briefly introduce a third passage, from the fourth chapter of Volume 3, entitled “The Traveling Salesman who Sold Advice” (Nani ni te mo chie no furi-uri 何にても智恵の振売), another fanciful story with references not only to *Essays in Idleness* but also to the *Zhuangzi* 莊子. The chapter begins with a long and burlesque enumeration of all the possible means to earn one’s living in a large city, and then introduces the main character, a man who makes his living by selling advice for any kind of problem “no matter what it may be.” His skills are then requested on the following occasion:

すぎにし秋の比、三軒屋川口へ砂魚釣舟に出し人、酒に乱れて後、釣たるはぜを丸焼にして、数喰事を手がらに、おのおのあばれける中にも、殊更一疋一口にせし人、俄に咽をくるしめける。

In the autumn of last year some men hired a boat by the mouth of the Sangen’ya river to take them to goby fishing. After getting rowdy with all the *sake*, they barbecued the gobies they had caught and had a contest to see who could eat the most of them. In the middle of their gluttonous game, one of them took a fish and tried to swallow it whole, but immediately his throat began to hurt . . .<sup>25</sup>

The man’s friends try to draw out the fishing hook stuck in his throat, but to no avail (**Figure 5**). The scene is explicitly compared to the similar famous scene

<sup>23</sup> *Tsurezuregusa* (op. cit.), pp. 97–98.

<sup>24</sup> *Essays in Idleness* (op. cit.), p. 20.

<sup>25</sup> *Taiyaku Saikaku zenshū* 14 (op. cit.), p. 109; *Some Final Words of Advice* (op. cit.), pp. 144–146.



**Figure 5.** Illustration from *Some Final Words of Advice* (III.4). (National Diet Library).  
<https://doi.org/10.11501/2554437> (image no. 18)

in Chapter 53 of *Essays in Idleness*, in which a priest of Ninna-ji 仁和寺 temple gets his head stuck in a pot that he had put on his head while dancing. As Saikaku continues:

さまざましてもぬける事なく、此難義すべきやうなく、船中、鞆・三味線も鳴をやめて、つれづれに書残せし法師のあしかなへのごとく迷惑して

No matter what they did, the hook would not budge, and there seemed no way to help their friend out of this misery. With the boat's drum and *shamisen* silenced, they felt as helpless as the priest whose head got stuck in the pot in Yoshida Kenkō's *Tsurezuregusa*.<sup>26</sup>

The man who sells advice is finally consulted, and he easily finds a way to remove the hook. But when someone else from among the company, a merchant who is some twenty *kanme* of silver short at the end of the year, asks him to advise him on how to straighten out his business, he is unable to propose any solution:

「女房衆の親もと分限か。又は銀持の出家に弟はないか」といふ。「それはもちませぬ」といへば、「此談合は埒が明ぬ」と申て、帰りける。

<sup>26</sup> *Taiyaku Saikaku zenshū* 14 (op. cit.), p. 110; *Some Final Words of Advice* (op. cit.), p. 146.



“Does your wife come from a rich family,” asked the miracle worker, “or do you have any younger brothers who happen to be wealthy priests?”

“I’m afraid the answer’s no on both accounts,” replied the man.

“Then I’m afraid I can’t help you.” And with these words he picked himself up and went home.<sup>27</sup>

This chapter is notable for its essay-like character, common to many of the chapters found in *Some Final Words of Advice*. It explicitly transposes a situation from *Essays in Idleness* to modern-day Osaka. As in the third chapter of Volume 3 of *The Life of an Amorous Woman*, the setting is a boat party, where townsmen indulge in pleasures unaware of the uncertainty of their condition. The “salesman who sold advice” has solutions for all kinds of problems, but he proves unable to help a merchant whose business has gone wrong. We can read in this story a humorous warning addressed by Saikaku to his readers. The “salesman who sold advice” would then appear as another figure of the author, as an example of self-derisive reflection on the meaning of *ukiyo-zōshi*.

## Conclusion

Extending the term *gesaku* to 17<sup>th</sup>-century literature, to *kana-zōshi* and to *ukiyo-zōshi* in accordance with Nakano Mitsutoshi’s suggestion, cannot be a solution because all of these terms, convenient as they may be, are too vague, allowing neither a precise categorization of the Edo period’s vast literary production, nor a clear view of the various continuities and discontinuities in the long history of the evolution of Edo-period prose. The link between Saikaku’s *ukiyo-zōshi* and the reception of *Essays in Idleness* during the 17<sup>th</sup> century, as well as the role that the genre of the essay (*zuihitsu* or *zuisō*) itself played in the development of *ukiyo-zōshi*, both offer important clues for understanding the nature of Saikaku’s comical prose and the nature also of the influence it exerted over the narrative prose of the later Edo period. To stress the continuity that exists between Saikaku’s fiction and *Essays in Idleness*—as well as its continuity with numerous other works that the *Essays* inspired—does not belittle in the least Saikaku’s originality, or his importance as a prose writer. Saikaku attained originality by combining in completely new ways, and with a new perspective, different elements which he found in the literary production of his time. Most importantly, he himself provided clues to help his readers understand the purpose of his writings. *Essays in Idleness* was the single most influential and most annotated classical work in 17<sup>th</sup>-century Japan, and it is not surprising that Saikaku would choose it as a model for creating a new kind of prose literature himself.

<sup>27</sup> *Taiyaku Saikaku zenshū* 14 (op. cit.), p. 111; *Some Final Words of Advice* (op. cit.), p. 147.



# Kyokutei Bakin's Philological Research and the Writing of Historical Narrative: Study of the Izu Islands in the *Marvelous Story of the Drawn-Bow Moon*

Nicolas MOLLARD

## Introduction

*Chinsetsu yumiharizuki* 椿説弓張月 (The Marvelous Story of the Drawn-Bow Moon, 1807–1811) enjoys a long-lasting popularity among Kyokutei Bakin's 曲亭馬琴 (1767–1848) readership and has also been the subject of numerous scholarly studies and commentaries. Among these, Gotō Tanji's 後藤丹治 edition, published in 1958 and 1962, laid the foundation for contemporary source criticism.<sup>1</sup> Since then the identification of hypotexts has been considerably expanded and refined, ranging from Cui Xianglan's 崔香蘭 excavation of new Chinese sources to Miyake Hiroyuki's 三宅宏幸 focus on Edo-period editions of medieval sources—to name only two recent examples.<sup>2</sup>

But as Glynne Walley has pointed out in his review of the scholarship on *Nansō Satomi hakekenden* 南総里見八犬伝 (The Lives of the Eight Dogs of the Nansō Satomi, 1814–1842), locating sources is an endless and sometimes sterile task, because it does not always answer the hows and whys.<sup>3</sup> Why was a source selected in the first place? How was it adapted, and for what purpose? This process of adaptation or transposition has often been understood within the framework of the *sekai/shukō* aesthetic derived from the dramatic arts.<sup>4</sup> In *kabuki* 歌舞伎 or *jōruri*

<sup>1</sup> *Chinsetsu yumiharizuki* 椿説弓張月, *Nihon koten bungaku taikai* 日本古典文学大系 (NKBT) 60–61, ed. Goto Tanji 後藤丹治 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1958 and 1962).

<sup>2</sup> Cui Xianglan [Jp. Sai Kōran] 崔香蘭, *Bakin yomibon to Chūgoku kodai shōsetsu* 馬琴読本と中国古代小説 (Tokyo: Keisuishisha, 2005), pp. 134–135; Miyake Hiroyuki 三宅宏幸, “*Chinsetsu yumiharizuki* tenkyo shōkō” 『椿説弓張月』 典拠小考, *Dōshisha kokubungaku* 同志社国文学 74 (2011), pp. 45–56.

<sup>3</sup> Glynne Walley, *Good Dogs: Edification, Entertainment and Kyokutei Bakin's Nansō Satomi Hakekenden* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University East Asia Program, 2017), p. 105.

<sup>4</sup> Nakamura Yukihiko 中村幸彦, *Gesakuron* 戯作論 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1966), pp. 170–213. For a discussion in English, see Adam Kern, *Manga from the Floating World: Comicbook Culture and Kibyōshi of Edo Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006), pp. 123–128.

浄瑠璃 plays, for example, as well as in works of popular fiction, a certain selected “world” (*sekai* 世界) can automatically designate the historical and literary backdrop for the story (determining thereby the era, the place, and even the main characters of its action), in a phenomenon similar to what Western medievalists mean when they talk about the “Matter” of Britain, or of France, or of Rome. His “world” thus chosen, the author is then expected to bring new “variations” (*shukō* 趣向) to this world by giving to it a particular twist (interweaving other different “worlds,” updating an ancient story to a contemporary setting, transposing a Chinese “world” to Japan, and so on). For authors of “reading books” (*yomihon* 読本), and especially of the type known as “historical narratives” (*shiden-mono* 史伝物), the whole challenge, as Takagi Gen 高木元 has argued, lies in knowing how to negotiate this fundamental determinism in historical framework.<sup>5</sup> Working from such an understanding, recent scholarship on Bakin’s philological research has opened up new perspectives.

Generally speaking, the genre of so-called “philological essays” or “antiquarian miscellanies” (*keōshō zuibitsu* 考証隨筆) has long remained an understudied field in scholarship on late Edo-period popular fiction (*gesaku* 戯作).<sup>6</sup> Some researchers, however, such as Miyake Hiroyuki 三宅宏幸 or Ōtaka Yōji 大高洋司, have attempted to understand Bakin’s fictional works in the light of the erudite approach seen in his essay productions.<sup>7</sup> Both have emphasized the structuring role that philological research played in the development of *yomihon*. To summarize their findings in a few words, Bakin harvests, from anecdotes and episodes retrieved over the course of his investigations into historical sources, a veritable corpus of material which he uses to develop subplots and digressions, and to help structure the longer narratives that characterize his later *yomihon*.

While much emphasis has been placed on narrative structure, I would like to explore here another form of transposition that defines Bakin’s relationship to his sources: the use that he makes of “regional geographies” or “gazetteers” (*chishi* 地誌) to give substance to his descriptions of the customs and landscapes of distant and unfamiliar locales. A close comparative reading of the novel alongside its hypotexts will provide a better understanding of how Bakin concretely uses philological reasoning in the context of writing historical fiction.

## 1. The Rise of Historical *yomihon* and Bakin’s Philological Research

*Yumiharizuki* marks a turning point in Bakin’s career as a writer.<sup>8</sup> At the dawn of

<sup>5</sup> Takagi Gen 高木元, *Edo yomihon no kenkyū* 江戸読本の研究 (Tokyo: Perikansha, 1995), pp. 13–14.

<sup>6</sup> Satō Satoru 佐藤悟, “Kōshō zuihitsu no imi suru mono: Ryūtei Tanehiko to Kyokutei Bakin” 考証隨筆の意味するもの：柳亭種彦と曲亭馬琴, *Kokugo to kokubungaku* 国語と国文学 70:11 (1993), pp. 118–127.

<sup>7</sup> Miyake Hiroyuki, op. cit. (2011); Ōtaka Yōji 大高洋司, “Chinsetsu yumiharizuki ron: kōshō” 『椿説弓張月』論：構想と考証, *Yomihon kenkyū* 読本研究 6:1 (1992).

<sup>8</sup> Nakamura Yukihiko 中村幸彦, “Chinsetsu yumiharizuki no shiteki ichi” 椿説弓張月の史的位罫, *Bungaku* 文学 36:3 (1968), pp. 10–17; Ōtaka Yōji, op. cit. (1992).

the Bunka 文化 era (1804–1818), he had begun to reinvent himself as a *yomibon* author, gradually giving up the writing of comical pieces that were strongly anchored in the world of the theatre. After a trip to Osaka in 1802, he had grown closer to the literary milieu of the Kamigata 上方 (the region centered on Kyoto and Osaka), and had become much more influenced by Chinese vernacular fiction (*hakuwa shōsetsu* 白話小説) and by collections of Buddhist tales (*setsuwashū* 説話集). From then on, following in the footsteps of his rival and former master Santō Kyōden 山東京伝 (1761–1816), he immersed himself in the scholarly research that led him to develop a new genre that would seal his reputation: the historical narrative (*shiden-mono*). In the field of philological essays (*kōshō zuihitsu*), Kyōden had made his reputation with studies on the customs of the city of Edo during the golden age of the Genroku 元禄 era (1688–1704), e.g., in his *Kinsei kiseki-kō* 近世奇跡考 (A Study of Marvels in Modern Times, 1804) and *Kottōshū* 骨董集 (A Collection of Curios, 1814–1815). But Bakin preferred to gather a broader range of more disparate material, with an eye to how he could later reuse it in the writing of his novels. Such material saw publication in a number of different works. One of these, *Enseki zasshi* 燕石雜誌 (A Collection of Fake Gems, 1811), is a collection of 59 short essays—or even notes which he had jotted down while conducting various researches—based on the reading of some 238 titles (thoroughly cited at the end). Publications akin to this include *Nimazē no kei* 烹雜の記 (A Stew of Notes, 1811), which gathers 20 further essays in the same mold, and *Gendō hōgen* 玄同放言 (Ramblings of Primeval Chaos, 1818–1820), a miscellanea of similar reading notes organized in encyclopedic fashion (partially published, it refers already to 190 titles). Slightly preceding the publication of this material, *Yumiharizuki* is Bakin's first novel to bear clear traces of his philological frenzy.

Indeed, Bakin's passion for philological research (*kōshōgaku* 考証学) can be said to permeate every one of his historical novels from then on. But to what exactly does the term *kōshōgaku* refer? And how was the term understood by Bakin? Sometimes translated as “evidential learning,” *kōshōgaku* (Ch. *kaoshengxue*) refers broadly to an intellectual trend in Qing China that consisted of close (re)readings of canonical texts, supported by various philological tools—historical phonology, comparative linguistics, etymology, etc.—whose overarching goal was to retrieve said texts' original meaning. It rejected unfounded speculation and assumed a scientific stance by laying importance on the principle that assertions should be backed up by textual evidence. In Japan, this trend took a more eclectic turn, never giving rise to a structured school of thought. Yet seen in the broader perspective of Tokugawa intellectual history which, with Itō Jinsai 伊藤仁斎 (1627–1705) and Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666–1728), emerges from a critique of Song Confucianism, *kōshōgaku* can be linked also to the development of national learning (Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長, 1730–1801), to Buddhist studies (Jiun 慈雲, 1718–1805), and even to medicine (Taki Keizan 多紀桂山, 1755–1810).<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Rai Tsutomu 頼惟勤, *Kokushi daijiten* 国史大辞典 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1985).

The extent to which the philological investigations of *gesaku* writers partake of this philosophy is subject to debate. Their approach to knowledge can be understood as a further emanation of the generally antiquarian spirit pervading literary circles since the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Margarita Winkel's study on Bakin's report of the Tankikai 耽奇会, and Ibi Takashi's 揖斐高 research on literati salons, including Bakin's Tankikai and Toenkai 兔園会, both shed light on the intellectual atmosphere of such circles.<sup>10</sup> This trend involves a serious-minded taste for things of the past, apprehended through classical, popular, or material culture, and can be seen as an extension into the collective sphere of Bakin's earlier taste for philological investigations as expressed in his individual essays. In any case, the quest for origins (whether of a material artefact, a custom, an anecdote, even of a word or an expression) lay at the very core of contemporary interest in such matters. This is why etymologies, or more broadly speaking what are called "spurious origin stories" (*kojitsuke* 故事付け), are so prevalent in *gesaku* writers' philological essays, and hence also permeate their fiction. So much so that Glynne Walley sums up the whole *Hakkenden* as a "mammoth, thousands-of-pages-long" *kojitsuke* aimed at explaining why the eight warriors of the Satomi clan have the character "dog" in their names.<sup>11</sup> If I dare make the analogy, one could say that *Yumiharizuki* is itself an extended commentary on (what was at least assumed to be) a simple "historical fact": the crossing of Minamoto no Tametomo 源為朝 (1139–1170) to the Ryukyu Islands.

## 2. History and Fiction in Bakin's *Yumiharizuki*

The *Yumiharizuki* recounts the adventures of an early medieval warrior, Minamoto no Tametomo, and his involvement in the Ryukyu Islands' royal line. To put the matter simply, the "historical" framework is provided by the *Tale of Hōgen* (*Hōgen monogatari* 保元物語), and also by later developments in that text's reception. Late editions of the *Hōgen monogatari* itself might mention Tametomo's crossing to a certain "Isle of Devils," but it was only around the 16<sup>th</sup> century that erudite monks made the connection between this island and the Ryukyus, giving shape to the legend according to which Tametomo married the daughter of a local lord and had his own son enthroned as the Ryukyus' first king. This legend was included in the official history of the kingdom, first written in 1650, and later repeated and discussed in various Chinese and Japanese sources throughout the Edo period.<sup>12</sup> Bakin's novel further weaves into this basic layer a narrative motif

<sup>10</sup> Margarita Winkel, "Entertainment and Education: An Antiquarian Society in Edo, 1824–25," in *Uncharted Waters: Intellectual Life in the Edo Period*, eds. Anna Beerens and Mark Teeuwen (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 13–34; Ibi Takashi 揖斐高, *Edo no bunjin saron: chibikijin to geijutsuka-tachi* 江戸の文人サロン：知識人と芸術家たち (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2009), pp. 128–152.

<sup>11</sup> Glynne Walley (op. cit.), p. 89.

<sup>12</sup> See among recent scholarship: Watanabe Kyōichi 渡辺匡一, "Tametomo toryū-tan no yukue: sogo suru rekishi-ninshiki to kokka, chiiki, soshite hito" 為朝渡琉譚のゆくえ：齟齬する

of restored sovereignty borrowed from the Chinese epic *Water Margin: A Sequel* (*Shuibu bouzhan* 水滸後伝) in particular, though the extended scope he gives it goes beyond anything found in the original model.<sup>13</sup> Finally, Bakin made extensive use of *Chūzan denshin roku* 中山伝信録 (1721), a full account of the Ryukyū kingdom by Chinese vice-ambassador Xu Baoguang 徐葆光 (1671–1723), in addition to regional geographies on the Izu Islands, such as *Izu kaitō fudoki* 伊豆海島風土記 (1782) and *Hachijō hikki* 八丈筆記 (1796), which he used to flesh out his descriptions of remote island settings. Considered from its sources alone, *Yumiharizuki*, like any *yomihon*, is truly a multilayered millefeuille: a confection of history, myths, contemporary accounts, and popular legends.

Referring to itself as a “popular history” (*haishi* 稗史) or “unofficial biography” (*gaiden* 外伝), the text raises thus from the outset the much-debated question of the relationship between history and fiction. The nature of the relationship between the two in Bakin's works is rooted in a vision shared in common by novelists in both Qing China and Edo Japan. According to the form's defenders in this tradition, the *raison d'être* of the novel is two-fold. On the one hand, it bridges the gap between scholarly and popular culture, making the moral lessons of official histories accessible to whole sectors of society through its simple language and entertaining character. On the other hand, the novel is worthy of interest because it supplements the shortcomings of those official histories, filling in the spaces where the annals remain silent. Filling in the blanks involves thus a work of the imagination. This is why the term *xiaoshuo* 小説 (Jp. *shōsetsu*), though originally synonymous with *haishi*, has taken on over time a connotation ever closer to that of “fiction.”<sup>14</sup>

The opening words of the oft-quoted preface to the first part of *Yumiharizuki* clearly shows how deeply Bakin is indebted to this vision of literature:

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歴史認識と国家、地域、そして人, *Nihon bungaku* 日本文学 50:1 (2001), pp. 19–27; Ōta Hideaki 大田英昭, “Kinsei Nihon no Ryūkyū ninshiki no keisei to hensen: Minamoto no Tametomoto ryū densetsu wo megutte” 近世日本の琉球認識の形成と変遷：源為朝渡琉伝説をめぐって, *Shisōshi kenkyū* 思想史研究 1 (2001), pp. 11–22; Itō Yūshi 伊藤雄志, “Ryūkyū/Okinawa-shi to Nihon-shi no setten: Minamoto no Tametomoto ryū densetsu wo meguru ronsō” 琉球・沖縄史と日本史の接点：源為朝渡琉伝説をめぐるとの論争, *Chiiki bunka kenkyū* 地域文化研究 6 (2008), pp. 1–26; Yano Misako 矢野美沙子, “Tametomoto densetsu to Chūzan ōtō” 為朝伝説と中山王統, *Okinawa bunka kenkyū* 沖縄文化研究 36 (2010), pp. 1–48.

<sup>13</sup> The literary motif of restoring to a rightful sovereign the throne usurped from him by malefactors has been studied in comparative perspective between the cases of China, Korea, and Japan by Ellen Widmer, “Island Paradises: Travel and Utopia in Three East Asian Offshoots of *Shuibu zhan*,” *Sino-Japanese Studies* 13:1 (2000), pp. 20–33.

<sup>14</sup> See, among many other discussions of this shift, Komori Yōichi 小森陽一, “Kinsei shōsetsu kara kindai shōsetsu e” 近世小説から近代小説へ, in *Iwanami koza: Nihon bungakushi* 岩波講座：日本文学史, eds. Kubota Jun 久保田淳 et al., vol. 11 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1996), pp. 57–82; Kamei Hideo 亀井秀雄, ‘Shōsetsu’ ron: *Shōsetsu shinzui to kindai* 「小説」論：『小説神髓』と近代 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1999), pp. 53–88; or, in English, Glynne Walley (op. cit.), pp. 61–74.

This book relates the past deeds of the valiant general Hachirō Tametomo 八郎為朝 during the Hōgen 保元 Era. As in Chinese vernacular historical romances (*engi shōsetsu* 演義小説), this story relies greatly on imaginary constructions, so the reader can wander off into mysterious and fantastic lands.<sup>15</sup>

Or similarly in his prefatory note to the second part:

As I have said previously, my *Yumiharizuki* imitates Chinese romances (*engi*). It is a completely invented story (*tsukuri mōketaru monogatari* 作り設たる物語). The facts I have just mentioned, however [i.e. philological considerations on Tametomo's crossing to the Ryukyus], are not mere fables (*gūgen* 寓言).<sup>16</sup>

Clearly, historical sources appear to provide a mere pretext for unleashing the literary imagination. Nonetheless, and this is Ōtaka Yōji's main thesis, a change seems to be taking place from this second part onward, as Bakin's research into the historical background of Tametomo's whereabouts intensified. Creative imagination seems rather to come under the control now of a philological approach.

### 3. A Shift in Bakin's Attitude towards History and Fiction

In actuality, when he started writing the novel at the end of 1805, Bakin had as of yet only a vague idea of the whole picture. Before getting to work on its second part in the spring of 1807, he had probably had a chance to catch a glimpse of the Ryukyuan mission that reached Edo in late 1806. Each such visit caused quite a stir in the city, stimulated by an ever-growing series of publications on the subject.<sup>17</sup> His editor, Hirabayashi Shōgorō 平林庄五郎, might have smelled a good opportunity in all of this and so urged him to produce more volumes for the work. Owing to Hirabayashi's editorial success, the novel would eventually reach 68 episodes in 5 parts. Yet, as we can infer from the preface to its first part, at the beginning Bakin still knew but little about Tametomo's crossing to the Ryukyu Islands, a subject he would develop at length in Parts 3 to 5 at the cost of a long and impressive work of documentary investigation. The scale of the effort can easily be gauged by this simple fact: in the first part's preface quoted above, he briefly mentions only two sources in addition to the *Hōgen monogatari*—Hayashi Razan's 林羅山 *Honchō jinjakō* 本朝神社考 (*A Study of Shrines in Our Country*, 17<sup>th</sup> c.) and Terajima Ryōan's 寺島良安 *Wakan sansai zue* 和漢三才図会 (*A Sino-Japanese Illustrated Compendium of the Universe*, 1712)—but by the beginning of the second part, he gives already a list of 27 references, including Chinese and Ryukyuan sources as well as the Izu Islands

<sup>15</sup> Unless specified otherwise, all quotations from *Chinsetsu yumiharizuki* refer to the edition of the *Nihon koten bungaku taikai* 60–61 (op. cit.), here NKBT 60, p. 73.

<sup>16</sup> NKBT 60, p. 235.

<sup>17</sup> See Yokoyama Manabu 横山学, *Ryukyu-koku shisetsu torai no kenkyū* 琉球国使節渡来の研究 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1987), pp. 279–285 in particular.



geographies mentioned above. Ōtaka Yōji summarizes the shift in Bakin's approach to the novel as follows: "from the second part on, [he] began including thorough analysis of his materials in his prefaces and afterwords, and the story came to be driven by 'historical facts' that he had discovered."<sup>18</sup>

He further points to the change in tone in the Chinese preface to Part 4:<sup>19</sup>

An ancient saying goes: "Popular romances (*haiben shōsetsu* 稗編小説) elaborate the words of official histories (*seishi* 正史) in order to make them clear to ordinary people. Unofficial and popular histories (*bōkan yashi* 坊間野史) capture air and shadows [i.e. are fanciful] and thereby confuse the senses of common people. Since both genres are groundless and faulty, do they not mislead people's judgment?" My *Yumiharizuki* is a romance (*shōsetsu*), yet it quotes true historical facts (*kojitsu* 故実) and conforms to official histories (*seishi*) in every way. If sometimes it skillfully borrows a fact or superfluously adds a word, this hardly deceives people. All the ins and outs are based on evidence and testimony.<sup>20</sup>

Bakin seems to have become indeed obsessed by the need to distinguish between historical facts and their literary and fictional elaborations. This obsession, Ōtaka argues, can also be traced in other texts written by Bakin around the time that he published the last parts of *Yumiharizuki* (1810–1811). In *Enseki zasshi* (1811), for example, he examines the origins of popular legends (*setsuwa* 説話), a genre he considers somehow futile and fictional though based on real sources. Likewise in a short work of fiction, *Mukashigatari shichijū no kura* 昔語質屋庫 (Old Tales from a Pawnbroker's Storeroom, 1810), he seeks to distinguish ancient anecdotes (*koji* 故事), which are historical facts, from popular stories (*zokusetsu* 俗説), which he understands as a way to introduce children to the reading of history through the use of fictitious words and literary embellishments. Taking up stories about the Soga brothers, Bakin seems to believe that certain facts can be gleaned from true chronicles (*jitsuroku* 実録), for example *Azuma kagami* 吾妻鏡 (Mirror of the East, c. 1300), but that these were later embellished by writers of "fictions" (*tsukuri monogatari* 小説, in Bakin's gloss) such as *Soga monogatari* 曾我物語 (The Tale of the Soga Brothers, 14<sup>th</sup> c.). In his effort to draw a distinction within ancient sources between real facts and literary embellishments, he considers some texts to be more reliable (*Azuma kagami*, warrior genealogies, etc.) than others (the *Taiheiki* 太平記 [Chronicle of Great Peace, c. 1370] in particular). The key to assessing a source's reliability is the critical approach of the philologist.

<sup>18</sup> Ōtaka Yōji, "Development of the late *yomihon*: Santō Kyōden and Kyokutei Bakin," in *The Cambridge History of Japanese Literature*, eds. Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), p. 545.

<sup>19</sup> Ōtaka Yōji, "Bunka 7–8 nen no Bakin: kōshō to yomihon" 文化七、八年の馬琴：考証と読本, in *Setsuwa ronshū* 説話論集, ed. Setsuwa to setsuwa bungaku no kai 説話と説話文学の会, vol. 4 (Tokyo: Seibundō, 1995), pp. 383–419.

<sup>20</sup> *NKBT* 61, p. 129.

Ōtaka is right to point out Bakin's desire to be more scrupulous than Chinese vernacular historical romances in distinguishing between fact and fiction. Yet, at the same time, as Miyake Hiroyuki has shown in his analysis of *Yumiharizuki's* own sources, Bakin can both reject the *Zen Taiheiki* 前太平記 (A Prequel to the Chronicle of Great Peace, c.1681) as a reliable historical reference (as he does in *Enseki zasshi*), and yet still adapt whole descriptions from it to shape his narrative.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, as Miyake has also demonstrated, in the case of another historical romance, *Asahina shimameguri no ki* 朝夷巡島記 (A Record of Asahina's Travels around the Isles, 1815–27), Bakin deliberately opted for fiction regarding the ancestry of his hero, Asahina Yoshihide 朝比奈義秀, because it was a better fit for his overall scheme, and because it allowed him to drag into the story certain literary motifs taken from the *Kojiki* 古事記 (An Account of Ancient Matters, 712) in particular.<sup>22</sup> For Miyake, philological research is what links the different sources together, what enables Bakin to superimpose, for example, the figure of Asahina Yoshihide—son of “General Rising Sun” (Asahi shōgun 朝日將軍) aka Kiso Yoshinaka 木曾義仲 (1154–1184)—upon that of the mythological Hiruko 日子 (*lit.* “Son of the Sun”), thanks to a similarity in solar imagery. “By making Yoshihide an offspring of Yoshinaka,” Ōtaka concludes, “[Bakin] designs an original plot (*shukō*) that creates associations between a mixture of historical facts, myths, various legends, and philology.”

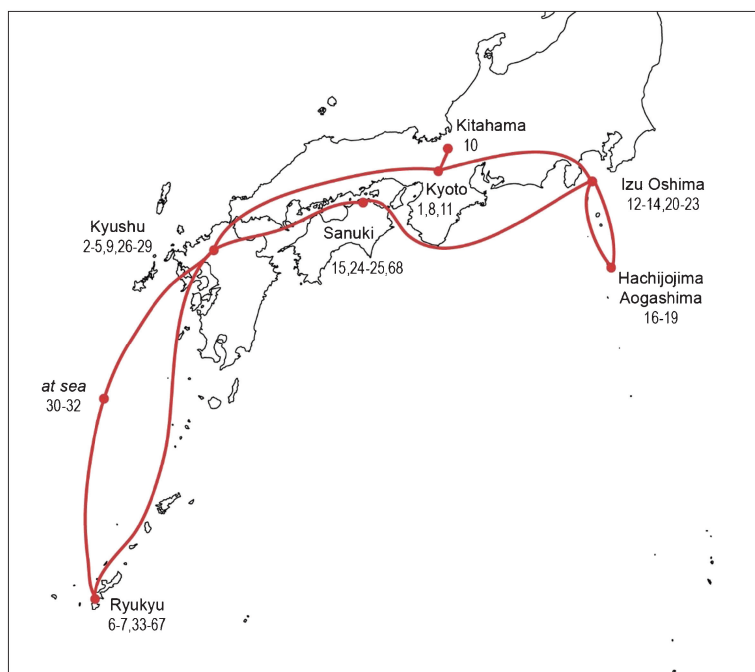
#### 4. The Use of Regional Geographies and the Risk of Anachronism

However, no matter how rigorously Bakin may have intended to stick to what he believed to be historical facts, the blanks in Tametomo's life remain numerous and open to speculation, especially when it comes to time spent on the geographical margins. It is well to remember that the *Tale of Hōgen* focuses on a rebellion whose epicenter is located in Kyoto. Two emperors struggle for power, and Sutoku's 崇徳 (1119–1164, r. 1123–1141) forces, led by Minamoto no Tameyoshi 源為義 (1096–1156) together with his youngest son Tametomo, are defeated in the Capital's suburbs. The story does include episodes of Tametomo's youth in Kyushu and his exile in the Izu Islands, but these remain secondary and quantitatively unimportant. The spatial coverage in Bakin's novel is in contrast extremely wide and varied (**Figure 1**). It is precisely Tametomo's adventures on the borders of Japan that captured the author's imagination. Geographical margins had been poorly documented in pre-Edo-period literature, but in Bakin's time were drawing more and more attention, in part owing to the political situation but also out of sheer curiosity directed towards the outside world.

The possibility of imagining Tametomo's activities in those margins was offered

<sup>21</sup> Miyake Hiroyuki, *op. cit.* (2011).

<sup>22</sup> Miyake Hiroyuki, “Bakin no kōshō to yomihon: *Asahina shima meguri no ki zenden ron*” 馬琴の考証と読本：『朝夷巡島記全傳』論, *Kindai bungei* 近代文藝 102 (2015), pp. 15–29.



**Figure 1.** Map of *Chinsetsu yumiharizuki* 椿説弓張月. Shifts in the story's geographical setting are indicated by chapter numbers. (Prepared by author).

by regional geographies (*chishi*), mainly on the Izu and the Ryukyu Islands. In this sense too, *Yumiharizuki* is not a pure work of fiction: though the descriptions of remote islands are not taken from Bakin's first-hand experience, they are based on highly-reliable contemporary reports. But yet another problem lurks here behind the scenes—the spectre of anachronism. It is one that has been repeatedly pointed out by critics. Leon Zolbrod asserted early on that: “Bakin’s novels, with few exceptions, are historical romances. Although they are set in pre-Tokugawa Japan, however, they often describe the customs, institutions, and material culture of his own day.”<sup>23</sup> And more recently, Takagi Gen has very astutely identified the problem: “One stance assumed by Edo *yomibon* is that the historical setting is different from the depiction of manners in the story. This is probably not unrelated to the fact that *yomibon* frequently incorporate philological considerations into the story. It is not possible to create a fictional narrative without a thorough investigation of “historical facts.” This is because the device that creates the illusion of reality is none other than philology itself, without the aid of which it would be impossible to create this illusion. Moreover, in supplementing

<sup>23</sup> Leon Zolbrod, *Takizawa Bakin* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1967), p. 66.

their own knowledge by means of these philological considerations, readers were able to wander in a fantasy world, even if there were discrepancies between the historical setting and the depiction of manners.”<sup>24</sup>

In order to further understand the role of philology in Bakin’s *yomibon*, how he concretely draws upon a plethora of sources to give substance to his narrative and thus reworks the *Hōgen monogatari* material, I will focus on the chapters in *Yumiharizuki* dedicated to the Izu Islands. I will follow four main lines of investigation: (1) how whole sections of regional geographies about the Izu Islands were lifted and inserted into the story; (2) how certain parts were subtly omitted or rewritten in order to shape Tametomo into a civilizing hero bringing the geographical margins into Japan’s cultural sphere; (3) how philological, and more precisely etymological reasoning was pivotal to articulating mythical and historical time; and (4) how these considerations circulated between different parts of the novel itself and scholarly essays external to it.

## 5. The Izu Islands in the *Hōgen monogatari* Tradition

It might be necessary to present first the broad outlines of the relevant episode. After the civil war known as the Hōgen Rebellion, which resulted in the defeat of Emperor Sutoku’s partisans, Tametomo is captured and banished to the island of Ōshima 大島 in the Izu Archipelago. There he quickly regains influence, subjects the local administrator to his authority, and refuses to pay taxes to the governor of Izu Province. In an episode recounted in texts of the manuscript line that gave birth to the so-called “reference” edition of the *Tale* (*Sankō Hōgen monogatari* 参考保元物語, 1689), which circulated widely during the Edo period and was probably used by Bakin himself,<sup>25</sup> Tametomo also makes his way to the Isle of Devils, where once again he subdues the local inhabitants. The governor, worried about Tametomo’s rise to power, obtains permission from the emperor to lead a punitive expedition. After one last feat of arms (he sinks the lead ship with a single arrow), Tametomo is overwhelmed by these enemy forces and commits suicide after beheading his own son. Here let us add that if the *Hōgen monogatari* has Tametomo dying thus in Ōshima, in his own novel Bakin invents a substitute for the hero, in the guise of a faithful companion, allowing him thereby to continue his adventures further into the Ryukyus.

This is a rough outline of the action. But what do these islands look like? Who inhabits them? How do people make their living there? These questions are of no interest to the *Hōgen monogatari*. It says nothing about Ōshima, nothing about Hachijōjima, and gives hardly any details about the Isle of Devils, which is renamed Ashigashima 葦島 (Reed Island) after being subdued by Tametomo and

<sup>24</sup> Takagi Gen (op. cit.), p. 9.

<sup>25</sup> NKBT 60, *Kaisetsu* 解説, pp. 11–12.

becoming a dependency of Hachijō.<sup>26</sup> Yet despite this clearly established geographical denomination, the depiction of the Isle of Devils does not refer to any specific real place, but coincides rather with the usual tropes found in medieval representations of the geographical margins.<sup>27</sup> The isle is inhospitable in every aspect: its inhabitants are physically monstrous (disproportionate in size, unconventional in hairstyle, with hirsute bodies, dark in pigmentation) as well as being culturally backward (they do not wear the sword on the left, do not cultivate rice or fruits, and while they do catch animals for food they do not really fish or hunt since they have no tools, and dress in coarse fabrics, being unable to produce silk or cotton). They are the very opposite of the Japanese.

## 6. Regional Geographies on the Izu Islands

Bakin fleshed out this frame-narrative using what was in his time the most detailed ethnographic information available on the Izu Islands, an archipelago little known to Edo readership because it was still a land of exile, inaccessible to the common people. Bakin's two primary sources belong to the genre commonly referred to as "regional geographies" or "gazetteers" (*chishi*), whose works are quite often in fact something in the way of administrative reports, written by officials after their inspection tours. Like other examples of the genre, Izu Islands geographies describe daily life on the islands, the customs of their inhabitants, their topography, climate, natural products, local dialects, etc. The earliest of these, *Izu kaitō fudoki* (1782) was written by a shogunate official, Satō Yukinobu 佐藤行信, who sent his attendant to inspect the archipelago. Its thorough description of the islands is accompanied by numerous annotated illustrations of flora and fauna, demonstrating the author's particular interest in the study of *materia medica* (*honzōgaku* 本草学), a field of knowledge which at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was strongly linked to the exploitation of natural resources.<sup>28</sup> The second of these geographies, *Hachijō hikkē* (1796), was a report by Furukawa Koshōken 古川古松軒 (1726–1807) based on the account given to him by the administrator of Izu, Mikawaguchi Tachū 三河口太忠, regarding the latter's inspection tour of the archipelago. Furukawa was a geographer, the son of an herbalist and physician from the province of Bitchū 備中, and is mainly known for his travel diaries and regional geographies.<sup>29</sup> It is worth noting that copies of

<sup>26</sup> See the full description in *Hōgen monogatari: Tale of the Disorder in Hōgen*, trans. & annotat. William R. Wilson (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University, 2001 [1971]), pp. 102–104.

<sup>27</sup> Murai Shōsuke 村井章介, *Nihon chusei kyōkai-shi ron* 日本中世境界史論 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2013), part 1 in particular.

<sup>28</sup> Federico Marcon, *The Knowledge of Nature and the Nature of Knowledge in Early Modern Japan* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015).

<sup>29</sup> See for example *Saiyū zakki* 西遊雜記 (1783) and *Tōyū zakki* 東遊雜記 (1788), both partially translated in Herbert Plutschow, *A Reader in Edo Period Travel* (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2006), pp. 89–123.

these manuscripts in Bakin's own hand have survived to the present day.<sup>30</sup>

As we will see in detail hereafter, Bakin relied heavily on regional geographies to give substance to his descriptions of the Izu Islands, but his reuse of these sources raises several questions. How could passages lifted wholesale from scholarly sources respond to the reader's horizon of expectations? How did these fit into Bakin's overall scheme, his intent to reshape Tametomo into a civilizing hero in particular? And how was he able to maintain chronological consistency, given that the story itself takes place at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, but his ethnographic and geographic knowledge was based mainly on writings of the late 18<sup>th</sup>?

## 7. Depictions of Nature and Plant Culture in Hachijō

As unorthodox as it may seem for a textual analysis, I would like to start with an illustration (**Figure 2**). *Yumibarizuki* was illustrated by Katsushika Hokusai 葛飾北斎 (1760–1849), whose name greatly contributed to its success. Yet it must be remembered that illustrators usually worked on the basis of sketches provided by the authors. Bakin tended to treat images in his *yomihon* as a necessary evil, a concession made to editors in the name of commercial efficacy and greater accessibility for his readership, but he was nonetheless very scrupulous when it came to visual details.<sup>31</sup> Numerous significant elements mentioned in the body of the text were thus carefully integrated into Hokusai's renderings. The scene in question takes place on Hachijō Island, and is entitled “Female islanders entertain Tametomo lavishly,” for the place was then known as the Isle of Women (we will see why later). On the left Tametomo, accompanied by a retainer, is pointing at the three women who are picking some kind of “fruits” from a tree and putting them in a basket. The tree is supposed to be an “eggplant tree!” And these women are preparing a meal for their host.

[The women] spoke in the island dialect: “[. . .] The *dadaka* are now in full bloom. Let's simmer some eggplants in *shiokubari* 塩配<sup>32</sup> for you.” Two or three of them rushed for a ladder, climbed an eggplant tree and plucked several big ones. They simmered them with mountain yams called *tsukune-imo* 薯蕷 and with white radish, and served them, accompanied by rice flavored with angelica, to Tametomo and his party. It is said that angelica, or “tomorrow's leaf,” has branched stems which come out at ground level, roots and leaves that look like a carrot's, and that they taste sweet and bitter. If the seeds are planted in winter, in spring by the equinox buds will appear, the stem will grow during that same

<sup>30</sup> The autograph copy of *Kaitō fudoki* is owned by Okimori Naosaburō 沖森直三郎, and that of *Hachijō bikkei* is housed at Waseda University Library (and accessible there online; see **Figure 4**). See NKBT 60, *Kaisetsu*, pp. 13–14.

<sup>31</sup> Suzuki Jūzō 鈴木重三, “Bakin yomihon shohan shoshi nōto: sashi-e wo chūshin ni” 馬琴読本諸版書誌ノート：挿し絵を中心に, *Bungaku* 文学 36:3 (1968), pp. 48–57, with a sequel in the same journal, 36:5 (1968), pp. 95–103.

<sup>32</sup> A kind of *miso* paste made of salted fish, as explained earlier in the same text.



**Figure 2.** Scene from *Chinsetsu yumiharizuki* (II.17). Entitled: “Female islanders entertain Tametomo lavishly.” (National Diet Library).  
<https://doi.org/10.11501/2557124> (image no. 28)

year up to seven or eight inches tall, and in the cold season the leaves will not wither and die. After three years, you can uproot the plant, and eat its roots and leaves. As for the turnip-shaped white radish, if you cut it just above the soil, it will sprout leaves that grow again and again even after spring has come.

Tametomo asked Saori no Nyoko 三郎長女 [the female chief of the island]: “It is rare to find eggplants in late spring, but I have never seen a tree of this size.” She replied: “The winter is so mild on this island that plants don’t wilt and trees never lose their leaves. Eggplants bloom and bear fruit all year round. Some trees are two or three years old. Those are the three-year eggplants. And we call their flowers *dadaka*.” (I think “*dadaka*” is the Chinese name. The proof is in Dupian xinshu 杜騙新書, which says that “*Tuotuobua* 陀々花 [Jp. *dadaka*] is the flower of the three-year eggplant.”)<sup>33</sup>

<sup>33</sup> NKBT 60, pp. 256–257. These last two sentences in parentheses are an example of what is called *warichū* 割注 (intra-linear commentary), i.e., in-text commentary distinguished from the base text by being written within the main line in its own doubled line of half-size characters. I will come back to this later. *Dupian xinshu* 杜騙新書 (The New Book for Foiling Swindlers, c.1617) is a short-story collection about fraud.

The text gives here the recipe for Tametomo's meal, which is made up of a mixture of eggplants, yams, and radishes, served with angelica rice. Also provided are some botanical details about the angelica (*ashitagusa* 鹹草), a plant endemic to Hachijō, as well as about the turnip-shaped white radish (*kabu daikon* 蕪蘿蔔) and the so-called “three-year eggplant” (*sannen nasu* 三年茄子). All this information is directly taken from the *Kaitō fudoki*, and the author wraps the passage up with an etymological comment.

In the same illustration, on the right, we can observe a woman weaving. Ethnographic descriptions of weaving are not uncommon in regional geographies.<sup>34</sup> Comparing the *Kaitō fudoki* with the text of *Yumiharizuki*, it is quite obvious how Bakin has reused the rather technical description of his model:

*Izu kaitō fudoki*

There are three main colors for dyeing: yellow, bark-brown, and black. The yellow is made between the Seventh and the Ninth Month by dyeing threads thirty-seven or thirty-eight times in a decoction of miscanthus, and fixing the color in a mordant made of camellia ashes. The brown is made in autumn and winter by dyeing threads thirty times in a decoction made from the bark of a tree called *madami* まだみ, and fixing the color in the same mordant of camellia ashes. The black is made at any season of the year by dyeing threads twenty-four, twenty-five, or even more times in a decoction of chinquapin bark and, when appropriate, fixing the color with mud from the fields.<sup>35</sup>

*Yumiharizuki*

As for the craft of weaving and spinning, it is said that, unlike on other islands, they get filaments from silkworms, and twist them into threads between their fingers using a spinning wheel, while some attach the loom to a pillar, passing the other end behind their hips, and start weaving fabrics in a variety of twill patterns, using a method that later generations will call *gotangake* 五反懸 or *battangake* 八反懸. There are three main colors for dyeing: yellow, bark-brown, and black. The yellow is made between the Seventh and the Ninth Month by dyeing threads thirty to forty times in a decoction of miscanthus, and fixing the color in a mordant made of camellia ashes. The brown is made in autumn and winter by dyeing threads thirty times in a decoction made from the bark of a tree called *madami*, and fixing the color in the same manner as above. The black is then made at any season of the year by dyeing threads twenty-four or twenty-five times in a decoction of chinquapin bark and fixing the color with mud from the fields.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>34</sup> See for example the numerous pages dedicated to the production and commerce of *Echigo chijimi* fabric in Suzuki Bokushi's 鈴木牧之 *Hokuetsu seppu* 北越雪譜 (1837), ed. Meicho kankōkai 名著刊行会 (Tokyo: Meicho Kankōkai, 1968), pp. 74–94.

<sup>35</sup> Excerpts are translated from the text of the edition in *Izu kaitō fudoki, Izu meguri* 伊豆海島風土記・伊豆めぐり, ed. Shizuoka kyōdo kenkyūkai 静岡郷土研究会, *Tōkai bunko* 東海文庫 12 (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Kyōdo Kenkyūkai, 1929). Here pp. 5–6. Below as *TB* 12.

<sup>36</sup> *NKBT* 60, pp. 259–260.



Another detail can be seen in the illustration: the trees growing at the bottom right-hand corner, which look like palm trees. These might refer to two species described, with accompanying hand-drawn sketches, in both *Kaitō fudoki* and in *Hachijō nikki*: the *soro* そろ (or *shuro*, a kind of windmill palm) and the *shida* しだ (or *begoshida*, a kind of tree fern) (**Figures 3 & 4**). Skeptics might argue that it could just as well be any other plant, but the trunks depicted in another illustration from the same chapter quite clearly show a palm tree-like texture (**Figure 5**), a clear sign of the author's desire to furnish the scene with an exotic touch.

There was a plant, resembling the metal-blade tree [cassia tree], more than ten feet tall and with a very fine grain. He asked its name. "It's a tree called *soro*," she said. There was another one, fifty to sixty feet tall, with leaves hanging in all directions, like ferns but as large as banana-tree leaves. Once again he asked its name and she said, "It's called *shida*." There were also mulberry trees in abundance, upon which grew a kind of mistletoe. This place is truly a Wonderland.<sup>37</sup>

Bakin stages here the provision of botanical information in the form of a dialogue. The islander, not the narrator, gives explanations to Tametomo, who thereby discovers the natural landscape of the island.

The illustration contains yet further significant details: thatched-roof houses, built on chinquapin pillars with woven bamboo walls, and high-raised floors to prevent dampness.<sup>38</sup> Or even the peculiar rice granary in the background, although it does not correspond in all respects to the description in *Kaitō fudoki*. I could go on with many other examples taken from other illustrations and passages, but we have enough to grasp the overall scheme. Bakin's aim here is to give some substance, some sense of reality and exoticness, to imaginary representations of the geographical margins in his readers' minds, drawing on extensive documentary research based for the most part on local geographies—but not solely. Encyclopedias like *Wakan sansai zue* 和漢三才図会 (1712), or *materia medica* books like *Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目 (1596), are also frequently used to give scholarly details about some particular aspect of the natural world. In this respect, Bakin's historical novels function effectively as a bridge between scholarly literature and a mass readership. But arousing the reader's curiosity is only one aspect of the issue.

## 8. The General Outlook of Ōshima Island

The integration of very disparate elements (historical, mythological, folkloric, ethnographic, etc.) into the story has the potential to create confusion at times. Bakin had to struggle to hold all these pieces together. Although he could not resolve all contradictions and inconsistencies, by cleverly articulating these elements between different chronological strata, he succeeds in bringing order to

<sup>37</sup> NKBT 60, p. 259.

<sup>38</sup> As explained in the story's previous chapter. See NKBT 60, p. 250.



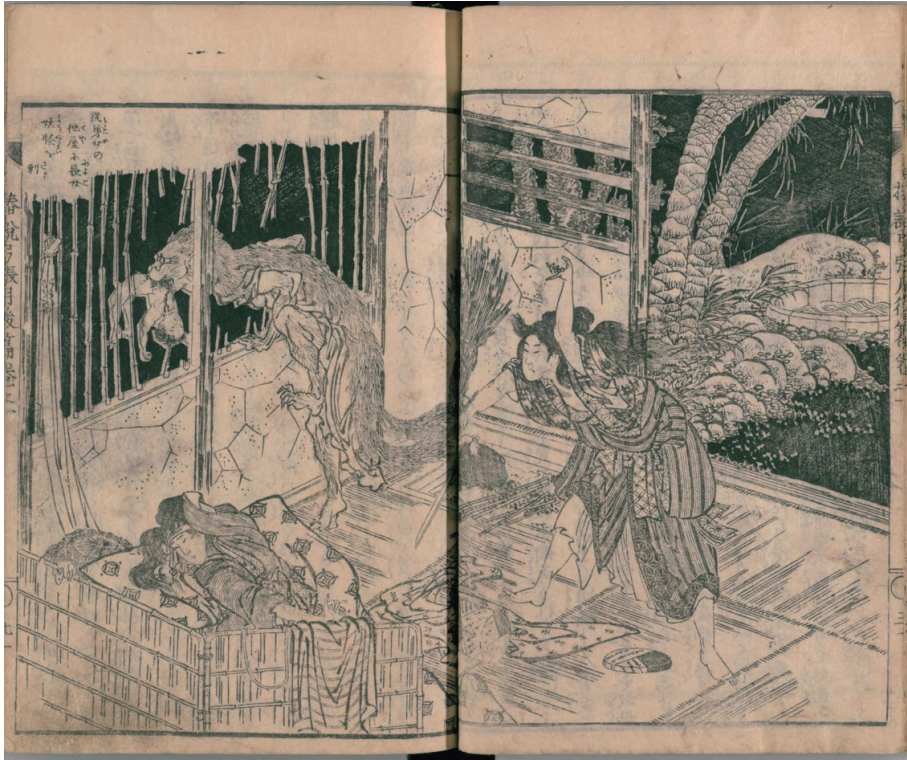
Figure 3. The *soro* (right) and *shida* (left) trees in *Izu kaitō fudoki* 伊豆海嶋風土記, vol. 2 (right) & vol. 3 (left). (Fuji City Library).

[https://library.fujishi.jp/c1/bib/fuji\\_11698850.pdf](https://library.fujishi.jp/c1/bib/fuji_11698850.pdf) (image no. 20), [ . . . [\\_11698851.pdf](https://library.fujishi.jp/c1/bib/fuji_11698851.pdf)] (image no. 31)



Figure 4. The *soro* (right) and *shida* (left) trees in Bakin's autograph copy of *Hachijō hikki* 八丈筆記. (Waseda University Library).

[https://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/i04/i04\\_00600\\_0148](https://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/i04/i04_00600_0148) (image no. 16)



**Figure 5.** Scene from *Chinsetsu yumiharizuki* (II.17). Entitled: “Nyoko kills a monster in her cousin’s hut.” Note the palm trees in the background. (National Diet Library). <https://doi.org/10.11501/2557124> (image no. 32)

the narrative and even in giving new meaning to Tametomo’s actions. Here again, confronting the *Yumiharizuki* text with its sources will shed light on the matter.

Ōshima Island is not, any more than Hachijō, actually described in the *Hōgen monogatari*. Somewhat paradoxically, it is even characterized as less civilized, less “paradisiacal” than Hachijō itself. Here is a sketch of the general outlook of the island, as presented in the original source and in *Yumiharizuki*’s novelistic adaptation thereof:

*Izu kaitō fudoki*

Ōshima Island is located 18 *ri* 里 [a *ri* being roughly equivalent to 3.9 km] by sea east-southeast from Shimoda 下田 Harbor in the Kamo 賀茂 district of Izu Province, and 7 *ri* away to the south from the very same province. From the city of Edo, that would make 46 *ri* south-southwest. The island is regularly served by boat, which facilitates trade. Its territory extends 2.5 *ri* wide from east to west and some 5 *ri* long from north to south. There are high mountains but they are generally not very steep. The coast is continually battered by waves, exposing

the rocks, and making it hard to access. Now, speaking of the history of its settlement, it is not clear at what point it became a place of exile. Within the islands, it is said that they were colonized during the holy reign of Emperor Kōan 孝安. But since Ōshima is only 7 or 8 *ri* distant from Izu, it must have been colonized at the same time that the province's many coves were occupied. As it has been a land of exile since high antiquity, there must have been many criminals banished to the island since those times. More precisely, En no Ozuno 役小角 [634–701] was sent there in the first year of Emperor Monmu's 文武 reign [697]. The cave where Ozuno lived is still visible at Senzu 泉津 village. It is now called the Hermit's Hall and it has become a place of worship among the islanders. [. . .] Concerning the island's industry, the men from Niijima 新島 and Okada 岡田 villages mainly hunt and fish, using cargo boats to go trade their goods and make a profit for their livelihood; meanwhile the women mainly cultivate fields, weave some fabrics, gather seaweed, and exchange it for food to make their living. In the villages of Sakichi 差木地, Senzu, and Nomashi 野増, people called "open-pan commoners" (*kama-byakushō* 釜百姓) produce salt as a family business. That is why since the Kyōhō 享保 era [1716–1736] the men and women alike have cut firewood. Some collect reeds to weave mats and sell these to buy grain; some cultivate fields and grow fruit trees and vegetables to get food. It appears that this is how they make a living.<sup>39</sup>

*Yumiharizuki*

Originally, Ōshima Island of Izu Province is located 18 *ri* by sea east-southeast of Shimoda Bay in Kamo District. Its territory is said to be 2.5 *ri* wide from east to west and some 5 *ri* long from north to south, but at that time it might have been even smaller. The island has mountains, though not steep ones. The coast is continually battered by waves, exposing the rocks, and making it hard to access. Elders say that this land was colonized at the time of Emperor Kōan, but since it is only 18 *ri* distant from Izu, it must have been colonized at the same time that the province's many coves were occupied. As it has been a land of exile since ancient times, En no Ozuno was exiled there in the first year of Emperor Monmu's reign [697], and this is said to have been the beginning of the island's settlement. Nothing is known before that. The cave where Ozuno lived is still visible in a village called Senzu. Islanders call it the Hermit's Hall and frequently go there to worship. As for the original customs of the island, men go hunting and fishing, while women gather wood and seaweed, and exchange them for food to make a living. The five grains had not been grown there until recently. Even a man used to this life would grow weary, but how could the noble son of the Genji 源氏 clan live there to his end? From the soft-hearted to the heartless, everybody felt the tragedy of his situation. But let us go back to the main story.<sup>40</sup>

Framed by an expression typical of *yomihon* and works of Chinese vernacular fiction (*somosomo . . . kore wa sate oki* 抑 . . . 閑話休題), this piece of description appears as a digression, as an opportunity for the narrator to provide some general

<sup>39</sup> TB 12, pp. 29–30.

<sup>40</sup> NKBT 60, p. 204.

information about the island's characteristics. One can easily spot the parts that are quoted from sources almost without change: the distances, the surface dimensions, the general outlook of the island, its history (En no Ozuno's exile in particular), and even the descriptions of certain customs (men's hunting and fishing, women's wood- and seaweed-gathering). On the other hand, it is equally clear that certain details have been intentionally omitted, especially the fact that the islanders practice agriculture and trade. Indeed, in *Yumiharizuki*, the islanders know nothing about the five grains (*gokoku* 五穀), and there is no clear mention of any commercial activity (harbors, boats, etc.). So why did Bakin want to make his island appear to be such an uncivilized place? Was he simply aiming at historical consistency? A further example will help clarify his intentions.

### 9. The Taming of Wild Animals

A little later on in the story, there is an episode where Tametomo is shown taming wild bulls and horses. This comes from the description of Ōshima's fauna in the *Kaitō fudoki*.

#### *Izu kaitō fudoki*

As for beasts, there are plenty of wild cows and wild horses. When the farms face a shortage of livestock, the men of Nomashi, Sakichi, and Senzu go out for a hunt. One can see them riding horses bareback through the reed plains, valleys, and hills, flying as if they were on familiar ground, chasing after wild cows and horses, catching their tails to immobilize them, throwing some of them down, and when a fierce bull happens to face them, they get off their horses with no fear of the horns ready to gore them, and wrestle the beast to the ground. Thus do they capture the animals with great ease.<sup>41</sup>

#### *Yumiharizuki*

[Islander speaking . . .] "There have been plenty of wild cows and wild horses on this island since old times, but they get so fierce when people come close that nobody ever dares to breed them or to make them carry a burden. Yet in early summer, when the bonito fishing season comes, we use cow horns to make bait. That's why every year, when spring comes to an end, people living near the seashore gather in bands and go through the hills and plains to collect cow horns. [. . .]"

[. . .] The horse was galloping like an arrow, clattering his hoofs in a great turmoil, when Tametomo spotted it. Grabbing the mane as it was passing by, he mounted the horse effortlessly, riding and galloping around the grasslands and high peaks, and then chasing after wild cows, chasing after wild horses, catching some by the tails to immobilize them, throwing others down with a bump, and when a fierce bull faced him, he got off his horse and, without fear of the horns ready to gore him, wrestled the beast to the ground. Soon he had captured with great ease one hundred and fifty or sixty animals.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>41</sup> TB 12, pp. 31–32.

<sup>42</sup> NKBT 60, pp. 209–211.

Both excerpts share similarities: an island blessed with many wild cows and horses, a detailed and vivid description of their capture. The difference is that in Bakin's work, it is not the islanders but rather Tametomo who distinguishes himself in an epic hunt. However, in reading the original closely, one realizes that Ōshima's inhabitants (in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century) did in fact own domestic cows and horses, and that only when their livestock became too few would they go out hunting to capture animals in the wild. It is now very clear that Bakin, even while integrating whole descriptions taken from the *Kaitō fudoki*, was trying nonetheless to present Ōshima as a primeval wilderness. Such a recasting of Ōshima allows him to redefine Tametomo as a civilizing hero, one who brings culture (farming and stockbreeding) to the islanders.

Bakin's Tametomo is no more the ambivalent figure of the *Hōgen monogatari*, who, while undoubtedly portrayed as a paragon of courage and righteousness, is yet at times also a brutal and cruel troublemaker, perceived by the inhabitants of Kyushu or the Izu Islands more as a tyrant than as a liberator. Within the historical framework of the medieval chronicle, however, Bakin depicts an unambiguously positive hero, a conquering and civilizing adventurer. Moreover, by his mere presence and actions, he marks, as the next example will show, the eruption of these remote islands, veiled before his arrival in the uncertain temporality of myth and popular legend, into the larger history of Japan as a whole.

## 10. Tametomo as a Means to Connect Myth and History

In addition to descriptions of the geography, flora, and fauna of the Izu Islands, Bakin also borrows from his sources some insights on popular legends and beliefs. Take for example the legend of Xu Fu 徐福 the alchemist, which structures the entire episode devoted to Hachijō. The main outlines are mentioned in the *Kaitō fudoki*, with Bakin borrowing further details from Chinese sources, to which he then added various folkloristic motifs, such as the Cowherd and the Weaver Girl, the Isle of Women and the Isle of Devils. The episode can be summarized roughly as follows: having failed to discover the elixir of immortality, Xu Fu left the 500 girls and 500 boys of his expedition respectively on two islands in the ocean off Kumano 熊野, namely the Isle of Women (Nyōgo no shima 女護の島) and the Isle of Devils (Onigashima 鬼が嶋), since which time the two groups have lived separately, for fear of angering the Sea God, meeting by custom only once a year. But Tametomo sees in all this nothing but a bunch of primitive superstitions. The Isle of Devils? Well, the name can be explained by the fact that dark-skinned men are commonly referred to as "devils." This epithet is also found in many popular terms, such as the reddish-orange "devil's lily" (*oni yuri* 鬼百合) or the red chili-based "devil's miso paste" (*oni miso* 鬼味噌). And the name Onigashima may well be a phonetic alteration of O-no-shima 男島, the "Isle of Men." According to the sailors, the women of the island are inseminated by the spring breeze? "Absolute nonsense," Tametomo retorts. And as for what he

sees as their “bad customs” (*akushū* 悪習)—which consist of keeping men and women from living together—he proposes to demonstrate their absurdity by setting an example. He will marry Nyoko, the chief of the island, who will give him two male twins, and the whole family will live together for an entire year without being punished by any divine curse. This is how he finally convinces the women of the need to mix with the men. After having reunited the populations of the two islands, Tametomo renames these territories in order to erase all traces of the old superstitions that kept men and women separate. Thanks to this onomastic *tour de force*, Hachijōjima (The Isle of Women) and Aogashima 青か嶋 (The Isle of Devils) have received—so says the text—their current names: Hachijōjima being an alteration of Hachirō (Tametomo's common name), and Aogashima stemming from Ashigashima.

Through the power of naming and rational discourse, Tametomo brings the uncivilized islands into the cultural sphere of Japan. He also functions as a bridge between mythical time (the legend of Xu Fu, the Isle of Devils, etc.) and historical time (which begins with his arrival in the 12<sup>th</sup> century and flows continuously up to Bakin's own present day). In these popular legends and beliefs picked up from regional geographies, Bakin not only finds the opportunity to develop new thrilling subplots, but through philological research into their origins and various etymological considerations, he manages to skillfully navigate the risk of discrepancy between the historical framework and descriptions of contemporary customs.

## 11. Congruency between the Discourse of *Yumiharizuki* and Philological Essays

Before moving to conclusions, I would like to examine one last point and shed some new light on the relationship between various scholarly discourses as developed within different parts of the novel (prefaces, authorial asides, the voices of characters or the narrator) and Bakin's own opinion as expressed in his philological essays.

Take for example Tametomo's statement about the “devils” (*oni*). Here is the passage quoted in full:

It is very doubtful that there could exist any island inhabited by devils (*oni*). That which does not completely disappear after death is called *kami* 神, and that which has not been properly honored after death is called *oni* 鬼. These two elements do not have any material form. Ghosts and apparitions are commonly called *oni*, but people nowadays mistakenly refer to violent and wild things as *oni*. This is why a warrior could have boasted in front of his enemies that he was a Demon God (*onigami*), or that words like *oni yuri* or *oni miso* could have been invented. At any rate, this remote island was not inhabited by real devils. Such a name was given rather because of the hardships involved in reaching the island and the repulsive and mischievous looks of its inhabitants.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>43</sup> NKBT 60, p. 246.

In fact, the whole passage should be considered in the broader context of the controversy over “devils and gods” or more properly “souls and spirits” (*keishin-ron* 鬼神論) that arose among Edo-period scholars. It refers to a metaphysics of the soul which addresses the question of the existence or non-existence of supernatural phenomena. The supernatural is constitutive of Bakin’s *yomibon* and, as Asakura Rumiko 朝倉瑠嶺子 has pointed out, the whole *Yumibarizuki* can be read in the light of these theories.<sup>44</sup> More specifically, Bakin dedicated two sections of *Enseki zasshi* (chap. 11, vol. 2, and chap. 1, vol. 3) to the question. A look at this text clearly shows how he has taken up his arguments almost word-for-word to place them in the mouth of Tametomo:

*Gui* 鬼 [Jp. *ki/oni*] is the essence of the sun. That is why people always see it as red. According to Wang Chong’s 王充 *Lunheng* 論衡 (Discourses Weighed in the Balance), *gui* and *shen* 神 [Jp. *shin/kami*] are names for *yin* and *yang*. And according to a commentary on the Annals of the Yellow Emperor in the *Shiji* 史記 (Records of the Grand Historian), “That which does not completely disappear after death is called *shen*, and that which has not been properly honored after death is called *gui*.” I think that *shin* 神 stands for *shin* 心 (spirit), and *kei* 鬼 for *kei* 氣 (vital energy). The spirit and vital energy of men do not have material form, neither do *kami* and *oni*. They cannot be seen by human eyes, and that is also why *kami* and *oni* are so difficult to perceive. [. . .]

In ancient times, goblins and thieves were called *oni*, which is an alteration [of the word’s original meaning]. People mistakenly take them for real devils. They refer to anything repulsive and powerful as *oni*. Is this an ancient custom of our country? Among plants’ names, there are the “devil’s lily” (*oni yuri*) and the “devil’s thistle” (*oni azami* 鬼薊), and some rice-wines, tobaccos, and chilis have “devil-killer” (*oni-goroshi* 鬼ごろし) in their names. Some horses are said to have a “devil and deer coat” (*onikage* 鬼鹿毛); swords are called “devil-slayer” (*oni-giri* 鬼切) or simply “devil” (*onimaru* 鬼丸). In a war chronicle, there is a scene where a man boasts about himself in front of his enemies after having killed a certain warrior called the Demon God (*onigami*). From this, we can infer that that Ki no Tomoo 紀朝雄 and Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝 did not exterminate real devils. The same goes for the swords—their names do not come from having slain real devils; and likewise for the plants. These are just forced analogies (*fukai* 附会) invented by people afterwards.<sup>45</sup>

The second part of *Yumibarizuki* was published in 1808, and Bakin wrote *Enseki zasshi* at the urging of his publisher in 1809 (it was printed the following year). In addition, Bakin acquired in 1808 a set of works by Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 (1657–1725) in 30 volumes, which he began to study in depth. There he discovered not only primary sources for his novel, such as *Nantōshi* 南島志 (Record of

<sup>44</sup> Asakura Rumiko 朝倉瑠嶺子, *Bakin Chinsetsu yumibarizuki no sekai: hangetsu no kage wo ou* 馬琴椿説弓張月の世界：半月の陰を追う (Tokyo: Yagi Shoten, 2010).

<sup>45</sup> *Nihon zuibitsu taisei* 日本隨筆大成 (2<sup>nd</sup> series), vol. 10 (Tokyo: Nihon Zuihitsu Taisei Kankōkai, 1929), pp. 339–349.



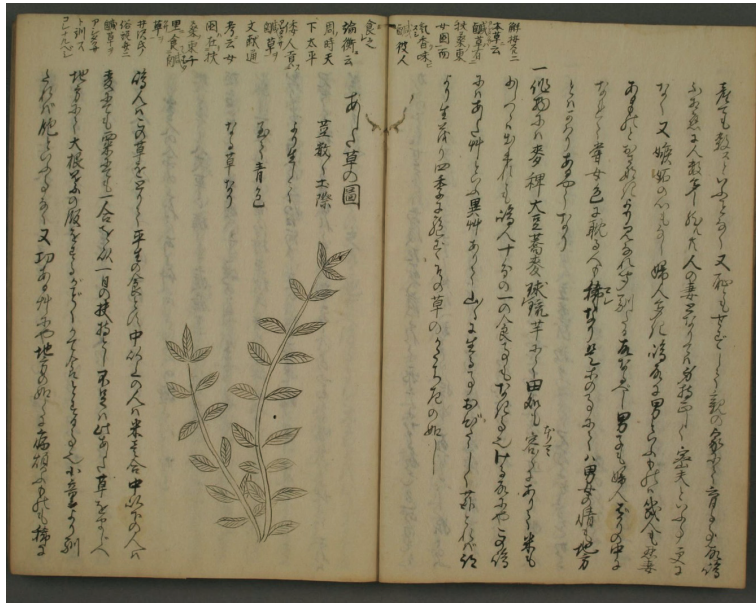
the Southern Islands, 1719), but probably also Hakuseki's *Kishin-ron* 鬼神論 (posthumously published in 1800). It seems to me that the anecdotes about Onigashima, the etymological considerations it inspires in Bakin, and the inscription of all these elements into a general theory of the soul that may originate in Hakuseki's thought—that all of this goes to form an organic whole which pervades both his novels and his essays. Yet the discourse of the novelist is not exactly that of the scholar, for it is obvious from the quotations above that explicit references (to *Lumbeng* and to the *Shiji*) are not found in Tametomo's speech. A sharper distinction is needed here.

## 12. Scholarly Insertion and Philological Commentary Based on Evidence

The distinction appears more clearly in the episode entitled “Female islanders entertain Tametomo lavishly” quoted above. Recall that it ends with a short in-text commentary by the author (*warichū* 割注). This is no longer a matter of simply borrowing information from scholarly sources, but of providing rather a bibliographical reflection that stands as “proof” or “evidence”<sup>46</sup> (*shō to su beshi* 証とすべし) of the connection between the Chinese name of a flower (*tuotuo*hua) and the Japanese name of the plant that produces it (*sannen nasu*). It is rare to find instances of this type of evidence-based reasoning inserted into the body of the text, as they tend rather to be developed at length in prefaces or in afterwords.

The difference in nature between these two ways of integrating sources into a text can be better understood by considering the example of the angelica (*ashitagusa*). As mentioned earlier, angelica is here the subject of a description borrowed from *Kaitō fudoki*, whose interest lies primarily in its botanical and culinary dimension, and this was enough to satisfy the average reader. But the plant must have had some special significance to Bakin, for he discussed it in his prefatory note to Part 2, entitled “Observations” (*bikō* 備考), and then again later in his collection of philological essays, *Gendō hōgen* (1818–1820). Furthermore, his autograph copy of *Hachijō bikki* bears a marginal note on the subject (**Figure 6**). All this can be summed up as follows. Drawing upon (1) an ancient Chinese source, *Lumbeng* (late 1<sup>st</sup> century), which relates the payment in tribute of “aromatic herbs” (*changcao* 鬯草) by the Japanese in remote antiquity; (2) the great Chinese pharmacopeia, *Bencao gangmu* (1596), which mentions the existence of a “pungent herb” (*xiancao* 鹹草) consumed on the Isle of Women located east of Japan; (3) some local legends reported in the *Hachijō bikki* that identify Hachijō with the Isle of Women; and (4) other Edo-period essays from Izawa Banryū 井沢蟠竜 (1668–1730) and Yuasa Jōzan 湯浅常山 (1708–1781) that recognize in the Chinese herb the Japanese *ashitagusa*, Bakin concludes that “*changcao*, also called *xiancao*, is known by the Japanese name of *ashitagusa*,” and that “it grows

<sup>46</sup> The translation “evidential scholarship” sometimes used to render the term *kōshōgaku* 考証学 (*lit.* “the study of examining evidence”) makes here a good deal of sense.



**Figure 6.** The *ashitagusa* plant (angelica) in Bakin's autograph copy of *Hachijō bikki*, with marginal notes (top). (Waseda University Library). [https://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/i04/i04\\_00600\\_0148](https://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/i04/i04_00600_0148) (image no. 9)

only in Hachijōjima,” this being another name for the “Isle of Women” mentioned in the *Bencao gangmu*.<sup>47</sup>

The issue here is not to judge whether Bakin's conclusion is itself correct or even plausible (in fact it is not convincing), but rather to understand the way he approached his materials. Philological research and etymological reconstruction enable him to formulate hypotheses, and to make new connections between disparate anecdotes that will eventually underlie the narrative structure of his story. Tametomo arrives on an island populated by women only, who eat angelica, and that island is none other than Hachijō, where the same plant is endemic. Nonetheless—and this is my point—the narrative itself is not a legitimate place for the author to display his philological know-how.

If I might venture here a hypothesis on the circulation of Bakin's philological thought between these different types of texts, I would argue as follows: In his preliminary research for his fiction, Bakin is confronted with all kinds of sources. In a couple of gazetteers on the Izu Islands, for example, he finds not only descriptions of nature and customs, but also descriptions of anecdotes and popular beliefs from which he will derive new narrative possibilities. The appropriation of the source is sometimes accomplished by copying out the

<sup>47</sup> NKBT 60, pp. 227–228.

original text or by taking marginal notes. These hastily-jotted-down ideas can in turn be taken a step further, through scholarly investigations, and gathered into short entries that will ultimately integrate a collection of philological essays. At the same time, these investigations find their way into the novel by taking various forms: introductory remarks, which in themselves are short essays in every respect; metadiegetic intratextual comments; or arguments put into the mouths of the narrator or the characters. The main difference seems to lie in the fact of providing—or not providing—textual evidence, which consists chiefly of explicitly quoted sources.

### Concluding Remarks

Bakin's "philological mania," as it appears in his novels, has often been negatively perceived by his readers. Gotō Tanji considers the "annoying philological and non-literary mentions" to be one of the major flaws of *Yumiharizuki*.<sup>48</sup> He is particularly harsh on the commentary found in prefaces and afterwords, which in his view lacks literary refinement. Even if he concedes that the descriptions of the Izu or Ryukyu Islands based on documentary sources substantially contribute to a realistic effect, he deplores the numerous scholarly digressions that break the rhythm of the plot. I have tried in this paper to consider scholarly digressions and insertions not as something that spoils the pleasure of reading, but rather as an integral part of Bakin's art of the novel; not as marginal considerations that he keeps at a distance in extratextual comments for the knowledgeable reader, or which he collects separately in his philological essays (and which sometimes, unwillingly, reappear in the middle of the story), but rather as fundamental elements of the narrative, much in the same way as monsters and supernatural phenomena, which partake of a certain deliberate baroque aesthetic. In this regard, I have rather followed in the footsteps of Ōtaka Yōji or Miyake Hiroyuki, who have repeatedly argued that Bakin's *yomibon* would benefit from being read in parallel with his scholarly essays.

Three main ideas should be retained from delving into Bakin's art of writing historical narratives based on philological research. First, it seems to me one gets a glimpse therein of the concrete way in which a premodern novelist actually worked, getting closer to the nature of their "evidential learning," which included reading books, copying them when acquisition was not possible, making annotations in their margins, gathering reading notes into essays for publication, and eventually reusing these materials in one's own novels. Secondly, despite the oft-repeated criticism of chronological inconsistencies, which comes from a modern view of historical novels, Bakin does seem to maintain an overall coherence of his own. To be certain, he makes no attempt to make his characters look like actual people of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, either in their dress, their speech, their customs,

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<sup>48</sup> NKBT 60, *Kaisetsu*, p. 28.

or even in their way of thinking. But to make all the pieces hold together, he constantly relies on etymologies, no matter how hazardous they may sometimes be. Through etymology, and more broadly through philological thinking, he reconstructs the origin of things and phenomena, and gives sense and coherence to the articulation of different chronological strata. His reconstructions may not be exact from a modern historical point of view, but they do remain true to a philological mode of thinking. Finally, the textual references used in Bakin's historical novels are incredibly numerous and diverse: Chinese as well as Japanese, some belonged to an uncertain temporality, ancient or even mythological, others were from more reliable historical writings; sometimes they included popular legends or customs whose origins Edo scholars were eager to trace back, sometimes they gave detailed accounts of remote places unknown to an Edo-period readership. From all these different sources, Bakin was able to cull various anecdotes that he used to develop subplots within the historical framework determined by his chosen subject matter. But he also lifts whole passages from contemporary gazetteers or encyclopedias in order to flesh out his depictions of distant lands not covered by primary sources. Two different ways, in other words, of "filling in the blanks" of history.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>49</sup> I would like to express here my gratitude to Didier Davin for giving me the opportunity to participate in the collaborative research project that ultimately led to this publication. I am also deeply indebted to Jeffrey Knott for his editing of my English, as well as to the reviewers for their insightful comments.

Variations on *yatsushi*  
in the *ukiyo-zōshi* genre:  
Expansion of the Classical World and  
Transworld Identification<sup>1</sup>

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Translated by Jeffrey KNOTT

**Introduction**

The word *yatsushi* is a nominalization of the *ren'yōkei* 連用形 of the transitive verb *yatsusu* (a separate nominalization *yatsure* exists for the intransitive counterpart in *yatsuru*). As the dictionaries indicate, the word's original meaning is “being reduced to a ragged state.” And in early modern-period novels (*ukiyo-zōshi* 浮世草子) and theatrical works (*jōruri* 浄瑠璃, *kabuki* 歌舞伎), where we find many portrayals of the stylishly paper-suited hero, penniless from his overspending, perhaps on some courtesan (*tayū* 太夫), the performance of such a role was indeed termed *yatsushi-gei* やつし芸 (“the art of the *yatsushi* figure”). Beyond this, *yatsushi* has been seen as connected to the exiled prince narrative passed down through the course of Japanese cultural history (Takahashi Noriko 高橋則子),<sup>2</sup> or even as the expression of a world-wide, and perhaps universal, human longing for metamorphosis (Shinohara Susumu 篠原進).<sup>3</sup> Protagonists might lose their wealth through excess frequentation of the pleasure quarters, come down in the world, present a wretched appearance, and wallow in the most abject behavior, yet precisely this pathetic end was the state that literature desired. The stylish hero was always destined to turn out that way.

Credit for the first notable *yatsushi* work among *ukiyo-zōshi* must go to Nishizawa

<sup>1</sup> This paper is based on my Japanese article, “Ukiyo-zōshi ni okeru ‘yatsushi’ no hensō: koten sekai no kakujū to sekai kōsa dōtei” 浮世草子における《やつし》の変奏：古典世界の拡充と世界交差同定, *Kanazawa bijutsu kōgei daigaku kiyō* 金沢美術工芸大学紀要 62 (2018), pp. 178–165.

<sup>2</sup> See Takahashi Noriko 高橋則子, “Mitate to *yatsushi* ‘shiron’” 「見立」と「やつし」〈試論〉, in *Zusetsu mitate to yatsushi: Nihon bunka no hyōgen gibō* 図説「見立」と「やつし」：日本文化の表現技法, ed. Kokubungaku Kenkyū Shiryōkan 国文学研究資料館 (Tokyo: Yagi Shoten, 2008).

<sup>3</sup> See Shinohara Susumu 篠原進, “*Yatsushi-kō: Miyako no Nishiki no satetsu*” 〈やつし〉 玖：都の錦の蹉跎, *Ryōkō shirin* 緑岡詞林 1 (1974).

Ippū 西沢一風 (1655–1731), whose *Gozen Gikeiki* 御前義経記 (8 books (*kan* 卷) in 8 vols. (*satsu* 冊), pub. Genroku 元禄 13 (1700)) presents a Minamoto no Yoshitsune 源義経 (here named 元九郎今義 Genkurō Imayoshi) who frequents the pleasure quarters. Yet how is such a setting connected to the *yatsushi* topos? In my view, the *yatsushi* of a contemporary stylish spendthrift down on his luck, wretchedly attired and abject in his behavior, is far from the same thing as the *yatsushi* of a figure out of the classical world who, when placed into a contemporary social setting, proceeds to engage there in similar lowly behavior. It seems to me, in other words, that under the single term *yatsushi*, two things originally quite distinct have tended to become unified and confused, based on some sense that to make something contemporary is essentially equivalent to making it more vulgar. The reality, however, is that *yatsushi* encompasses a range of variations on a theme: from contemporary protagonists' ruination up to the classicization of such contemporary protagonists (or indeed the vulgarization of classical protagonists), extending even to the *yatsushi* of the story's setting itself.

Yet it remains the case that *yatsushi* has, in fact, largely been seen as a single particular expressive technique. Much in the way that the phenomenon of *mojiri* もじり (vocabulary-level parody) in *kana-zōshi* 仮名草子 and afterwards has been seen as a single expressive technique, so too has all of *yatsushi* been considered as one, though indeed as a comparably more advanced kind of expressive technique. For an illustrative example, in the recent collection of pioneering research *Zusetsu mitate to yatsushi: Nihon bunka no hyōgen gibō* 図説「見立」と「やつし」：日本文化の表現技法, published by the National Institute of Japanese Literature (Kokubungaku Kenkyū Shiryōkan 国文学研究資料館), the subtitle takes *yatsushi*, along with *mitate*, to be “expressive techniques of Japanese culture.” Regarding the *ukiyo-zōshi* genre, moreover, while the same collection does make some brief mention of Ihara Saikaku's 井原西鶴 (1642–1693) *Kōshoku ichidai otoko* 好色一代男 (8 books in 8 vols., published in Tenna 天和 2 (1682)), neither Ejima Kiseki 江島其磧 (1666–1735) nor Tada Nanrei 多田南嶺 (1698–1750) are addressed as subjects of research, to say nothing of Ippū himself. In the field of *ukiyo-zōshi* studies, of course, the problem of *yatsushi* is not one that can be avoided, but here, too, the way *yatsushi* is defined thus in advance as an “expressive technique” must invite serious doubt. Technique and methods are things that, to some extent, have set rules and procedures. It may well be the case that by the later Edo period, *yatsushi* had indeed, along with *mitate*, already become something popularized, generalized. But this was surely not true of the earlier Edo period. If one views *yatsushi* in such a delimited fashion, it becomes merely one among a number of easy, dependable methods for mass producing the commercial product that is the commercial novel, a thing no longer able to offer any possibility of uncovering therein some hidden intent, of finding therein something of the dynamism proper to literature. Earlier Edo was the period rather when *yatsushi* was itself discovered and created.

And after all, though from the very beginning of *ukiyo-zōshi* studies *yatsushi* has

always been a topic of research interest, in my view at least, it has certainly never been considered the sort of method whose nature is self-evident.

Taking them as three works representative of *yatsushi* in the *ukiyo-zōshi* genre, this article will examine and compare Nishizawa Ippū's *Gozen Gikeiki*, Ejima Kiseki's *Tsūzoku shomake toko gundan* 通俗諸分床軍談 (5 books in 5 vols., published in Shōtoku 正徳 3 (1713)), and Tada Nanrei's *Keisei Taibeiki* 契情太平記 (5 books in 5 vols., published in Kyōhō 寛保 4 (1744)). Through these three works, it will be shown how in the early Edo period the *yatsushi* idea in particular took shape and gradually developed variations, though the same development might also be seen as representing the evolution of the novel itself.

### 1. Hasegawa Tsuyoshi's Understanding of *yatsushi* and *ukiyo-zōshi*

As with any other aspect of *ukiyo-zōshi* studies, so too in the case of *yatsushi*, it is impossible to leave out of the discussion the work of Hasegawa Tsuyoshi 長谷川強. In his article “Ukiyo-zōshi to yatsushi” 浮世草子とやつし, Hasegawa begins by stating, on the topic of Saikaku's modelling *Kōshoku ichidai otoko* after the *Tale of Genji*, that: “For bringing the air of the classics, their narrative world into the realm of *haikai* 俳諧, there existed the method, or sensibility, known as *yatsushi*.” (I want to underline the care Hasegawa takes here to qualify *yatsushi* as *hōbō naishi ishiki* 方法乃至意識. It is clear that he sees *yatsushi* as being not merely a method (*hōbō*), but also a sensibility (*ishiki*), a way of perceiving). He continues:

Yet on Saikaku's part, the glory of the sheer technical accomplishment was not his chief reason for producing a *yatsushi* version of the *Genji*, and in fact he limits himself to expectant hints that invite the reader's own astuteness. Indeed, if Saikaku harbored any contemporary interest, above and beyond *yatsushi* it was directed rather towards the skewering of his contemporaries. Ever since *kana-zōshi* there had existed word-play-level *mojiri* of the classics, but likely it took the foundation of a content-level contemporization and vulgarization of the classics—a transformation from *mojiri* into the mode of *yatsushi*—for *kana-zōshi* as a genre to effect its own transformation into *ukiyo-zōshi*. Certainly, even earlier there had been adaptations of the classics by Asai Ryōi 浅井了意 [d. 1691], but works like his *Otogi bōko* 伽婢子 remain in part unable yet to shake off a consciousness of the traditionally literary, of the *waka*-like. It was an era, after all, when traditional literature continued to be the only model available to writers for their literary endeavors—or at least, the only model they had for producing works the era might recognize as possessing any merit. The purpose for Saikaku, so it seems to me, of producing a *yatsushi* of the *Tale of Genji*, lay in helping his work to achieve its own form as literature—in using the *Genji* as the finest of tools through which he might create a new kind of literature.<sup>4</sup>

In the excerpted article, Hasegawa first takes time to demonstrate how Saikaku used not only the *Tale of Genji* and the *Tales of Ise* but also collections of China-

<sup>4</sup> Hasegawa Tsuyoshi 長谷川強, “Ukiyo-zōshi to yatsushi” 浮世草子とやつし, as contained in the same author's *Ukiyo-zōshi shinkō* 浮世草子新考 (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 1991; originally 1971), p. 89.

themed tales (in the given example the *Shin Goen* 新語園) for his works of adaptation, in order to create various unique and uncanny stories. He then argues, as seen above, that the goal of such adaptations (of *yatsushi*, essentially) was not the ostentatious display of any technical prowess, but was motivated rather by Saikaku's desire to describe his own "floating world" (*ukiyo* 浮世)—to write *ukiyo-zōshi*. The original sources, moreover, that lay behind these adaptations were not indicated openly, but depended on the reader's own astuteness to be noticed. In contrast to this, his appraisal of the sort of *yatsushi* that "reflected the shadow [i.e. of the original classic]" (*omokage wo utsusu* 面影をうつす)—the mode that takes off with Nishizawa Ippū's *Gozen Gikeiki*—is a severe one, as can be seen below:

As a whole the *ukiyo-zōshi* genre, regrettably deceived by Saikaku's example, imitated above all his use of the remarkable and the uncanny—in Saikaku's own works but one aspect among others—thereby losing the energy needed to clear paths for novel developments within the world of actual reality; and when at length it faced the danger of its own dissolution, the genre, being aware that Saikaku too had in some sense made *yatsushi* versions of the classics, turned once again to a borrowing of the classics, as a method to ensure some degree of integrity for individual texts as unified works of literature. In contrast to Saikaku, however, instead of a *yatsushi* of the original shadow that would await the reader's own astuteness, their attitude became one rather of deliberately pushing *yatsushi* out to the surface. Their goal being above all to depict the sentiments and customs of the contemporary, such *yatsushi* was merely a sort of frame used to give their works the proper shape. In other words, leaving behind its original supplementary role, *yatsushi* came to be in fact a work's governing feature. On the one hand, this was done in order to gain a greater number of readers for the genre, by lowering its level to meet the decline that accompanied expansion of the reading population, by aligning itself with the style of the theatre world mentioned above; yet for *ukiyo-zōshi* this came at the price of abandoning any stance of facing the reality of the world head-on. In the straitjacket of *yatsushi*, the psychology and actions of characters became unnatural, or even unrealistic. Nonetheless, to the extent that they followed *yatsushi*, however merely conceptual in nature it became, it remained despite all this still in connection with the "floating world." And more than that, through its connection with the world of the theatre, it remained capable still of capturing the interest of readers in their modern-day focus. Falsified as it might be, the "floating world" was yet retained. By pushing *yatsushi* out to the surface, the genre had gained a framework for producing works which, while reliably connected to that "floating world," were conveniently also ensured the bare minimum of integrity they would need as works of literature.<sup>5</sup>

In contrast to Saikaku, for whom *yatsushi* had been a way to depict contemporary sentiments and customs—in other words, the "floating world"—for Ippū, *yatsushi* itself had become the guiding principle. This led to the psychology and actions of the depicted characters becoming wholly forced, while leaving the world of their setting something threadbare, unnatural, and unrealistic. For all

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 95.



that, this falsified version of the “floating world” was nonetheless received by readers with welcome—such is Hasegawa’s argument about the essence of the *ukiyo-zōshi* genre. As can be seen, in its development the argument of Hasegawa is quite complex, also abstract, and indeed attractive. Yet the view the argument presents is one that mostly failed to win the support of other researchers after Hasegawa. Moreover, in the reception of Hasegawa’s *ukiyo-zōshi* research as a whole, its textualist, empiricist character has been emphasized almost exclusively, despite the fact that Hasegawa himself, even in the midst of determining various textual sources, sought always—as above—to discover the *ukiyo-zōshi*’s essence, and only with this goal in mind delved into problems of determining sources and materials. Or in other words, today’s research, too, has seen the supplementary usurp the governing place, and finds itself given wholly to empiricist, indeed even to literalist investigation of antecedent literary sources.

But let us set aside the topic of research itself. When Hasegawa speaks here of the supplementary taking the governing role, or of the price paid in “abandoning any stance of facing the reality of the world head-on,” so that “[i]n the strait-jacket of *yatsushi*, the psychology and actions of characters became unnatural, or even unrealistic”—even beyond *yatsushi*, does this not have the ring of a familiar argument? This is, of course, the example of *katagi*. What *katagi* came to designate is an amalgamated concept. It combined the Japanese word *katagi* 型木—literally “a shaped block of wood,” but figuratively the stereotyped stock personality expected of various classes and professions—with the Sinitic word 氣質 (read *kishitsu*, but commonly used to write *katagi*), referring to, in Zhu Xi’s 朱熹 philosophy, the unique individual’s typical character—as contrasted with the reasoning faculty essential and common to all humanity. Featuring centrally in a body of *ukiyo-zōshi* works also thereby known as *katagi-mono* 氣質物, the concept became an important literary motif. In the history of the *ukiyo-zōshi* genre, while *katagi* derived from discovery of characters’ inner aspects and personality, as well as from description of their outer aspects and appearance, its expression lacked realism, and through exaggeration, became a method for creating figures of comedy extreme in their eccentricity. As a result, *ukiyo-zōshi* has been criticized for becoming a form incapable of depicting reality as it is.

And those who have sought a reappraisal of *katagi-mono* pieces—including myself—have tended to focus not on the issue of realistic depiction of reality, but rather on the category’s formalist character (e.g., my own work arguing that *katagi-mono* should be seen as stories about idiocy,<sup>6</sup> or Saeki Takahiro’s 佐伯孝弘 work arguing for their comedic nature<sup>7</sup>).

<sup>6</sup> See Takahashi Akihiko 高橋明彦, “Gunin-tan wo meguru shōsetsu no keifu: katagi-mono no yōshiki to hōhō” 愚人譚をめぐる小説の系譜：氣質物の様式と方法, *Nihon bungaku* 日本文学 8 (1989), pp. 10–21.

<sup>7</sup> See Saeki Takahiro 佐伯孝弘, “Kiseki katagi-mono to hanashi-bon” 其蹟氣質物と噺本, in *Ejima Kiseki to katagi-mono* 江島其蹟と氣質物 (Tokyo: Wakakusa Shobō, 2004; originally 1996).

Here, however, *katagi* is not our concern. Let us return to discussion of *yatsushi*. After the above excerpt, Hasegawa continues with discussion of Kiseki's *Tsūzoku showake toko gundan*, about which work he has the following to say:

Compared to the works of Ippū, the first thing to note is how [in Kiseki] the *yatsushi* is more refined and thorough-going. While in its reliance on the sourced original, a *yatsushi* can on the one hand be accomplished with a certain degree of ease, on the other, if only to cover its own forced unnaturalness, it also requires some refinement of technique. Indeed, because as mentioned above, the contemporary as encountered in *yatsushi* made do with a conventionalized “floating world,” its execution ended up relying more on technique than on anything else.<sup>8</sup>

Elsewhere, Hasegawa also says of it: “In the tradition of *yatsushi*-style works that starts with Ippū, this work can be called the most technically proficient.”<sup>9</sup> In particular, comparing it to earlier works whose *yatsushi* characters had been men of the softer, more sensual type closely resembling their sources—such as Uki Yonosuke 浮世之介 for Hikaru Genji 光源氏, or Genkurō Imayoshi for Minamoto no Yoshitsune—he notes that Kiseki's work stands out for the remarkable gap with its sources, for example in its *yatsushi* transformation of the slaughter between the armies of Han 漢 and Chu 楚 on the battlefields of Ancient China into, of all things, a dispute between characters on the topic of how best to proposition prostitutes. As he notes: “The sheer scale of the gap, when the *yatsushi* succeeds, contributes to the scale of its effectiveness. And on this point the work is one that delivers success.”<sup>10</sup> Thus, if indeed with the qualification that he speaks here to the work's technical execution, Hasegawa bestows upon *Tsūzoku showake toko gundan* the highest degree of praise. On the same work his study *Ukiyo-zōshi no kenkyū* 浮世草子の研究 is also very instructive, covering not only the contents of its *yatsushi* in concrete detail, but also going into questions of plagiarism from works by Saikaku, providing overall a great wealth of information.<sup>11</sup>

By contrast, in the case of Tada Nanrei's *Keisei Taiheiki*, Hasegawa surprisingly gives the work, without much ado, a thoroughly low appraisal. In the same study he limits himself to the remarks: “The work is a *yatsushi* recasting of the *Taiheiki* 太平記 into a battle for supremacy over the Shinmachi 新町 pleasure quarters between Fujiya Izaemon 藤屋伊左衛門 and Yorozuya Sukeroku 万屋助六, each of whom controls the half. A poor specimen with no evidence of Nanrei's personal touch. The year was a low one for him.”<sup>12</sup> As argued below, in my view Nanrei's *Keisei Taiheiki* is the only *yatsushi* work in Nanrei's oeuvre, and forms together with

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 97.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> See Hasegawa Tsuyoshi 長谷川強, *Ukiyo-zōshi no kenkyū: Hachimonjya-bon no chūshin to suru* 浮世草子の研究：八文字屋本を中心とする (Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1969), from p. 334.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 508.

*Tsūzoku showake toko gundan* a pair of twin towering masterpieces of the *yatsushi* genre. Before that, however, a short detour.

## 2. Expansion of the Classical World

If *yatsushi* is defined as nothing but a mere method, there is no hope for further advances to be made in the reading of *ukiyo-zōshi*. And if, indeed, the genre of *ukiyo-zōshi* is nothing but a species of commercial novel to be merely mass-produced and consumed, then *yatsushi* should, in fact, be seen as nothing more than mere method, serviceable and easy-to-use. I myself, however, think that the *ukiyo-zōshi* was something more than that. In the reading that I want to propose, it was the sense of a world—the “floating world” or *ukiyo*—and represented in a certain way the author’s deliberate act of participation in this world (the *ukiyo*). This is my own view of the *ukiyo-zōshi*’s essence as a genre. It is moreover a view that prompts a question: why, in such a case, is it that in *ukiyo-zōshi*—literally “stories of the (contemporary) floating world”—the chosen subject is so often *jidai-mono* 時代物, or stories set in the past? Any answer that sees in this the influence of the *jidai-mono* of *jōruri* or *kabuki* is to be rejected. It has the causal relationship backwards, being equivalent to a restatement of the question that yet remains: why would *ukiyo-zōshi* be influenced by the *jidai-mono* of *jōruri* or *kabuki*? After all, given that originally the goal of *ukiyo-zōshi* was to depict the “floating world” (the pleasure quarters and the like) of the present, a repertoire limited to love-stories and tales of townspeople should have been more appropriate. Maybe it was the case that, compared to early *yomibon* 読本, *ukiyo-zōshi* works of the *jidai-mono* group were—to cite the formulation of Tsuga Teishō 都賀庭鐘 (b. 1718) in his preface to *Hanabusa-zōshi* 英草紙—merely “tales of *kabuki* theatre” (*kabuki no sōshi* 歌舞伎の草紙) and of very little value, depicting only the *ukiyo* (that is, contemporary society) and having in fact nothing to say about the past or about history.<sup>13</sup> And perhaps that is indeed the case. Yet I persist in thinking that among *ukiyo-zōshi* works the *jidai-mono*, too, represent a form of participation, in the past and in history, and in point of fact such an understanding is not unexampled in previous research on *ukiyo-zōshi*.

About Nishizawa Ippū’s work *Gozen Gikeiki*, for example, already from Yamaguchi Takeshi 山口剛 one finds statements like the following:

The special characteristic of the *Gozen Gikeiki*, is that it incorporated in an unsystematic fashion all the various old and new trends swirling about contemporary works in the genre of love-stories. It is not a work in which a strict sense of integrated unity is necessarily a chief concern. One might even say that it put to paper, as-is, the most short-term changes on the stage of Genroku-era *kyōgen* theatre.

<sup>13</sup> *Hanabusa-zōshi* 英草紙, in *Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 日本古典文学全集 48, ed. Nakamura Yukihiko 中村幸彦 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1973), p. 74.

In the case of *Ichidai otoko*, that work reflects the shadow of the *Tale of Genji*, while also adding in the shadows of the *Tales of Ise* and the Noh theatre. Nonetheless it adopts an attitude of, in a sense, keeping these shadows on the edge of perception, that the reader who knows the original text may recognize them, while the reader who does not may yet remain at the level of the surface text. And if there be occasional direct reference to those original texts, with a nonchalant air, these are tossed off and let drop without much ado. With the *Gozen Gikeiki*, however, not only does it start by directly advertising the *Gikeiki* 義経記 as its source-text, it takes pains to specify of each and every such passage that it “reflects the shadow of so-and-such.” For example, regarding Imayoshi’s childhood guardian preceptor, in the table of contents itself he is noted as being “the reflected shadow of the monk Tōkōbō 東光坊.” Nor is this limited to the *Gikeiki*: drawing additionally on Yoshitsune-themed Noh pieces, one also finds remarks such as “the reflected shadow of *Benkei at the Bridge* (*Hashi Benkei* 橋弁慶)” or “the reflected shadow of *Benkei in the Boat* (*Funa Benkei* 舟弁慶).” Such an approach, of course, leaves no possibility for the sort of subtlety of relationship with the original text that we see in a work like *Ichidai otoko*. On the contrary, there is a constant forcing of the story [to fit the original].

Even the adventures of Imayoshi and Isenojō 伊勢之丞 on their amorous sojourns are not necessarily of such a nature as to allow the reader some insight into the characteristics of various provinces’ pleasure quarters. At the most it amounts to a degree of variety added to scenes of sensual intercourse.<sup>14</sup>

There is a sense in which this analysis by Yamaguchi already anticipates the argument of Hasegawa as seen above. In addition, in Fujii Otoo’s 藤井乙男 work *Ukiyo-zōshi meisakushū* 浮世草子名作集 (1937), too, we already find this being argued in detail, but first let us reference his accessible synopsis, which runs as follows:

The protagonist Genkurō Imayoshi, resembling that of *Ukiyo Ichidai otoko* 浮世一代男, is born the heir of Tachibanaya Mitsuuji Gonnosuke Yoshikata 橋屋三津氏権之助義方, his mother being one Tokiwa 常盤, in the past a courtesan at the Ichimonjiya 一文字屋 brothel within the Shimabara 島原 pleasure quarters. However, in the autumn of his third year, a dispute arises between his father Yoshikata and one Namura Hachirōji 名村八郎次 over a gold mine in Tamba 丹波 Province, which his father loses, killing himself in grief. His mother Tokiwa, meanwhile, shunning the unwanted affections of the same Namura Hachirōji, flees with Imayoshi’s sister to hide near a place called Sumizome 墨染 in the village of Fushimi 伏見, entrusting Imayoshi himself to a wet-nurse. In the summer of Imayoshi’s fifth year, this wet-nurse in turn contracts a fever and dies. Now an orphan, Imayoshi, relying on the pity of people in the country, takes up residence at Aomezaka 青目坂 in the foothills of Mt. Kurama 鞍馬, making a living there by cutting firewood and selling people flowers. Then at length he arrives at the spring of his fourteenth year. This is the point at which the action of the story begins.

It goes without saying that Genkurō Imayoshi—Kurōjirō 九郎次郎 after coming of age—is a *mojiri* of the name Gen Kurō Yoshitsune 源九郎義経, with

<sup>14</sup> Yamaguchi Takeshi 山口剛, *Kinsei shōsetsu* 近世小説 (Tokyo: Sōgensha, 1931), vol. 1, p. 142.

the naming “Imayoshi” signifying a reflection that transfers *Yoshitsune*’s shadow into the present day (*ima* 今). The question of why Yoshitsune and the various legends surrounding him were put into *yatsusubi* in precisely this fashion is one I will consider later separately. Yet in the manner of the rewriting, making Sama no Kami Minamoto no Yoshitomo 左馬頭源義朝 into Tachibanaya Mitsuiji Gonnosuke Yoshikata, making Tokiwa Gozen 常磐御前 into the courtesan Tokiwa of the Shimabara, making Hei Shōkoku Nyūdō Kiyomori 平相国入道清盛 into Namura Hachirōji Nyūdō Hōzen 入道法善, and making the root of the tragedy, the Heiji Disturbance (*Heiji no ran* 平治の乱), into instead a public dispute over a gold mine in Tanba—in all of these, the tale’s readers no doubt immediately perceived the clear popularizing trend characteristic of the arts in the early modern period.<sup>15</sup>

Moreover, regarding *yatsusubi*, which is to say the vulgarization of the classical, Fujii has the following to say:

In the same way that the characters of Chikamatsu’s 近松 *jidai-mono* all belong in language and custom to the Genroku period, in the field of novels, too, a vulgarization of the classics was being carried out. The chief motivation for this was no doubt a popularization and simplification for the sake of the masses, but it also strikes one as the expression of an age full of life, much like the Genroku era itself, when no one could be bothered to pay heed to the finer points of historical accuracy. With works like Nishizawa Ippū’s *Gozen Gikeiki* and *Kankatsu Soga monogatari* 寛潤曾我物語 regrettably setting the standard, there then came *Fūryū jindai no maki* 風流神代卷 and *Fūryū Genji monogatari* 風流源氏物語 by Miyako no Nishiki 都の錦, and in the wake of these two, many others followed.<sup>16</sup>

In other words, pointing out first the lack in *yatsusubi* works of anything like attention to historical accuracy, Fujii sees such an approach to writing as the expression of a lively contemporary spirit that had little time for technicalities. This was the pursuit of a basically haphazard sensibility, one focused only on the changes of the short term, and one which, indeed, he views as a “bad precedent.” Yet his is not the sort of argument to limit itself to appraisal at such a low level. Regarding the essence of the *ukiyo-zōshi* genre, Fujii offers characterizations such as the liberation of human nature, the destruction of tradition, the privileging of the present, and in moreover assigning the significance of *yatsusubi*’s own role to its expansion of the classical world—classicism, romanticism—he is unsparing in his praise for the potential of *Gozen Gikeiki* in this direction, as can be seen in the following:

Nonetheless, one is not to understand the success of this work as something stemming purely from Ippū’s own short-term-focused haphazard sensibility alone. If that is all that it were, the work would never have been able to secure such a massive response, nor been able to found on its own something like a lineage within the *ukiyo-zōshi* genre that might be termed *fūryū-zōshi* 風流草子. At the very least it must be granted that, to say nothing of contemporary novel-circles,

<sup>15</sup> Fujii Otoo 藤井乙男, *Ukiyo-zōshi meisakushū* 浮世草子名作集 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1937), p. 23.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

there existed more broadly also in society at large a certain something that lent it support, and greeted it with welcome. This certain something, in turn, was none other than the classicism and romanticism that, in this age, had permeated deeply into society at all levels. Most likely what constituted the keynote for our country's period of early modern artistic revival was the empirical, quantitative spirit of the townspeople. Yet the primary manifestation of this showed itself in the free liberation of human nature, in the destruction of tradition, and in the privileging of the present. Vivid reflection of this can be seen, for example, in the Danrin 談林 School of *haikai* 俳諧, in the novels of Saikaku, and in the *ukiyo-e* paintings of Moronobu 師宣—here for the first time was there an establishment of realism in the arts. The secondary manifestation of this showed itself, in turn, in classicism and romanticism. That said, what these signified was by no means a mere rebirth and resurrection of the classics. Rather it was a way of conduct that—all while rooting itself in what was, after all, ultimately a quantitative and intensely empirical spirit of practicality—sought the expansion of its own world into the world of the classics. The way in which Bashō's 芭蕉 *haikai* poetry made an ideal of *sabi*, *shiori*, and *hosomi*, appearing on the surface almost to constitute a step backwards from the Danrin *haikai* to something more medieval, derives precisely from this foundation.

... As for *yatsushi* of the classical, such examples can be found already with *kana-zōshi* works of the *gi-monogatari* 擬物語 type, and in works by Saikaku such as *Ichidai otoko*. In the case of the *gi-monogatari kana-zōshi*, however, a work tried to maintain the interest of the reader though *mojiri* of the classical text, and beyond that, in fact concealed an intent to teach, to be practically useful. Also, too, with Saikaku's *Ichidai otoko*, the core of the work's interest was not necessarily laid on its *yatsushi* of the *Tale of Genji*. Finally with this *Gozen Gikeiki*, for the first time, a work had succeeded at an expansion of townspeople's own world within the *yatsushi* of the classical. Even if, moreover, Ippū's borrowing and use of this as a method from *jōruri* and *kabuki* had arisen purely from coincidence alone, one must admit that he proved able to grasp nimbly the trends of classicism and romanticism that at least in one corner of novel-circles were already at work.<sup>17</sup>

Fujii, remarking that his work “had succeeded at an expansion of townspeople's own world within the *yatsushi* of the classical,” and again that he “proved able to grasp nimbly the trends of classicism and romanticism,” awards here to the *yatsushi* of Ippū his highest praise. Notwithstanding, it would be difficult to claim that Fujii managed to say much concretely about the work's actual content. Does his failure to speak concretely therefore imply, however, that his praise itself is merely superficial? And more fundamentally, are the Genroku-era (1688–1704) “classicism and romanticism” he mentions here nothing but examples of his outmoded modernist anthropology? No. To me, in fact, Fujii Otoo's argumentation here seems worthy rather of being commended as an insight simply brimming with potential. As for the portion of his argument making mention of Bashō, I lack myself the capacity to judge it on the merits. Yet when set alongside Inui Hiroyuki 乾裕幸, as quoted below—from his *Kotoba no uchi naru Bashō: aruiwa*

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., pp. 20–30.

*Bashō no gengo to haikaisei* ことばの内なる芭蕉：あるいは芭蕉の言語と俳諧性— on the issue of Bashō’s own way of approaching the classical world, compared to Fujii’s theories those of Inui seem, if only in the consciously concrete detail the latter scholar employs, much closer to some kind of method. And method, as I mentioned already above, is a state where rules and procedures are to some extent already defined. Such a situation, to be concrete about the given case, would imply that, first of all, the nature of the classical world being aimed at was in fact something already grasped, and with the proper manner of handling it being thus well-understood, all that remained was to simply carry this out. In contrast to this, however inadvertently, Bashō as Fujii envisions him comes across as one trying to enter into the classical world without knowing beforehand the way back out. Against this, Bashō in Inui’s view is as one who, faced with the classical world, knows himself what to do precisely.

But first let us look at Inui’s theory in his own words. Here he considers one of Bashō’s famous *bokkeu* 発句, contained in his *Sarashina kikō* 更科紀行 (1 vol., written in Genroku 1 (1688)):

身にしみて大根からし秋の風

*mi ni shimite daikon karashi aki no kaze*

It stings a body deep, the radish’s own sharp bite, the winds in autumn.<sup>18</sup>

What follows is a passage where, choosing Bashō’s everyday *kotoba* (words, language) as used in this verse for his example, Inui discusses the nature of the effect they work against the classical context of traditional *waka*, their quality of “fluid permanence” (*fueki ryūkō* 不易流行):

When in *waka* literature the expressions *aki no kaze* 秋の風 (“autumn winds”) and *mi ni shimu* 身にしむ (“stings a body deep”) first made their appearances in poetic contexts such as “love” or “travel,” probably enough it did produce a certain fresh surprise. This, however, over the course of a history of extreme overuse, as evidenced eloquently by the presence of the countless variations thereof in the Eight or the Twenty-One Imperial Anthologies, was at length utterly effaced, reduced ultimately to a state of “degree zero.” Such is the accumulation—the history—of language that existed before Bashō. No doubt the paradoxical success had by *haikai* poetry of the Danrin School, in using their scrambling and swapping between different strata of language to recapture that original surprise, provided Bashō with powerful hints for his own linguistic revolution.

The plebian dimension of the expression *daikon karashi* 大根からし (“the radish’s own sharp bite”) neatly helps revive the surprise of *aki no kaze* and *mi ni shimu*. The very method of effecting revival, moreover, needed to be itself another surprise. And the surprise was none other than this: the ability of *haikai* to establish axioms even out of absurdities.

It was, in a word, a duet of surprise, a duet to which we can put the name

<sup>18</sup> *Sarashina kikō* 更科紀行, in *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 日本古典文学大系 46, eds. Sugiura Seiichi 杉浦正一 and Miyamoto Saburō 宮本三郎 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1959), p. 68.

“fluid permanence” (*fueki ryūkō*). Standing in the fluid linguistic field of everyday language, catching the words that spoil and erode as soon as they get discarded, the endeavor to root these words into a more permanent linguistic space on the one hand, and on the other hand the endeavor to hurl the half-dead language of classical literature into the vibrant language-field of reality—and through that passage to thereby quicken it—these are the dual endeavors of making poetry *haikai*, and it seems not incorrect to see the unification of this fluidification and this permanentization as the fundamental origin of the “fluid permanence” ideal.<sup>19</sup>

By methodization is meant, a situation in which the object of action is something already completely grasped and understood. And indeed, it is not impossible that Bashō was, in fact, already in possession of such an understanding. Wanting to bring innovation to the tired linguistic world of the classics, he may have engaged with the classical world from a posture of extreme self-awareness.

But of course Ippū’s case is different. Ippū, diving headlong into a classical world he only presumed to understand, only ended up finding himself lost in, and struggling with, that classical world. Yet even this struggle can be seen as itself a kind of literary act. Forced as each step might be judged in retrospect, to knead the sinews of a work one by one into a connected whole, is clearly a literary act.

It is true that Ippū’s method, in a trend criticized ever since Yamaguchi Takeshi, was one that indicated clearly its “reflection of the shadow” of the classical world being treated. And as a method it may well be both blunt and artless. But it was still a method of Ippū’s own making. Like with the egg of Columbus, criticism after-the-fact that anyone else could have done it the same way—if they had only tried—is mistaken. And after all, commercially-published commercial literature that it was, repetition of doing the same thing, in the same way, was for a genre like *ukiyo-zōshi* only the time-honored stance. In which case, the question is rather how Kiseki and Nanrei in their own turn chose to handle such a mode of *yatsushi*—but for the present, our detour continues.

### 3. On Transworld Identification

The term “transworld identification” refers to the disputed possibility, given the multiple potential versions of a certain thing that might well exist across various worlds, of discovering, between those fundamentally different versions, some form of identity. In this formulation the word “world” refers to any world that could possibly exist. This “possible world,” moreover, is meant in the sense of a world differing from the world that exists in actuality, as in for example a world—the concept is one already familiar from science fiction—where Nazi Germany was the victor in World War II, or a world in which Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534–1582) had not been killed in the incident at Honnō-ji 本能寺 temple. The core of the dispute around “transworld identification,” in other

<sup>19</sup> Inui Hiroyuki 乾裕幸, *Kotoba no uchi naru Bashō: aruina Bashō no gengo to haikaisei* ことばの内なる芭蕉：あるいは芭蕉の言語と俳諧性 (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1981), pp. 28–29.



words, lies in this: given one Nobunaga who was killed in the Honnō-ji incident and another Nobunaga who never experienced the Honnō-ji incident and instead lived a long life, whether these two Nobunagas are the same person or different people. For the sake of argument, let us consider that if, as a result of Nobunaga's death at Honnō-ji, Hashiba Hideyoshi 羽柴秀吉 (1537–1598) was the one to become supreme hegemon, then in the case of Nobunaga not dying, it would have been Nobunaga himself who went on to become hegemon—let us assume that there exists a world where such is in fact the case. Comparing the world where the hegemon is Hideyoshi with the world where the hegemon is Nobunaga, though both worlds each have their own hegemon, usually, in such a case, Hegemon Hideyoshi of World A and Hegemon Nobunaga of World B would still be considered different people.

Yet undoubtedly there also existed the possibility of Hideyoshi living out his entire life as a peasant in the Province of Owari 尾張. In which case the question arises: given World A in which Hideyoshi becomes hegemon, and World C in which he lives out his life as a peasant, are the two Hideyoshis in fact both the same person Hideyoshi? It stands to reason, of course, that in the case of the peasant Hideyoshi of World C, he would probably neither possess the surname Hashiba, nor indeed even have the name Hideyoshi. Yet would that make him a different person? It is a question about which one cannot avoid being made to feel ill-at-ease when pressed to judge definitively.

Let us consider, then, another slightly clearer (or at least more clearer-seeming) example. Let us say that there exists a university student, Adam, studying at Alpha University. Adam is enrolled at Alpha University, but conceivably, he might also have enrolled at Beta University. And had he in fact chosen to enroll at Beta University, undoubtedly his university life there would be different from his current life in a number of respects. Yet however undoubtedly different, surely it seems right to say that Adam of Alpha University and Adam of Beta University would both still be Adam, one and the same person. We might even set things further in the past: Adam moved to Tokyo while still a student in elementary school, but he might also have not moved, and remained thus instead back in Alpha Prefecture. The Adam who remained back in Alpha Prefecture, and the Adam who ended up moving to Tokyo, would of course be living very different lives, yet would one not still in general consider that the two were nonetheless both Adam, nonetheless both one and the same? Let us set things back yet further still. Adam's father is a certain Bob and his mother, one Carol. Yet what if, in a different world, Adam's parents were instead the neighbors, Doug and Elizabeth? What if we said that Adam's parents were actually the neighboring couple, or rather, that Adam was the child of the family next door? At this point, would there not be some who objected, declaring this an impossibility? Adam was born as such, they might say, because he inherited the DNA of his parents Bob and Carol, and could not possibly have been born from Doug and Elizabeth. Of if he had been born from Doug and Elizabeth, surely he would have been born as David, a

completely different child! This is the same, in other words, as saying that, though they might become the same one hegemon, Hideyoshi the hegemon and Nobunaga the hegemon would still be the same different people.

Regarding this question of “transworld identity,” the one who both raised the problem and thoroughly investigated it was the philosopher S. A. Kripke.<sup>20</sup>

There exists a certain theory that what makes “transworld identification” possible is, generally, the fact of proper names. This is the idea that, in other words, what proves the Hideyoshi who spent his whole life as a peasant to be the same as the Hideyoshi who became Chancellor of State, what proves the Adam born to this family to be the same as the Adam born to the family next door, is their respective proper names. Criticizing this theory, Kripke also criticized the way of thinking about proper names that underlies it, arguing that “proper names cannot be reduced to a set of definitive predicates.” By “definitive predicates” is meant a set of predicates whose common subject is by definition unique. For example, “was born in the Province of Owari,” “was a vassal of Nobunaga,” “killed Akechi Mitsuhide 明智光秀 (1528–1582) at the Battle of Yamazaki 山崎,” “became Chancellor of State,” etc., constitute just such a set of definite predicates, one whose common subject can accordingly be reasonably determined to be Hideyoshi, and no other person.

These theories of classical linguistic philosophy and logic that Kripke was criticizing were, to be specific, those of Russell and Frege. Whereas Russell and Frege had understood proper names as equivalent to sets of definite predicates, Kripke, by introducing the idea of the possible world, rejected this earlier theory. In other words, the Hideyoshi of another possible world spent his whole life as a peasant, and neither became Nobunaga’s vassal nor ever became Chancellor of State. The proper name Hideyoshi, therefore, cannot be reduced to any particular set of definite predicates—this in its essence is Kripke’s claim.

If we simply accept Kripke’s argument in this form, however, then all predicates are always of indeterminate truth, or to put it more strongly, it seems to become impossible to determine anything at all. Yet such a skepticism of predication—the idea that no predicate can ever definitively *mean* anything—was not what Kripke intended. Rather, he opened the way to a more soundly-reasoned modal logic, that is, to a discipline of logic (the theory of determining truth) built on a more soundly-reasoned grasp of the modal conceptions (coincidence, necessity, possibility, impossibility). This is why he himself declared that arguments about whether in transworld comparison a given person is the same or is different are in and of themselves pure nonsense, that the very question was, indeed, a pseudo-problem.

No doubt it was smart of him to take such an attitude. Nonetheless, I think one might also judge it an attitude too smart by half.

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<sup>20</sup> The argument is made in S. A. Kripke, *Naming and Necessity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972).

When one considers the problem of literature in which particular (historical) individuals appear as characters, and—all the more so—when one considers the problem of freedom, philosophically and ethically, it seems to me that the issue is one that cannot be simply dismissed as a mere pseudo-problem.

Among others, the issue was tackled by Kuki Shūzō 九鬼周造 (1888–1941), in his *Gūzensei no mondai* 偶然性の問題, where he examines problems of freedom and coincidence.<sup>21</sup> The attitude taken there by Kuki is very much worth pondering. In one of the examples he takes up in the course of that volume, we find the statement “Suppose I were an Indian . . .” When I first came across this phrasing, I experienced an extremely strong feeling of incongruity, or perhaps a clear sense of a logical error. Supposing I were in fact an Indian (i.e. someone born in India, or at least to Indian parents), then obviously, I thought, one could definitively say that I would no longer be who I am! The reasoning is the same as concluding that, were I the son of the neighbors, then what I was would no longer be me.

But this is not what Kuki was trying to say. The given phrase is simply Kuki’s way of saying, in an abbreviated manner, that there exists the possibility of even myself being born, and living out my life as, an Indian. From a transworld perspective, the Japanese me and the Indian me can be one and the same. Or conversely, there exists the possibility of me myself being an Indian (by this is meant in no way the sense of me at some point nationalizing to become a citizen of the country India). The idea that there exists the possibility of an Indian me entirely different both in substance and appearance from the present me, is essentially to say that there exists the possibility of a me different from the present me in substance, in appearance, in name, in social position. If this be denied, then conversely it would imply that for me there is no longer any other possibility but the present one.

Between accepting on the one hand that there exists the possibility of me being born an Indian, or anything else at all, a cow even, and on the other hand that I might have gone to either Alpha University or to Beta University, or indeed that I possess freedom—between these two there is in fact no essential difference. What Kuki is trying to say is essentially this. If, like Kripke, we take the problem of transworld identity between such possibilities to be a meaningless one, then the concept itself of the possible world can no longer serve as a logical tool for recognizing the freedom of a different state of affairs to have potentially existed. In Kripke’s case—that of modal logic—it was no doubt sufficient to take up in argument the problems of truth with respect to the modal concepts (coincidence, necessity, possibility, impossibility), whereas the problem of freedom was simply not a matter of concern. From the outset, the world he aimed for was simply a different one.

The problem is that our issue of concern here—*yatsushi*—presupposes both the concept of the possible world and that of “transworld identification.” What

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<sup>21</sup> For further detail on the following, see Kuki Shūzō 九鬼周造, *Gūzensei no mondai* 偶然性の問題 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1935), p. 260; later collected in *Kuki Shūzō zenshū* 九鬼周造全集, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2011), p. 205.

this means is that there exists the possibility of a world in which Minamoto no Yoshitsune buys the favors of a courtesan—or more precisely put, both the world in which Minamoto no Yoshitsune buys the favors of a courtesan, as well as the world in which he never does so, can be said to simultaneously, potentially exist.

There exist worlds in which Minamoto no Yoshitsune, or indeed the Great Ancestor of the Han Dynasty Liu Bang 劉邦 (256–195 BC), led very different lives from those described as historical fact. And even in those so very different worlds, they nonetheless both lived out their lives being always the same Minamoto no Yoshitsune or Great Ancestor Liu Bang. Another way of putting it is that there exists a possible world in which even the human who in the here and now lives as me, might himself be living his life out as Minamoto no Yoshitsune. Likewise with the present world and the classical world: one might well describe the nature of the relationship obtaining between them as, from their respective standpoints, that of precisely such mutually alternative possible worlds.

If we interpret such “worlds” to be nothing but mere methods for mass-producing commercial novels for consumption, then what is the study of literature itself but a toy puzzle, a marketing analysis with pre-set conclusions, something with little of dreams and even less need for thought? Indeed, under such an interpretation, *ukiyo-zōshi* itself would—in my view—no longer be a research topic of very much value.

Needless to say, that is not my view.

#### 4. On the *Keisei Taiheiki*

But here let us end our detour and return to the main argument.

An explanation of the *Keisei Taiheiki*, by Kikuchi Yōsuke 菊池庸介, can be found in the *Ukiyo-zōshi daijiten* 浮世草子大事典. There Kikuchi notes that the work portrays, in *yatsushi* form, a number of famous episodes—the “chronicle of the future” (*miraiiki* 未来記), the “gathering without distinctions” (*bureikō* 無礼講), the “crying man” (*naki-otoko* 泣き男), the “parting at Sakurai” (*Sakurai no wakare* 桜井の別れ), etc.—from the *Taiheiki* (15<sup>th</sup>-century medieval war chronicle (*gunki monogatari* 軍記物語) depicting the wars of the Nanbokuchō 南北朝 period (1336–1392), 40 vols.; enjoyed a broad reception in the early-modern period, not only itself as reading material in printed form, but also as source of material for works in a variety of genres: theatre, storytelling, novels, etc.).<sup>22</sup> Yet

<sup>22</sup> Note on the texts:

(1) For the text of the *Taiheiki*, I have used: *Taiheiki* 太平記, 3 vols., *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 34–36, eds. Gotō Tanji 後藤丹治 and Kamada Kisaburō 釜田喜三郎 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1960–1962).

(2) For the text of the *Keisei Taiheiki*, I have used: *Musume Kusunoki Keisei Taiheiki* 娘楠契情太平記, in *Hachimonjya-bon zenshū* 八文字屋本全集 17, ed. Hachimonjya-bon kenkyūkai 八文字屋本研究会 (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 1998).

In some cases, for ease of reading, *furigana* have been omitted or *kanji* written out in *kana*, among other minor changes.

following, perhaps, Hasegawa Tsuyoshi's own assessment, Kikuchi also writes that “[f]or a work by Nanrei, it cannot be called skillfully done,” stating that “the [final] fifth book alone is only eight and a half page-sheets long, lacking a sense of balance when compared to the other four books, and the development of the plot towards its conclusion can be said to be rushed.”<sup>23</sup>

As a work, then, let us consider the *Keisei Taibeiki* once again. The setting it depicts is that of the pleasure quarters. That is to say, the story takes as its setting the contemporary red-light district, a choice in which it follows the oldest traditions of the *yatsushi* mode. Moreover, while the classical world is present in the background throughout, the manner of that classical world's incorporation—into what is essentially a contemporary story—remains ever diffuse, dispersed. Though the *Taibeiki*'s hero, Kusunoki Masashige 楠木正成 (d. 1336), has a clear *yatsushi* version in Kusuriya Kihei 薬屋喜兵衛—in abbreviation Kusu-Ki 薬喜—the rest of the source-work's characters are not given such one-to-one *yatsushi* counterparts. Likewise, while a certain *mojiri* of transposition can be observed, in recastings, for example, of men as women (e.g., the “crying man” figure now a “crying woman” *naki-onna* 泣き女, Kusunoki's son Kusunoki Masatsura 楠木正行 (1326–1348) now a granddaughter O-yuki お行), such methods never strive for a wholesale transfer into modern settings of as much of the classical work as possible. In other words, the depicted present-day, the core-forming story, is in the case of this work more than a mere mirage fully subject to its classical source, but rather stands on its own as a thing independent. The classical itself functions here instead like something raining down into the contemporary—almost as if by chance—from outside and above.

Let us now examine this work, reviewing here below its story chapter-by-chapter, in order, from the beginning, with supplemental explanations given at need.

### *Book 1, Chapter 1*

In Osaka two big-spending playboys (*daijin* 大尽), Fujiya Izaemon 藤屋伊左衛門 (abbreviated to Fuji-I 藤伊) and Yorozuya Bunroku 万屋文六, are in a contest to outdo one another, setting at odds the whole Northern and Southern halves of the pleasure quarters in their competition. On the North Side (Hokuchō 北町)—a play on the Northern Imperial Dynasty (*bokuchō* 北朝) of the Nanbokuchō wars—Fuji-I holds sway, where he pays to monopolize the services (*agezume* 揚げ詰め) of the courtesan Yūgiri 夕霧 from the Ōgiya 扇屋 brothel, keeping her at the assignation house (*ageya* 拳屋) of Yoshidaya Kizaemon 吉田屋喜左衛門, located in Kuken-machi 九軒町. For his part, Bunroku on the South Side (Nanchō 南町)—again with the pun on the historical Southern Dynasty (*nanchō* 南朝)—pursues a similar arrangement with the courtesan Agemaki 揚巻 of the Goishiya 碁石屋 brothel, maintaining her at an assignation house run by

<sup>23</sup> See Kikuchi Yōsuke 菊池庸介, entry for “*Keisei Taibeiki*” 契情太平記, in *Ukiyo-zōshi daijiten* 浮世草子大事典 (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 2018), p. 270.

one Ibarakiya Jirōsan 茨城屋次郎三, located in Echigochō 越後町. Yet while Fuji-I is the well-heeled child of old wealth, Yorozuya Bunroku, dependent on a living father whose head clerk Heikurō 平九郎 is always trimming his wings, suffers from a lack of funds. One day, a famous warrior of old, Soga Jūrō Sukenari 曾我十郎祐成 (1172–1193), appears to Bunroku in a dream. There he bestows upon Bunroku the character 助 (*suke*), which the latter promptly adopts as his own under the new name Sukeroku 助六. He also follows Soga's instructions to seek out the *taiko-mochi* 太鼓持 (a sort of hanger-on) Kusuriya Kihei (“Kusu-ki,” in allusion to the *Taiheiki*'s Kusunoki Masashige) at the quarters' West Gate, where indeed he finds him. This Kusu-Ki argues eloquently that Sukeroku's luck is about to turn again, but though this gives Sukeroku the courage to visit the Shinmachi 新町 pleasure quarters, the sheer size of his unpaid bills there also gives him pause, and at length he decides instead to first send in for reconnaissance—dressed up as himself—one of his *taiko-mochi*, a pillbox (*inrō* 印籠) craftsman by the name of Taisuke 大助. The keeper of the Ibarakiya assignation house, however, laments the apparent lack of trust shown by Sukeroku in not coming himself. Here one of the *taiko-mochi* on the scene, an Oyama-doll (*Oyama-ningyō* おやま人形) craftsman named Tarohachi 太郎八, mocks Sukeroku, calling him a has-been on the verge of being formally disowned by his family.

In Volume 3 of the *Taiheiki*, emperor Godaigo 後醍醐 (1288–1339; r. 1318–1339) gains the services of Kusunoki Masashige though a dream telling him to seek the latter west of Mount Kongō (Kongō-zan 金剛山) in Kawachi 河内 Province. The answer given there by Masashige on the occasion to Godaigo's representative, the nobleman Madenokōji Fujifusa 万里小路藤房 (b. 1295), is alluded to in this chapter. The original:

With their recent rebellion the Eastern Barbarians have only invited the anger of Heaven, and bringing Heaven's chastisement down upon them in the wasting of their decline should prove no great trouble. Nonetheless, the work of renewing the world stands upon two things: strategy and cunning.<sup>24</sup>

The *Keisei Taiheiki*'s rewriting of this is a thoroughgoing work of *mojiri*:

With the recent prosperity of Fuji-I [in *onyomi* reading—Tōi 藤伊—a perfect homonym for the Tōi 東夷 of “Eastern Barbarians”], he has only invited his own dissolution: to outspend him in the wasting of his extravagance should prove no great trouble. Nonetheless, the task of succeeding as a playboy stands upon two things: money and how it is spent.<sup>25</sup>

A similar transformation is applied to the conclusion of Masashige's speech. What in the original reads:

<sup>24</sup> とうい 東夷近日ノ大逆、只天ノ譴ヲ招候上ハ、衰乱ノ弊ヘニ乗テ天誅ヲ被イ致ニ、何ノ子細カ候ベキ。但天下草創ノ功ハ、武略ト智謀トノニテ候。 See: *Taiheiki* (op. cit.), vol. 1, p. 98.

<sup>25</sup> とうい 藤伊近日ノ全盛。只分散をまねき候うへは。かれが<sup>おごり つるへ</sup>奢<sup>かいち</sup>の費<sup>さばき</sup>にのりて。買勝給ふに何の子細カ候べき。但大尺立派の捌は。金銀と。遣ひ所の二にて候。 See: *Keisei Taiheiki* (op. cit.), p. 240.

For know this: the very fact that word of this Masashige still being alive has found its way to his Majesty's ears betokens, in itself, that the imperial fortunes are on the verge of an upswing.<sup>26</sup>

becomes in the *Keisei Taiheiki* the following:

For know this: having this Kusu-Ki as henchman in your service means, by itself alone, that your fortunes as a playboy are on the verge of an upswing.<sup>27</sup>

Also in this chapter is an allusion to the episode in Volume 2 of the *Taiheiki* where the shogunal forces, believing they have chased down Emperor Godaigo, discover themselves to have been duped by an imperial doppelgänger. In the original, a sudden gust of wind reveals to them that behind the curtains of state sits only the nobleman Kazan'in Morokata 花山院師賢 (1301–1332), dressed in the exclusive clothing of the emperor:

At that moment there came a violent gale off the mountains that blew back the curtains of state. Yet when they made to take in the august countenance, it was not the sovereign himself, but rather Justice and State Counsellor Morokata sitting there, attired in the emperor's personal robes (*kon'e* 袞衣).<sup>28</sup>

The *mojiri* of this passage in the *Keisei Taiheiki* runs:

At that moment there came a violent wind from the direction of Horie that blew back the curtains of the carriage. Yet when they looked to the face of the playboy they expected, it was not Sukeroku himself, but the pillbox craftsman Taisuke sitting there, wearing the playboy's *haori* 羽織 and *wakizashi* 脇指.<sup>29</sup>

### Book 1, Chapter 2

Hoping for a resurrection of Sukeroku's fortunes, Kusu-Ki goes to the Ibarakiya, where he explains that while indeed Sukeroku could expect to get disowned by his father any day now and has not a penny of his own, nothing, in fact, could be better for Sukeroku than this. It turns out that when his mother had died, she left for her then 11-year-old son an inheritance of 5,000 *ryō* as insurance against the chance of someday being disinherited, entrusting the sum to Sanpō-ji 山宝寺 temple. If being disowned gave him access to these funds, the event would be more than welcome. This inheritance, Kusu-Ki says, was his mother's own "Chronicle of the Future," her preparation against the disinheritance that she

<sup>26</sup> 正成一人未ダ生テ有ト被聞召候ハ、聖運遂ニ可被開ト被思食候へ。 *Taiheiki* (op. cit.), vol. 1, p. 98.

<sup>27</sup> 葉喜壺人御牽頭をだに持こたへば。遊運つみにひらかるべしとおほしめし候へ。 *Keisei Taiheiki* (op. cit.), p. 240.

<sup>28</sup> 折節深山ヨロシ烈シテ、御廉ヲ吹上タルヨリ、龍顔ヲ拝シ奉タレバ、主上ニテハワシマサズ、尹大納言師賢ノ、天子ノ袞衣ヲ着シ給ヘルニテゾ有ケル。 *Taiheiki* (op. cit.), vol. 1, p. 91.

<sup>29</sup> 折ふし堀江より呼風はげしくして。駕のすだれを吹あげたる御顔を。大尽かともれば助六さまにてはましまさず。印籠師の大助。大尽の羽織脇指をさしたるにてぞ有ける。 *Keisei Taiheiki* (op. cit.), p. 240.

had foreseen awaited him. Inquires made, the monks at Sanpō-ji confirm that the original deposit has now grown with interest to 7,127 *ryō*, and that the principal 5,000 *ryō* could be provided at any time (in reality, however, this is all only an act put on by the temple at Kusu-Ki's connivance). Rumors spread quickly, and soon moneylenders are approaching Sukeroku hoping to lend even more money, with the result that soon he has a full 3,300 *ryō* on hand for available funds. Once again surrounded by the *taiko-mochi*, Sukeroku makes plans to disgrace and drive out the Oyama-doll craftsman Tarohachi who had mocked him earlier, but the courtesan Agemaki defends the man, telling Sukeroku that he should take Tarohachi's contempt in the spirit of a lesson, as a warning against pride now that he has found himself again at the height of prosperity.

*Book 1, Chapter 3*

Fuji-I, now sour over Sukeroku's comeback, conceives a scheme to make Kusu-Ki promise in writing never to set foot in the Shinmachi quarters again: taking advantage of Kusu-Ki's rural upbringing, he plans a painfully formal banquet where he can force *sake* on the *taiko-mochi* and get him drunk into a stupor, so that he can then be bullied into submission. Dubbing this scheme the *inginkō* 慇懃講 (“gathering of strict ceremony”), Fuji-I sends his henchmen Gotō Suian 後藤酔庵 and Sendai Okuemon 仙台奥右衛門 to Kusu-Ki. Meanwhile at Fuji-I's Yoshidaya there arises a quarrel involving the courtesans Kaoru かおる and Wakanoura わか浦, along with others. On Kusu-Ki's end, however, calling it a local custom, he himself forces *sake* on Suian and Okuemon, succeeding in getting these into a drunken stupor instead.

*Book 2, Chapter 1*

Back at the Yoshidaya, Fuji-I and Yūgiri are in low spirits after learning of the failure of the plan to bring Kusu-Ki down. At this point, there comes running in a woman about thirty years of age, crying, announcing herself as Kusu-Ki's wife and informing them that Kusu-Ki is now racked with severe stomach pain after getting so drunk. Moreover, she tells them that she had found her way there by following Kusu-Ki's drinking partners, whom she saw entering the establishment. Realizing now that the author of the plan to get her husband drunk had been none other than Fuji-I himself, the wife threatens to make a complaint to the magistrate, but Fuji-I pays her 300 *ryō* to settle the matter. Receiving Fuji-I's own *haori* to boot in her revenge, the wife at last leaves for home. All of this, of course, has been Kusu-Ki's own scheme against Fuji-I.

In these few chapters alone, the deceased mother's “Chronicle of the Future” is a *mojiri* of the “Tennō-ji Temple Chronicle of the Future” episode in Volume 6 of the *Taiheiki*,<sup>30</sup> while Fuji-I's “gathering of strict ceremony” (*inginkō*) scheme is a *mojiri* play upon the famous “gathering without distinctions” (*bureikō*) where

<sup>30</sup> 天王寺未来記. *Taiheiki* (op. cit.), vol. 1, pp. 193–195.



plans were made to overthrow the Kamakura shogunate, as seen in Volume 1 of the *Taiheiki*, in the episode “The Gathering Without Distinctions and Gen’e’s Literary Talk.”<sup>31</sup> The “crying woman” in Kusu-Ki’s scheme, however, is a *mojiri* not of anything in the *Taiheiki* itself, but rather of an episode found in the commentary *Taiheiki hyōban hiden rijinshō* 太平記評判秘伝理尽抄, whose story of the “crying man” (*naki-otoko*) came to be widely known.<sup>32</sup>

### Book 2, Chapter 2

Deeply frustrated, Yūgiri seeks advice from the keeper of the Yoshidaya, Kizaemon. They decide to have it bruited about that Agemaki’s friend, the courtesan Takahashi 高橋, had only joined her at the Goishiya brothel after quarreling with her patron, none other than Ōgiya Hachiemon, the proprietor of Yūgiri’s own brothel. Back with Sukeroku, Agemaki feigns illness, and with the idea of finding out the truth from Takahashi herself, writes Sukeroku to have the latter summoned in Agemaki’s place. Sukeroku accordingly does so, calling Takahashi to entertain at the establishment. Kusu-Ki also comes. Sukeroku confides in Takahashi that he has had a temporary bridge (*karibashi* 仮橋) built, and engaged the prayer services of a *yamabushi* 山伏 mystic, with the hope of making Fuji-I unable to frequent the Shinmachi quarters any more—but that he is having it done in utmost secrecy, since anyone not ritually pure crossing the bridge first before the spell can take effect will keep it from working. Immediately Takahashi writes a letter to the acupuncturist Suda Un’an 須田雲安, telling him she has heard something useful. Suda, then—“to help Fuji-I”—takes O-sen おせん, a maidservant from the Yoshidaya, and together they go to this temporary bridge in the Shinmachi Bridge’s vicinity. As they make their way across, however, precisely according to Kusu-Ki’s plan, the deliberately shoddily-built bridge buckles underneath them, and the two are saved downriver by party-boats belonging to Sukeroku’s entourage. Takahashi herself, realizing how she has been manipulated for the scheme, quits the Goishiya brothel in shame. After all this, a satirical poem slip (*rakushū* 落首) shows up on the Shinmachi Bridge, causing Fuji-I’s reputation to deteriorate yet further.

Volume 3 of the *Taiheiki* features the characters Takahashi no Matashirō 高橋又四郎 and Suda no Jirozaemon 隅田次郎左衛門.<sup>33</sup> At the battle of Watanabe Bridge 渡部橋 in Volume 6, the victory there achieved by Kusunoki Masashige puts an end to their service, as expressed in this satirical poem, which appears in the battle’s aftermath:

<sup>31</sup> 無礼講事付玄恵文談事. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 44–47.

<sup>32</sup> Original text in 40 vols., bearing a postscript (*shikigo* 識語) dated to Bunmei 文明 2 (1470). Published in Shōhō 正保 2 (1645) and frequently reissued. Text available in *Taiheiki hiden rijinshō* 太平記秘伝理尽抄, 10 vols. (planned), eds. Imai Shōnosuke 今井正之助 et al., *Tōyō Bunko* 東洋文庫 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 5 vols. published since 2002). The episode of the “crying man Sugimoto Sahei” 歎き男杉本左兵衛 is found in vol. 15 (in the *Tōyō bunko* edition, vol. 4, pp. 245–249).

<sup>33</sup> *Taiheiki* (op. cit.), vol. 1, p. 99.

*Watanabe no mizu ika bakari bayakereba Takahashi ochite Suda nagaru ran*<sup>34</sup>  
 How swift it must be, the water at Watanabe—to have led to both  
 Takahashi's own downfall, and Suda's getting washed out!

For this, the *Keisei Taiheiki* gives the *mojiri*:

*Yokobori no mizu ika bakari bayakereba Takahashi ochite Suda nagaru ran*<sup>35</sup>  
 How swift it must be, the water of Yokobori—to have led to both  
 Takahashi's own downfall, and Suda's getting washed out!

### Book 2, Chapter 3

Saburobei 三郎兵衛 of the Bingoya 備後屋 joins Fuji-I's side as a financial factotum. Not only a money-handler in his own right, Saburobei is also one of the city elders (*machi-doshiyori* 町年寄) of the Shinmachi quarters' South Side—Sukeroku's area. Easily perceiving, therefore, that Sukeroku's sudden maternal inheritance is an utter fraud, he makes plans to tell everything to the father, Bun'emom 文右衛門, to get him to disown Sukeroku, thereby cutting off all monetary support. Bingoya makes a speech here about the art of buying courtesans, arguing that the principal thing is to make unsparing use of all one's financial wherewithal, which for the cause of buying courtesans should be exhausted.

In the course of his speech we find the thought: “It is said that even Heaven does not abandon profits to disuse: put this money to work and see Sukeroku's dismay.”<sup>36</sup> This makes use of the episode involving Kojima Saburō Takanori 児嶋三郎高德 of Bingo 備後 Province, found in Volume 4 of the *Taiheiki*.<sup>37</sup> Stylistically, Saburobei's speech on the art of buying courtesans, a sort of maniac twist on the *katagi-mono* discourse, is skillfully executed and interesting. Citing the dictum of the *Analects* that states “he who performs virtue will not have wealth”<sup>38</sup> (actually from the “Duke Wen of Teng I” 滕文公上 chapter in the *Mencius*), Saburobei argues for pouring one's wealth into the pursuit of revelry, even if it means the liquidation of treasured ancient household heirlooms. Further citing the *Analects* (a quotation from the “Yong ye” 雍也 chapter) to the effect that “The wise man prefers water,”<sup>39</sup> he urges Fuji-I not let worries trouble him—even items pawned going forfeit—and doggedly pursues the theme, exhorting him to prioritize courtesan-buying, to be a man of style above all.

<sup>34</sup> 渡部ノ水イカバカリ早ケレバ高橋落テ隅田流ルラン。 *Taiheiki* (op. cit.), vol. 1, p. 188.

<sup>35</sup> 横堀の水いかばかりはやければ高橋をちて須田ながるらん。 *Keisei Taiheiki* (op. cit.), p. 258.

<sup>36</sup> 天口銭をむなしうせず共申す。此金をもつて助六がよはめをみて。 *Keisei Taiheiki* (op. cit.), pp. 259–260.

<sup>37</sup> Discussed below in the article's conclusion. *Taiheiki* (op. cit.), vol. 1, p. 140.

<sup>38</sup> 為仁不富矣。 See *Moshi* 孟子, ed. Uchino Kumaichirō 内野熊一郎, *Shinshaku kanbun taikai* 新釈漢文大系 4 (Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 1962), p. 168. *Keisei Taiheiki* (op. cit.), p. 260.

<sup>39</sup> 智者楽水。 See *Rongo* 論語, ed. Yoshida Kenkō 吉田賢抗, *Shinshaku kanbun taikai* 新釈漢文大系 1 (Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 1960), p. 142. *Keisei Taiheiki* (op. cit.), p. 260.

*Book 3, Chapter 1*

Following the advice of Bingoya Saburobei, Fuji-I decides to sell off 18 of the houses he owns and use the profits to support his continued lifestyle at the assignation house. Meanwhile Sukeroku finds that the sum of 3,300 *ryō* he had previously had on hand has now dwindled to but 40–50 *ryō*. The same Bingoya contacts Sukeroku's father Bun'emon, asking him to make good the borrowed 3,300 *ryō*. For his part, surprised as he is at the size of the debt, Bun'emon is unable to merely leave his son a criminal, and so orders his head clerk, Heikurō, to take care of the matter. This Heikurō is on the surface a “white rat”—that is, a faithful and trustworthy servant—but in truth is a villain who dreams of lining his own pockets after the headship falls to Sukeroku. When Bun'emon tells him to pay back the 3,300 *ryō* and make Sukeroku give up his revelry, Heikurō suggests that because his master has nothing to do with these sums, it would be better to simply give the money to Sukeroku himself and have him stop on his own. Thus it is that he heads over to meet Sukeroku with a bundle of promissory notes in hand. At the Ibarakiya, however, the message given to Sukeroku is that he, Heikurō, has the master wrapped around his fingers and got this money from him with ease. Take it, he says, and use it as you please. Handing Sukeroku the money, he heads home. Sukeroku is overjoyed, barely able to believe this behavior from the normally stingy Heikurō, from whom he had been expecting, if anything, a declaration of disinheritance. When Kusu-Ki arrives, however, knowing already about Bingoya's movements, he infers from the amount that the money had been prepared by Sukeroku's father for the purpose of paying back the loans taken out against the promise of his mother's inheritance. As such, he advises Sukeroku to use the money—for the present—to pay back those debts, putting his revelry on hold while they try to determine Heikurō's true intent. As it turns out, however, already around 200 *ryō* worth has been passed out here and there in the quarters, and even after efforts are made to re-collect this, the total falls 67 *ryō* short. This is the amount one of the *taiko-mochi*, a man known as Saizō 才藏 the Mosquito, has collected and hidden away. But Saizō was a playboy once himself, though now fallen on hard times, and he points out that things like collecting money already given out can only hurt one's reputation as a playboy. More than that, he argues, Sukeroku's good fortune, no less than his bad fortune, comes not from any stratagems or any efforts he might have made, but from the will of Heaven's destiny alone. Everyone present is touched.

In this chapter, when Kusu-Ki sizes up Sukeroku's current predicament, he states: “All in all, when it comes to the competition of play, victory at the end is the only important thing.”<sup>40</sup> This is a *mojiri* of Kusunoki Masashige's words to the emperor about the flight to Hyōgo 兵庫, in Volume 16 of the *Taibeiki*: “In battles, whatever anyone may say, victory at the end is what really counts.”<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup> 惣じて遊びのほり合と申ス物は。始終の勝こそ專要なれ。 *Keisei Taibeiki* (op. cit.), p. 267.

<sup>41</sup> 合戦ハ兎テモ角テモ、始終ノ勝コソ肝要ニテ候へ。 *Taibeiki* (op. cit.), vol. 2, p. 150.

Saizō the Mosquito, in turn, is the *yatsushi* of Prime Minister Bōmon Kiyotada 坊門清忠 (d. 1338), when he disagrees here with Kusu-Ki in these terms:

What Kusu-Ki says has its merit, but for these funds, apportioned to support revelry, to be not even put to use, and for you to shut yourself up a second time in a single year—not only does it treat your playboy's dignity too lightly, it robs your *taiko-mochi* and companions of their own esteem. Even if Fuji-I does sell 18 of his houses now, their strength would not approach that of your current 3,300 *ryō*. That everybody took you at your word about your mother's inheritance is not because your skill at getting money was itself superior—it is merely because your fortunes as a playboy aligned with the heavens.<sup>42</sup>

This is based on Prime Minister Bōmon Kiyotada's similar speech in the *Taiheiki*:

What Masashige says has its merit, but for the imperial general commissioned to chastise the foes of the throne to thus abandon the Capital without a fight, and to head for Mt. Hiei a second time in a single year—not only does it treat the imperial dignity too lightly, it robs the imperial army of its purpose. Even if Takauji does approach the Capital now, leading his forces from Kyushu, their strength will not approach that of the time when, last year, he led the Eight Provinces of the East to the Capital. And after all, from the beginning of the war up to the defeat of the enemy's army, even when our forces have been small, it has not always been the case that we failed to defeat a great enemy. Nor is this at all because our military strategy was itself superior—it is merely because the fortunes of our sovereign aligned with the heavens.<sup>43</sup>

### *Book 3, Chapter 2*

Kusu-Ki encloses the remainder of the money in an envelope and entrusts it to the proprietor of the Ibarakiya, and leaving it up to Sukeroku to decide what to do next, he returns to his lodgings. But then he changes his mind. Deciding that it would be wrong for Sukeroku not to pay his debt just because of a shortage of 67 *ryō*, he takes his granddaughter O-yuki to the broker Tanbaya Nihei 丹波屋仁兵衛. Glad to hear that the owner of the Koichimonjiya 古一文字屋 brothel in Kyoto is apparently in town just then, with the idea of sending her to work there, like the proverbial lion casting its cub into the depths of the valley

<sup>42</sup> 菓喜申所も其いはれ有といへ共。遊金の為にあてがはれし此金子。くはつとしたる事もなく。一年の中に二度まで御逼塞あらん事は。且は大尽の威勢かろきに似たり。又は牽頭仲間の面目をうしなふ所なり。たとへ藤伊十八ヶ所の家を売てあそぶ共。三千三百両見在の勢にはよもすぎじ。お袋様のかたみといふ事を諸人の一はいくふたるも。工面のすぐれたるにはあらず。たゞ遊運の天にかなへるゆへなり。 *Keisei Taiheiki* (op. cit.), p. 268.

<sup>43</sup> 正成ガ申所モ其謂有トイヘドモ、征罰ノ為ニ差下サレタル節度使、未戦ヲ成ザル前ニ、帝都ヲ捨テ、一年ノ内ニ二度マデ山門ヘ臨幸ナラン事、且ハ帝位ヲ軽ズルニ似タリ、又ハ官軍ノ道ヲ失処也。タトヒ尊氏筑紫勢ヲ率シテ上洛ストモ、去年東八カ国ヲ順ヘテ上シ時ノ勢ニハヨモ過ジ。オヨソ戦ノ始ヨリ敵軍敗北ノ時ニ至迄、御方小勢也トイヘドモ、毎度大敵ヲ責靡ケズト云フ事ナシ。是全ク武略ノ勝レタル所ニハ非ズ、只聖運ノ天ニ叶ヘル故也。 *Taiheiki* (op. cit.), vol. 2, p. 150.

to survive on its own, after one stern parental lecture on how to be a proper courtesan he sells her off for 70 *ryō*. This O-yuki is the child of his daughter O-sei, born after the latter became pregnant by an unknown man in the course of a boat journey made on pilgrimage to Rokujō 六条 in Kyoto. Born at the early Hour of the Rabbit on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of the Third Month, at the time she is 11 years old, and also motherless, O-sei having died immediately after giving birth. Now Kusu-Ki heads to the Ibarakiya, but finds that today Sukeroku is not there. A group of *taiko-mochi* there drinking on the sly make the argument that egging his playboy on is the job of a *taiko-mochi*, no matter how many times one dies and finds rebirth. Against this, however, Kusu-Ki argues that it is also the task of a *taiko-mochi* to keep his playboy from ruining himself, citing the adage that without playboys the pleasure quarters themselves cannot stand. Expressing his conviction that if Sukeroku can only pay off his current debts, then his reputation will improve and funds will be easier to come by, he announces that he has now sold off his own granddaughter, and produces the 70 *ryō*. At this point, however, the madam there informs him that Koichimonjiya is actually away in Edo, and tells him that she saw Tanbaya Nihei handing an 11-year-old girl over to Yorozuya's Heikurō. Kusu-Ki then goes to Tanbaya, but Nihei is no longer there, and he sets out to look for his grandchild. Meanwhile, the father Bun'emon, having heard from various quarters that Sukeroku failed to pay his debts, and gave no ear to Heikurō's remonstrances, decides at last to disown Sukeroku, even throwing him off the family register. Sukeroku himself is at Echigochō, spending his money with Saizō and the others and having a grand time. Heikurō comes to him there, carrying a box bearing the words "10,000 *ryō*." The recently-given 3,300 *ryō* are taken back from him, and the box itself is found to contain a paper suit. Heikurō informs him of the disowning and deregistration. Sukeroku dons the paper suit and leaves.

Continuing from the last chapter, this is a *yatsushi* of an episode from Volume 16 of the *Taiheiki*, the parting at the post-station of Sakurai 桜井駅 between Masashige and his 11-year-old son Masatsura, and the final parental lecture given then.<sup>44</sup> It also includes a *yatsushi* on the "Vow of Seven Lives" (*shichishō no chikai* 七生の誓い)<sup>45</sup> made by Masashige and Masasue 正季 at their suicide.

### Book 3, Chapter 3

Heikurō had asked the Prelate Shinkoku 神谷僧都 of Tenma 天満 to pray that he himself might be adopted into the Yorozuya family. Told that for such a prayer there would be needed a virgin child, and moreover one born at the Hour of the Rabbit on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of the Third Month, Heikurō had then had various brokers make a search, with the result that he ended up buying Kusu-Ki's own granddaughter. Today is now the third and final day of the given prayer period.

<sup>44</sup> *Taiheiki* (op. cit.), vol. 2, p. 151.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 159.

From the 3,300 *ryō* he has taken from Sukeroku, he makes a gift offering of 100 *ryō*. Kusu-Ki, however, discovers this on the gift-offering platform. He tries talking to one of the servants, but only ends up rousing suspicion, and decides to try again later. Going to Prelate Shinkoku, he announces himself as Heikurō's brother and is able to have a talk with him. After explaining things, he goes to the well, where he finds a girl hanging upside down. He pulls her out. The prelate takes the 100 *ryō* and flees. O-yuki herself is at death's door. Here Heikurō appears on the scene, and overhears their conversation by the well-side. Kusu-Ki tells O-yuki that when her mother was 17, she got pregnant by a stranger during a nighttime boat ride to the capital on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of the Eleventh Month, leaving her a fatherless child. The grandchild dies. Heikurō, who has heard all of this, commits suicide, telling Kusu-Ki that the man in question was him. Realizing that his suffering is the punishment of Heaven for trying to take over the family he serves, seemingly having become now the murderer of his own child, he repents of his evil heart, and taking 200 *ryō* from his breast-pocket, he begs Kusu-Ki to go find Sukeroku. Kusu-Ki accepts Heikurō as his son-in-law. Kusu-Ki then goes and makes a plea for aid at the magistrate's office (*daikansho* 代官所), but the inspector (*kenshi* 検使) tells him that the entire affair is only the fault of Sukeroku's own dissolution. Though now in the midst of personal tragedy himself, still Kusu-Ki worries about Sukeroku's fate, thinking there must yet be some plan or solution to be tried, even as he buries his grandchild and his son-in-law.

#### Book 4, Chapter 1

It is bruited about that anyone who joins Fuji-I's group will have his finances made good. The retired tenant of a temple called Jūyoku-in 重欲院 at Obase 小長谷 enters the Fuji-I entourage almost as a *taiko-mochi*, leading people to call the temple itself Fujii-dera 藤伊寺. Fuji-I has the idea to make said temple the setting for a drinking battle with Sukeroku and his gang, but with Sukeroku now in a paper-suit and declining the invitation, the whole plan is cancelled. Without Sukeroku, Fuji-I feels a lack of spirit in the revelry. Entrusting himself to the teachings of Bingoya Saburobei, he takes Sukeroku's own group of *taiko-mochi* under his wing as hangers-on, and has three large-sized "1,000-*koku*" boats (*sengoku-bune* 千石船) sumptuously decked for an amusement. Loading them with 17–18 prostitutes and piles of silver and gold cash, he has the *taiko-mochi* put dragon-king (*ryūō* 龍王) decorations and the like on their heads. One of these, dressed up as the dragon god (*ryūjin* 龍神) himself, pretends to watch the spectacle with surprise from the Sangenya 三軒屋 shore, and now comes forth to award Fuji-I with a gem to celebrate his victory-in-revelry over Sukeroku, but with too many people on the boat it sinks, and even the dragon god has to be rescued by the boatmen and others. At this point Fuji-I's uncle from the Capital, Fujiya no Inyū 藤屋の伊入 appears on the scene, having heard about his nephew selling off 18 of his houses, and come to talk him out of the idea. Thus it is that the fun is spoiled. But no: in reality this is not his uncle, only a masseur by the

name of Zennyū 善入, engaged as part of a stunt by Fuji-I himself. With the failure of the dragon-king stunt, however, the scheme has lost all interest.

This chapter is likely playing upon the “Battle at Fujii-dera Temple” episode in Volume 24 of the *Taiheiki*,<sup>46</sup> as well as on the “Kanegasaki Boat Party” episode in Volume 17,<sup>47</sup> but no examples of *mojiri* word-play on the original text can be found.

#### Book 4, Chapter 2

Sukeroku is back in Osaka, having travelled in secret. Agemaki has been called for by a samurai from Iyo 伊予 Province. Her *kamuro* 禿, Mojino 文字野, tells Sukeroku that the samurai from Iyo is trying to buy her mistress free from the brothel, and hands him a silk wallet with a letter in it from Agemaki. Meanwhile, back at the Sumiyoshiya 住吉屋, everything is in an uproar with the loss of the wallet containing the 200-ryō down-payment on Agemaki’s ransom. But the money has in fact been taken by Agemaki herself, refusing to be bought, and entrusted to Mojino for handing over to Sukeroku. One of the manservants, Shirobei 四郎兵衛, claims to have witnessed this, but Mojino herself refuses to say to whom she then gave it, enduring even physical punishment. Unable to bear this sight, one of the courtesans volunteers to take her place, but at this point one of the *taiko-mochi*, the Oyama-doll craftsman Tarohachi, declares himself to have been the messenger tasked by Mojino with giving the money to her friend, saying moreover that he is very sorry, because in fact after a gambling loss he had stolen the money. Tarohachi is then himself physically beaten and turned out of doors. Sukeroku, listening the whole time from the veranda, recalls the former bond of duty involving Tarohachi, and is deeply moved, thinking to himself that it must have been just like this when Oyamada Tarō 小山田太郎 returned to Nitta Yoshisada 新田義貞 (1301–1338) the favor he owed for having once been forgiven by the latter for the “crime of the green barley” (*aomugi no tsumi* 青麦の罪). The playboy from Iyo then returns home for the present, which allows Sukeroku to come out from under the veranda and meet Agemaki.

The mention here of the green barley, etc., is based on the passage “Where Oyamada Tarō Takaie Harvests Green Barley” in Volume 16 of the *Taiheiki*.<sup>48</sup> The Oyama-doll craftsman Tarohachi is modelled after Oyamada Tarō Takaie, and in the text of the *Keisei Taiheiki*, Sukeroku is shown to be moved in the following terms:

“For his earlier crime, because he spoke ill of someone behind their back, it would only have been natural for him to be thoroughly shamed, but the courtesan asked for forgiveness for him, remembering herself how he had given her

<sup>46</sup> 藤井寺合戦. *Taiheiki* (op. cit.), vol. 2, pp. 451–452.

<sup>47</sup> 金崎船遊. *Taiheiki* (op. cit.), vol. 2, pp. 222–223.

<sup>48</sup> 小山田太郎高家刈青麦事. *Taiheiki* (op. cit.), vol. 2, p. 163.

money in the past. And today, he suffered in her stead. That famous Oyamada Tarō was also pardoned by Yoshisada for the crime of the green barley. So this is what it means to return a debt of thanks!” he thought, moved.<sup>49</sup>

As a case of an episode from the *Taiheiki* appearing here directly in the main text, this is an example of *mojiri* and *yatsushi*. Formally speaking, it is also an example of the classical world being discovered behind the actions of a person in the present.

*Book 4, Chapter 3*

Fuji-I appears at the Yoshidaya, wearing a paper suit. The clerk and Bingoya Saburobei, becoming wise to the dissolution of his behavior, have secretly sold off a scroll belonging to Rokujō Goyū 六帖吾由 with which they had been entrusted. After a claim to the magistrates from the owner, all Fuji-I's property has been seized, and he himself has been ordered to cut off contact with his friends and acquaintances. He explains that he had considered committing suicide, but in the end came here instead because he had something to return to one of the courtesans. Yoshidaya Kizaemon raises his spirits, and allows him to enter inside. Yūgiri comes. Fuji-I explains the situation. Yūgiri indicates she is willing to either die or to escape with him. Because of all that he owes to Fuji-I for services in the past, says Kizaemon, he offers to hide him away at a secluded residence in Ueshiochō 上塩町. Just at this moment, Sukeroku and Agemaki are walking along the roof above, having escaped in fear of their lives. And just when Fuji-I is musing, if only he knew where the said Rokujō Goyū's scroll were now, up on the roof he hears Sukeroku's voice saying that the scroll is actually right here. The two then meet face-to-face, now both of them wearing paper suits. By Sukeroku's account, this past spring, hearing rumors (from Bingoya Saburobei, no less) that the item was something valuable, he had bought the scroll—a forfeit pawn item—for 500 *ryō*. Indeed, he had come this way with the thought of selling it for 300 *ryō*, which would give him enough, when added to the 200 *ryō* from Agemaki, to fully purchase the latter's freedom. But because, he says, buying the freedom of a courtesan is a problem they both share, he will make Fuji-I a gift of the scroll. When Fuji-I then says that in that case, he himself will pay Agemaki's ransom instead, Sukeroku responds that if he did that then all their competition in the past would be in vain, to which in turn Fuji-I retorts that otherwise he will refuse to accept the scroll. The two prostitutes sigh, wishing there were some good plan to be tried.

<sup>49</sup> 前かど身共をかげにて悪しくいひたるゆへ。丸はだかにして恥かゝすべき処を。太夫が情にてわびことせし故。かへつて金子などをとらせし恩を思ひて。今日の太夫が難に代し事。  
かの 彼 小山田太郎が義貞に。青麦あなむぎの罪つみをゆるされし。恩がへしもかくやと感心しながら。 *Keisei Taiheiki* (op. cit.), p. 283.



*Book 5, Chapter 1*

Through the joint scheme of the proprietors of the Ibarakiya and the Yoshidaya, it is decided that the money returned by Sukeroku had the whole time actually been lost somewhere in the house, and thanks to a report from Kusu-Ki, Sukeroku himself manages to secure a meeting with Bun'emon, father-to-son. It turns out, moreover, that the samurai from Iyo, too, had actually been only a scheme of Bun'emon's. Kusu-Ki now becomes a clerk for the Yorozuya. Also, with Kusu-Ki as messenger, the scroll is again brought to Fuji-I, still staying at the Yoshidaya, to be returned. As Kusu-Ki explains to Fuji-I, because refusing to accept the scroll would lead to Sukeroku being accused of the crime of buying stolen goods, he begs him to simply accept the thing without further ado, a request Fuji-I finds it impossible to refuse.

*Book 5, Chapter 2*

The Prelate Shinkoku, while publicly working as a dentist in Kawachi, has been, in secret, engaged in all kinds of villainy. Yet he worries about Kusu-Ki. He decides to follow an evilly clever plan suggested by his younger brother Zōbana no Tokubei 象鼻の徳兵衛. Making it seem as if Kusu-Ki has a secret wife, he pens a letter in women's handwriting spelling out a plot to kill Yorozuya with poison. With this letter in pocket, the Prelate Shinkoku goes to Osaka. At the shrine of Tokuan-zutsumi 徳安堤, six waitresses—one of Osaka's famous sights, a group known as the Six "Too-Muches" (*roppon sugi* 六本過)—are having a discussion. In the past, they had been among those urging on Fuji-I and Sukeroku to compete with each other, but with friendship now between the two, the pleasure quarters are finding it more difficult to make money. More than this, they are now trying to get a new rookie playboy (*aodaijin* 青大尽) come up from Awa 阿波 Province to compete with Yamazaki Yojibei 山崎与次兵衛. Shinkoku, intrigued, addresses them, offering the six of them a banquet to buy their silence. In the course of this, he ends up alone with Kaya "Too-much-fashion" (*share-sugi* しやれ過), but after a night together, this Kaya turns into a fox and disappears up into the sky. Shinkoku awakes to find left in his hand a "tap-out hammer" (*uchide no kozuchi* 打ち出の小槌).

The "six cedars" (*roppon sugi* 六本杉) found in Volume 25 of the *Taiheiki*<sup>50</sup> have here in the *Keisei Taiheiki* become the waitresses known as the Six "Too-Muches." Respectively they are: Rin "Too-much-cheek" (*namesugi* 無礼過), Matsu "Too-much-nonchalance" (*nodo-sugi* 喉過), San "Too-much-drinking" (*nomi-sugi* 飲過), Kaya "Too-much-fashion," Kuma "Too-much-grasping" (*tori-sugi* 取過), and Han "Too-much-pluck" (*keuchi-sugi* 口過).

<sup>50</sup> 六本杉事. *Taiheiki* (op. cit.), vol. 2, pp. 447–449.

*Book 5, Chapter 3*

The “tap-out hammer” has the power to produce money, treasures—anything desired when tapped against something. Wishing for something he can use to bring about Kusu-Ki’s downfall, Shinkoku taps the hammer, and out comes a letter with writing on it. The message reads: “Disguise yourself as a woman, and apply this medicine to your throat.” So Shinkoku, disguised as a woman, heads to the Yorozuya. Attempting to mimic a woman’s manner, he seeks to be admitted, but Kyūsa 久三, the one who receives him, informs Kusu-Ki simply that a monk using women’s language has come. When Kusu-Ki sees the visitor, it is Shinkoku. After rushing him and tying him up with rope, out of nowhere there appears a ghost, telling Shinkoku that she is the girl he murdered, and that all of this—everything happening since the Six “Too-Muchers”—has been her doing, all in order to have him handed over to her father, Kizaemon (i.e. Kusu-Ki). Now that her anger has been appeased, she can blissfully pass on to Buddhahood. The work ends with Yūgiri becoming Fujiya’s wife, and Agemaki becoming the wife of Yorozuya, after which both families go on to prosperity.

This episode of Shinkoku dressing as a woman bears a resemblance both in setting and story to that of Izuna’s 飯綱 messenger in Book 4, Chapter 3, of Tada Nanrei’s *Ōkeizū Ezō no hanashi* 大系図蝦夷噺 (5 books in 5 vols., published in Kanpō 寛保 4 (1744)), a work published in the same year. There too, the story is one about a monk who imagines he can successfully use magic.

Above, we have gone through the entirety of the work. The ghost of Kusu-Ki’s granddaughter O-yuki appears, but in this chapter she has now become his daughter, making the logic of the plot fail—probably the result of author error. In this respect, perhaps as a work it is indeed “a poor specimen with no evidence of Nanrei’s personal touch” (Hasegawa). But surely what we should be looking at in *Keisei Taiheiki* is not trivial mistakes like this one. Whether a *yatsushi* work’s original source is made explicit or left implicit; whether its characters largely become fully the antecedent figures of the classical world, being merely disguised as contemporaries as they abandon themselves to amusement (the explicit type), or whether a work’s characters are, in word and deed, controlled as it were from behind, themselves all unawares, by the classical world’s own ways of being (the implicit type)—in the case of either type the *yatsushi* is of an already conventionalized mode. Not so with the *Keisei Taiheiki*: here we have a *yatsushi* characterized by the merest contact with the classics, and by a cast of characters otherwise completely different, who even when they make such contact maintain it for but a moment. Such a style may invite criticism for the ineptness of its neither thorough nor consistent *mojiri*, but conversely, by the same token it avoids falling into methodization, and to my mind, the characters thus depicted are for that very reason in fact truer to life. If we compare this to Kiseki’s own manner of depiction, precisely because the *mojiri* and *yatsushi* are so very thoroughly executed, however *textually* realized his works might be as a result, the world and characters

realized therein have only an extremely generalized, non-individuated quality. By contrast, at Saikaku and Ippū's stage of things, rather than the world of the work being a world brought about by its own language, it is a matter of two target worlds, both of them pre-existing *a priori*, being set in apposition the one against the other. The difference between the two earlier authors derives rather from the more explicit or implicit manner of this apposition. To summarize, then, these variations on *yatsushi* as explained above, we might divide them into: (1) pre-existing yet implicit classical world—Saikaku, (2) pre-existing and explicit classical world—Ippū, (3) textually-realized yet generalized modernity—Kiseki, and (4) textually-realized and individuated modernity—Nanrei.

For the present, however, these four types only suggest the possibility of such patterns, and the unit of contrast is rather the individual work, or even the distinct individual motifs within a work, with the authors not necessarily corresponding one-on-one respectively to the four types given above. Indeed, I think a breakdown in any such correspondences is likely. In the future, it will be necessary to broaden the investigation to Ippū's work *Tsūzoku Sangokushi* 通俗三国志, or to the works of Ippū's contemporary Miyako no Nishiki. The direction of development that I myself envision, however, is rather that of the following.

Put simply, it lies in drawing a contrast, on the scale of world literature, between modernity and the classical world. For example, it lies in the fact that James Joyce's *Ulysses* is written to follow the *Odyssey* of Homer. Itō Sei 伊藤整 analyzes this situation in the following terms:

This novel, *Ulysses*, borrows the structure of Homer's *Odyssey*, and for its main characters, it uses the personalities and circumstances of various figures in the *Odyssey*, putting them into the personalities and circumstances of people living in the modern world. Written with such a method, using the correspondences it creates between modern people and figures from the classics, the novel seeks to grasp what constitutes the essence of humanity.<sup>51</sup>

The state of living at once in the actual world of the present, while at the same time overlaying upon it the world of the classics, in other words, is a state of being that I take to be in some way a universal one. On *Ulysses* and the *Odyssey* in particular, and on the relationship between the two, one of the earliest to offer a useful reading was none other than T. S. Eliot, in the following terms:

It is here that Mr. Joyce's parallel use of the *Odyssey* has a great importance. It has the importance of a scientific discovery. No one else has built a novel upon such a foundation before . . .

In using the myth, in manipulating a continuous parallel between contemporaneity and antiquity, Mr. Joyce is pursuing a method which others must pursue

<sup>51</sup> From Itō Sei 伊藤整, "Jeimusu Joisu: hito to sakuhin" ジェイムス・ジョイス：人と作品, in *Yurishizū* ユリシーズ, trans. Itō Sei, vol. 21 of the collection *Sekai bungaku zenshū* 世界文学全集 (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1963), p. 465.

after him. They will not be imitators, any more than the scientist who uses the discoveries of an Einstein in pursuing his own, independent, further investigations. It is simply a way of controlling, of ordering, of giving a shape and a significance to the immense panorama of futility and anarchy which is contemporary history. . . . Instead of narrative method, we may now use the mythical method. It is, I seriously believe, a step toward making the modern world possible for art, toward that order and form which Mr. Aldington so earnestly desires.<sup>52</sup>

This feature of a “continuous parallel between contemporaneity and antiquity” that Eliot notes in Joyce, when set alongside the forcedness (*kojitsuke*, 付け or こじつけ) of *yatsushi*, seems to achieve something one might well call *shimwa-zuke* 神話付け (“myth-buttrressing”). With this, in other words, he has advanced to a further stage beyond the *yatsushi* of Kiseki and Nanrei. Yet vaulting across the gap between eras, surely there is something at work here in common on both sides. “No one else,” claims Eliot, “has built a novel upon such a foundation before”—yet was Joyce not in truth *not* so lonely a figure as thus imagined?

It might be noted here in passing that Yamamoto Hajime 山本一, regarding the search within classical Japanese literature for examples of the meta-quality and self-criticism that those like Albert Thibaudet and Mishima Yukio 三島由紀夫 have seen as being characteristic of the true novel (the modern novel), has said the following, in what surely represents an endeavor akin to Eliot’s own:

A work that describes a protagonist who identifies himself with the world of books, who in fact tries to live out that world of books in reality—a work that, moreover, in describing such a man thereby in itself criticizes the world of books, if not indeed also its own author’s very act of writing—where in the history of Japanese literature is a work of that nature to be found?<sup>53</sup>

The conceit, in other words, is that the essence of the novel is for the novel to itself possess self-awareness. Such a possession, however, is in no way a privilege of modernity alone.

## Conclusion

Returning to the main thread, let us here present a conclusion.

The feeling of actually *living* the classical world is not, as I see it, some general sense of being always under that world’s dominion, or of living one’s own life in accordance with it. It is rather a flash of self-discovery, born when one experiences—despite a previous confidence of independence from it, despite indeed a previous feeling of almost complete alienation from it, and for a space, a moment, despite any number of differences with it bridged in that flash—the

<sup>52</sup> Taken from his contemporary book review: T. S. Eliot, “Ulysses, Order, and Myth,” *The Dial* 75 (1923).

<sup>53</sup> See Yamamoto Hajime 山本一, “Bungakusei no mondai” 文学性の問題, *Hokuriku koten kenkyū* 北陸古典研究 22 (2007), p. 78.

sudden realization that a strong affinity with that classical world permeates one's very being. Bingoya Saburobei in Book 2, Chapter 3 of *Keisei Taiheiki* was the *yatsushi* of Kojima Saburō Takanori of Bingo Province as he appears in Volume 4 of the *Taiheiki*.<sup>54</sup> After trying—and failing—to save Emperor Godaigo, that Kojima Saburō Takanori left behind for his sovereign the following verse, the afterwards famous “ten character poem” (*jūji shi* 十字詩):

天莫空勾踐      Never shall Heaven abandon Goujian:  
時非無范蠡      With time shall arise another Fan Li.<sup>55</sup>

No more than it could abandon, captive in Gusu 姑蘇 Castle, the original Goujian 勾踐 of Yue 越, surely Heaven would not leave this king to his death; for how could time fail to bring forth another minister like Fan Li 范蠡, who saved Goujian and avenged all his humiliations? Here Kojima Takanori, by thus bringing forth from the world of the past a model for himself like Fan Li, in effect wrote the scenario of his own future, as one who would go on to live the life of a Fan Li. This represents a moment—the briefest of moments—where a man's own will (future) and the world of the classics (past) can be seen—in transworldly terms—to coincide. And though only a moment it be, surely within it we find, rising up at once to meet both the future and the past, growing, luxuriating, the life of the present. Thus do the classics rain down upon, flow into, our own lives as well.

In a similar sense, far from a *yatsushi* seeking in extremely deliberate fashion to pun its own sources underfoot, Nanrei's own more recombinatory, more sporadic quality seems to me directed rather at describing something closer to a more realistic feeling of how the classical is experienced.

For it is in this sort of experience, rather than in the play of words, that a true connection to the world of the classical consists.

In his *Keisei Taiheiki*, it is still only without self-consciousness that the various characters live such a life. Though history repeat itself, it is without self-consciousness that it lives that repetition. When, however, self-consciousness of this is at last born, at that point, I sincerely believe, a way of being in search of freedom—but not by Kuki Shūzō's method—as well as a way for the novel itself to be in possession of self-awareness—but not by the methods of the modern Western novel—will be found waiting to be found within the genre of *ukiyo-zōshi*.

<sup>54</sup> See description of the cited chapter above.

<sup>55</sup> *Taiheiki* (op. cit.), vol. 1, p. 140.



# A Japanese Commentary History of *Jianghu fengyue ji*: From Medieval to Early-Modern

HORIKAWA Takashi

Translated by Jeffrey KNOTT

## Introduction: *Jianghu fengyue ji* 江湖風月集 and *Gōko fūgetsu shū ryakuchū* 江湖風月集略註

The poetic anthology *Jianghu fengyue ji* 江湖風月集 (Jp. *Gōko fūgetsu shū*) is a collection of *jisong* 偈頌 (Jp. *geju*) verses—a genre of Sinophone Buddhist lyric—by Chan monks of the Southern Song period. Credited to the compilation of Songpo Zongqi 松坡宗懋, also of the Southern Song, in its current form the text contains a total of 270 verses, all of them conforming to the heptasyllabic *jueju* 絕句 (Jp. *zoku*) meter.

The title is intended symbolically. Thus the word *jianghu* 江湖 (Jp. *gōkō*), beyond its literal meaning of “river” and “lake,” betokens the physical world as a whole, particularly in its function as setting for the practices of Chan monasticism. Likewise *fengyue* 風月 (Jp. *fūgetsu*) signifies not merely “wind” and “moon,” but rather in its fullness the larger world sketched by poetic conception. As such, the anthology’s name might be rendered alternatively as “Collection of [*jisong*] verses in which Chan monks express the heights of Chan thought by using the borrowed forms of poetry.”

This anthology belongs to that category of works which, lost in China itself, survived only in Japan. First printed in Japan in Karyaku 嘉曆 3 (1328) by the emigrant Chinese monk Qingzhuo Zhengcheng 清拙正澄 (1274–1339; Jp. Seisetsu Shōchō), no copy of this earlier edition survives, the oldest extant text being a printing of the Nanbokuchō period (1336–1392).<sup>1</sup> Later in the Muromachi period the text came to be widely read, not only in the Gozan temples as before, but also outside the Gozan system in Rinzaï-school 臨濟宗 temples attached to the Daitoku-ji 大徳寺 and Myōshin-ji 妙心寺 lines, indeed even in temples of the rival Sōtō School 曹洞宗. Such an environment led Japanese Zen monks to produce a number of commentaries on the work.

<sup>1</sup> The facsimile of a copy housed at Tenri Central Library can be found in *Gozan-ban Chūgoku Zenseki sōkan* 五山版中国禅籍叢刊, vol. 11 (Kyōto: Rinsen Shoten, 2014).

Among these is the (*Shinpen*) *Gōko fūgetsu shū ryakuchū* (新編) 江湖風月集略註, a *kanbun*-medium commentary originally by the otherwise unknown Nanbokuchō-era Zen monk Tenshū 天秀, whose current form is the product of later revision and expansion by Tōyō Eichō 東陽英朝 (1428–1504) of the Myōshin-ji Branch.

Yoshizawa Katsuhiko 芳澤勝弘, in his modern commentary on and translation of *Jianghu fengyue ji*,<sup>2</sup> has argued that the extant manuscript of the *Ryakuchū* said to be a Tōyō autograph copy—a text surviving in Shōtaku-in 聖沢院, a Myōshin-ji *tatchū* 塔頭 (“sub-temple”) founded by one of Tōyō’s disciples—is not only definitely not by his own hand, but moreover that the work it represents is not of his own composition. Judging from the *Ryakuchū*’s content, in other words, Yoshizawa argues that no Tōyō-authored commentary on the anthology can be said to have survived, and that the form of the work current today is thus none other than Tenshū’s commentary itself.

However, as editions of the text circulating from the early modern period onward include an afterword credited to Tōyō, the work was certainly believed to be his commentary. Indeed, his own fame as a monk in the Myōshin-ji Branch was no doubt one of the factors contributing to the text’s broad circulation. Setting aside for the present, therefore, any conclusions about Tōyō’s own involvement, this study examines rather the details of the early-modern circulation of commentaries on *Jianghu fengyue ji*, the *Ryakuchū* foremost among them, considering also the ultimate origins of the commentary material they contain.<sup>3</sup>

### The *Ryakuchū* in Print and its Development in the Early Modern Period

All told, seven distinct print editions of this *Ryakuchū* commentary are currently known to have been published, a number including both old moveable-type editions (*kokatsujiban* 古活字版) and editions printed by woodblock (整版 *seiban*). Here follow detailed descriptions of the publication date, publisher, and publication format of each of these.

#### [1] (*Shinpen*) *Gōko fūgetsu shū ryakuchū* (新編) 江湖風月集略註 (2 volumes)<sup>4</sup>

Old moveable-type (*kokatsujiban* 古活字版) editions

- (a) Date: No colophon (*mukanki* 無刊記). Likely at some point during the Keichō 慶長 (1596–1615) or Genna 元和 (1615–1624) eras.  
 Publisher: No colophon, unknown.

<sup>2</sup> *Gōko fūgetsu shū ryakuchū* 江湖風月集略註 (Kyoto: Zen Bunka Kenkyūjo, 2003).

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion of commentaries on the *Jianghu fengyue ji* in general, see Horikawa Takashi 堀川貴司, “*Gōko fūgetsu shū no chūshakusho*” 『江湖風月集』の注釈書, in *Chūshakusho no kokon tozai* 注釈書の古今東西, ed. Satō Michio 佐藤道生 (Tokyo: Keiō Gijuku Daigaku Shuppankai, 2011).

<sup>4</sup> Facsimile in *Zengaku tenseki sōkan* 禅学典籍叢刊, eds. Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山 and Shiina Kōyū 椎名宏雄, vol. 11 (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 2000). However, this is a composite text, the first volume representing edition (h), the second volume representing edition (e).



- Format: Four-sided (*shishū* 四周) double border (*sōben* 双辺), with vertical rules (*yūkai* 有界). 9 columns of 16 characters each.
- (b) Date: Published (*kan* 刊) in Kan'ei 寛永 3 (1626).  
 Publisher: Nakajima Kyūbei 中島久兵衛  
 Format: Four-sided double border, with no vertical rules (*mukai* 無界). 11 columns of 21 characters each.
- (c) Date: Published in Kan'ei 6 (1629).  
 Publisher: Same as edition (b).  
 Format: Same as edition (b).

Woodblock-printed (*seiban* 整版) editions

- (d) Date: Published in Kan'ei 7 (1630).  
 Publisher: [Nakano] Ichiemonnojō [中野] 市右衛門尉  
 Format: Four-sided double border, with no vertical rules. 9 columns, 16 characters each.

A reproduction (*fukukoku* 覆刻) of edition (a) in woodblock form, with glossing points (*kunten* 訓点) added.

- (e) Date: Published in Kan'ei 9 (1632).  
 Publisher: No publisher given.  
 Format: Same as edition (d).

A reproduction of edition (d), with the following two modifications. First, the second volume's volume-end title (*kanbidai* 卷尾題), which in edition (d) was found on the verso of the final page of main text (*honbun* 本文), has in edition (e) been moved up to that same page's recto side. This allowed the verso to begin immediately with the work's supplement (*furoku* 付録), ultimately saving one side of a page (**Figures 1 & 2**). In addition, the second volume's colophon (*kanki* 刊記), which in edition (d) was the only printed content on the verso of that volume's ultimate page, has been relocated to formerly free space on that page's recto, saving one additional page-side (**Figures 3 & 4**). Together these two changes permitted a full page's worth of savings.

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Digitized images are available on the *Database of Pre-Modern Japanese Works (Shin Nihon kotenseki sōgō dētābēsu* 新日本古典籍総合データベース) for edition (a) [<https://doi.org/10.20730/100016120>], edition (d) [<https://doi.org/10.20730/200006143>], and edition (g) [<https://doi.org/10.20730/100025309>]. See: [<http://kotenseki.nijl.ac.jp>].

In the digital archives of Shimane 島根 University Library, digital images are available for edition (e) [<http://da.lib.shimane-u.ac.jp/content/2064>], edition (f) [.../2066], and also (though with the year of publication removed from its colophon) edition (d) [.../2067].

Digitized images of edition (h) can also be viewed at Waseda 早稲田 University Library's Japanese and Chinese Classics database (*Kotenseki sōgō dētābēsu* 古典籍総合データベース). See: [[http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/bunko31/bunko31\\_e1108/index.html](http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/bunko31/bunko31_e1108/index.html)].

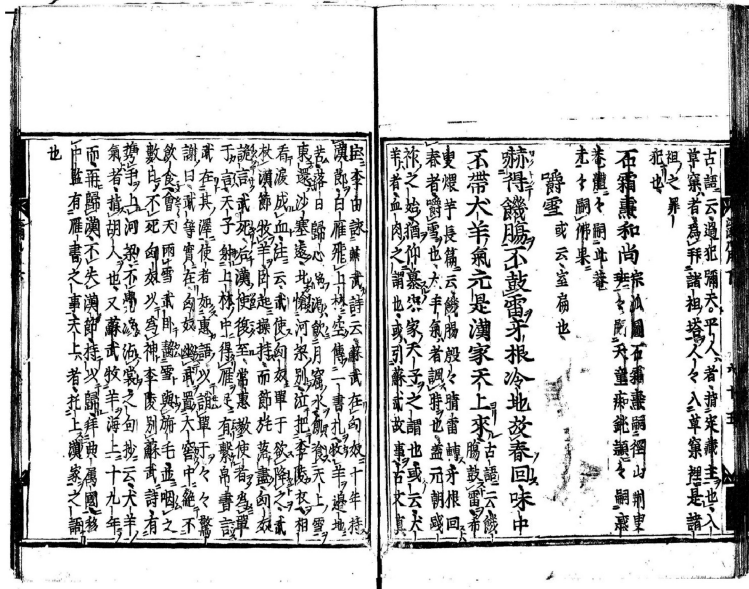


Figure 1a.

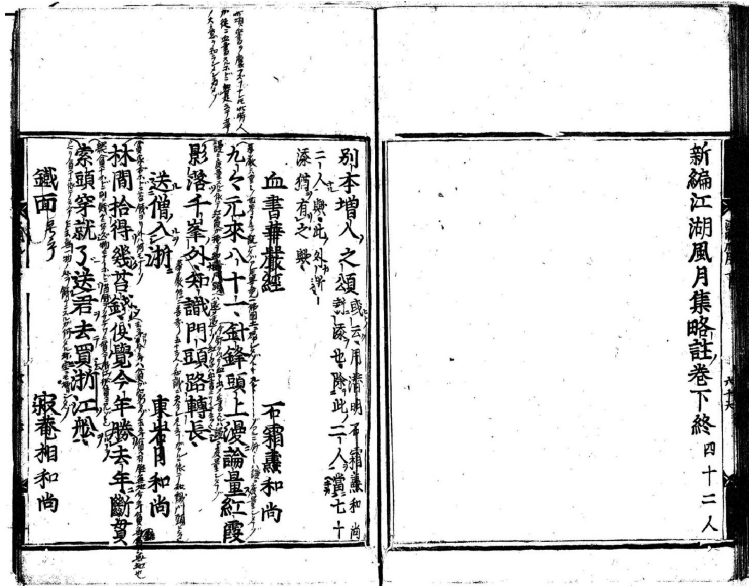


Figure 1b.

Figure 1. *Shinpen Goko fugetsu shu ryakuchū* 新編江湖風月集略註. Edition (d), vol. 2. (NIJL).

In this earlier edition (d), after the main text of Volume 2 concludes on p. 66r. (Figure 1a, left), the volume-end title (*kanbidai* 卷尾題) follows on the subsequent page-face 66v. (Figure 1b, right).

<https://doi.org/10.20730/200006143> (images no. 146–147)



Figure 2a.

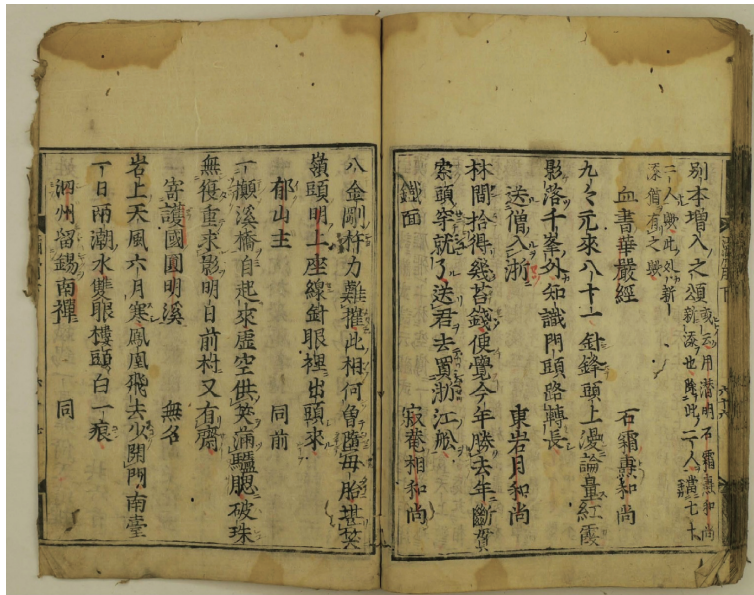


Figure 2b.

Figure 2. *Shinpen Goko fugetsu shū ryakuchū*. Edition (c) vol. 2. (Shimane University Library).

In edition (e), the volume-end title has been moved up a page-face, fitted in directly after the end of the main text on p. 66r. (Figure 2a, left), allowing the supplement to begin immediately on 66v. (Figure 2b, right), a page-face earlier than in edition (d), where it began on 67r. (Figure 1b, left).

<https://da.lib.shimane-u.ac.jp/content/ja/2065> (images no. 71–72)



Figure 3a.

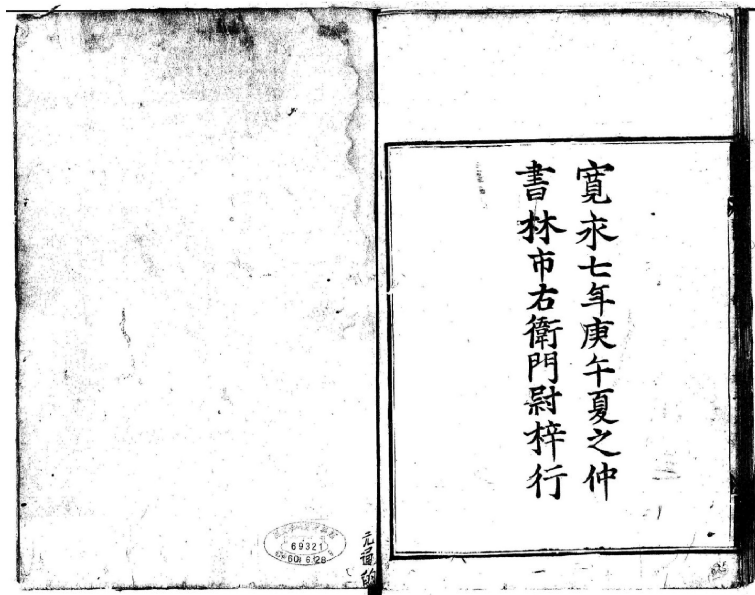


Figure 3b.

Figure 3. *Shinpen Goko fūgetsu shū ryakuchū*. Edition (d), vol. 2. (NIJL).

In this earlier edition (d), the second volume's colophon (*kanki* 刊記) is printed separately from the rest of the text, and allotted its own page-face at the volume's end, p. 71v. (Figure 3b, right).

<https://doi.org/10.20730/200006143> (images no. 151–152)



**Figure 4.** *Shinpen Goko fugetsu shū ryakuchū*. Edition (e), vol. 2, pp. 70v.–back inside cover. (Shimane University Library).

In edition (e), the colophon, too, has been moved up a page-face, fitted into what in edition (d) had been free space on the page-face preceding. In this photograph, the inside flap of the back cover has been peeled away to overlay the volume's last page, making its details difficult to discern. Nonetheless it can be distinguished above that in edition (e), the colophon found in edition (d) on p. 71v. (Figure 3b, right), and the text preceding it on p. 71r. (Figure 3a, left), have here been combined into a single page-face.

<https://da.lib.shimane-u.ac.jp/content/ja/2065> (image no. 76)

- (f) Date: Printed (*in* 印) in Kanbun 寛文 3 (1663).  
 Publisher: Yamamoto Goheinojō 山本五兵衛尉  
 Format: Same as edition (e).

A reprinting of edition (e), differing only in modifications made to the colophon by means of inserted wooden plugs (*ireki* 入木).

- (g) Date: Printed in Enpō 延宝 5 (1677).  
 Publisher: Nagao Heibei 長尾平兵衛  
 Format: Same as edition (e).

A reprinting of edition (e), differing only in modifications made to the colophon by means of inserted wooden plugs.

- (h) Date: Unknown, but datable to the early Edo period.  
 Publisher: Unknown.  
 Format: Same as edition (e).

A republication of (e), but with the full text recarved using the Minchō 明朝 typeface. In the latter half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, under the influence of Ōbaku-ban 黄檗版 editions (e.g., the *Testugen-ban issaikyō* 鉄眼版一切経), it became more common, when issuing new editions of older Buddhist and Sinographic publications, to change the typeface of their *kanji* to Minchō. Edition (h) is one example of this trend.

With the advance of commercial publishing, texts which in the past had been transmitted only by manuscript were able, through publication, to circulate widely for the first time—a development that manifests in typical fashion certain sharp differences between the medieval and early modern periods in the way books themselves functioned.

The *Ryakuchū* itself saw publication on three different occasions in old moveable-type editions alone. The earliest of these, edition (a), used larger type-pieces (*katsuji* 活字), resulting in a page with both fewer columns of text in total and fewer characters of text within each column. By the time of editions (b) and (c), however, columns have increased both in number and capacity. This shift is illustrative of the changes that took place in such old moveable-type editions between the period embracing the Keichō 慶長 (1596–1615) and Genna 元和 (1615–1624) eras, when non-commercial publishing was still the rule, and the subsequent Kan'ei 寛永 era (1624–1645), over the course of which commercial publication became more general. (Under the market conditions of the latter period, pressure to lower publication costs led to the adoption of smaller type-pieces, whose use permitted an increase in columns per page and characters per column that ultimately saved both paper and ink).

In the case of moveable-type, however, once printed, each individually typeset page had to be decomposed to make room for the next. Under such a system, printing additional copies at a later date implied a page-by-page re-composition of the full text. Edition (c) is a good example of such a situation. By the same publisher as edition (b), rather than any intention to produce a new edition on the publisher's part, the existence of edition (c) most likely represents merely the need for more copies of the earlier one. When stocks of edition (b) proved insufficient, the publisher would have had no choice but to typeset the entire work again from the beginning, effectively producing a new edition in the process.

With woodblock printing, on the other hand, once the master printing blocks had been produced, they could be used again and again to print further copies of the text at will. In cases where lasting demand for a work could be expected, in other words, from a commercial standpoint the technology of woodblock-printing was clearly superior. It was precisely for this reason that during the Kan'ei era, we find texts which had appeared previously in old moveable-type editions being republished in new editions printed by woodblock. The *Ryakuchū* is no exception to this trend, and indeed edition (d), the first edition of that work

produced using woodblock, was in fact a re-production (i.e., a traced re-carving) of old moveable-type edition (a). It is likely, moreover, that the choice of (a) as the basis for this new edition, rather than a more recent edition like (b) or (c), proceeded from the judgment that the former's less-packed page composition was ultimately preferable for purposes of annotation, allowing more space for the various *kunten* 訓点 glossing points to be added. It is conceivable that a desire to avoid using publications from other more contemporary publishers also played some role in the decision.

At the same time, because it preceded the establishment of a system for protecting copyright, this period of transition also saw the frequent republication by competitor publishers of works from one's own catalogue particularly in demand, brazenly reissued in unauthorized editions with no change in content. And in such cases, rather than reproducing that same content in a new layout of one's own conception, it was of course far more efficient to simply reproduce (essentially, to retrace) the preexisting layout already to hand. A good example of such a case is edition (e), likely to be the reproduction, anonymously issued, of edition (d) by a different publisher. In contrast, editions (f) and (g), though also by different publishers, are in effect reprintings, made possible through serial acquisitions of edition (e)'s own printing blocks. With regard to edition (h), nothing definitive can be said about either when it was published, or by whom, but its production can probably be dated to some point after the spread of the Minchō 明朝 typeface, in the latter half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

Other considerations aside, at the least this history of the *Ryakuchū*'s repeated republication demonstrates eloquently the degree of demand that the work succeeded in commanding.

Another feature of this history is the appearance of several works representing various degrees of alteration made to the original commentary:

[2] *Shinpen Gōko fūgetsu shū ryakuchū shō* 新編江湖風月集略註鈔 (4 volumes)<sup>5</sup>

Date: Published in Kan'ei 10 (1633).

Publisher: Nakano Ichiemon 中野市右衛門

This text is a rewriting of the *Ryakuchū*'s *kambun*-medium commentary in a mixed-vernacular style (*kana-majiri-bun* カナ交じり文) with *katakana*. Where the interpretation of the *Ryakuchū* proved insufficient, however, it also supplements the earlier work, from time to time even questioning its analysis. Some publication catalogues (*shojaku mokuroku* 書籍目録) printed during the Edo period list as the

<sup>5</sup> See the two texts available in the digital archives of Shimane University Library, found respectively at [<http://da.lib.shimane-u.ac.jp/content/1885>] and [<http://da.lib.shimane-u.ac.jp/content/1889>].

text's author the Sōtō-school monk Bannan Eishu 万安英種.<sup>6</sup> It is worth note in either case that it shares an issuing publisher with edition (d) of the *Ryakuchū* itself. On the publisher's side, likely this reflects a form of response to pirate editions like (e) from competitors, an attempt to differentiate his offering by providing this further commentary alongside the *Ryakuchū*, almost as a companion work.

[3] *Shusho Gōko fūgetsu shū* 首書江湖風月集 (4 volumes)<sup>7</sup>

Date: Unknown.  
 Publisher: Unknown.

A work that adds, to either side of and also above the entries of the *Ryakuchū*, a further layer of even more detailed *kanbun*-medium commentary (mostly concerned with determining textual sources). First appearing in a publication catalogue of Kanbun 10 (1670), later catalogues give as its author one Gekkai 月海. One catalogue from Genroku 元禄 9 (1696) lists as its publisher a certain Nagao 長尾, perhaps indicating Nagao Heibei 長尾平兵衛. Should this in fact be the case, it might well indicate an attempt to respond to widespread demand in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, implying as it would that alongside his acquisition of the printing blocks (*hangi* 版本) for edition (e) of the *Ryakuchū* itself, the same publisher had also sought to add to his inventory a yet more detailed commentary like this work.

[4] *Gōko fūgetsu shū ryakuchū shusha* 江湖風月集略註取捨 (2 volumes)<sup>8</sup>

Date: Published in Kyōhō 享保 17 (1732).  
 Publisher: Fūgetsudō Shōzaemon 風月堂莊左衛門

While basing itself on the *Ryakuchū*, this work is selective in what it preserves and what it discards, bringing in additional commentary from outside, and even expounding its own novel theories. By Yōshun Shudaku 陽春主諾 (Seiken-ji 清見寺 temple, Shizuoka Prefecture), a Rinzaï-school monk of the Myōshin-ji Branch, from the mid-early modern period onward, this text came to circulate more widely than the *Ryakuchū* itself.

For commentaries on the original anthology from alternative lineages, the following works were also published:

<sup>6</sup> A list of products of the commercial press current at that point in time. All such catalogues up to the mid-Edo period that survive are collected in the volume *Edo jidai shorin shuppan shojaku mokuroku sbusei* 江戸時代書林出版書籍目録集成, ed. Keiō Gijuku Daigaku Fuzoku Kenkyūjo Shidō Bunko 慶應義塾大学附属研究所斯道文庫 (Tokyo: Inoue Shobō, 1962–1964).

<sup>7</sup> Facsimile in *Zengaku tenseki sōkan*, vol. 11 (op. cit.).

<sup>8</sup> No facsimile volume available. Digitized images, however, are available on the *Database of Pre-Modern Japanese Works*. [<https://doi.org/10.20730/100224648>]. See: [<http://kotenski.nijl.ac.jp>].



[5] *Shusho Gōko shū Kassan shō* 首書江湖集夾山鈔 (8 volumes)<sup>9</sup>

Date: Published in Manji 万治 2 (1659).  
 Publisher: Akitaya Heizaemon 秋田屋平左衛門

Main text in *kanbun*, with headnotes (*shusho* 首書) in a mixed-vernacular style using *katakana*. Explains how the content of the work bears upon Buddhist enlightenment, using a two-tier analysis that examines separately both a “verse’s surface [meaning]” (*kumen* 句面) as well as the true, more hidden “verse’s inner [meaning]” (*kuchū* 句中). The titular Kassan 夾山 is a figure otherwise unknown.

[6] *Shinpen Gōko shū keimōshō* 新編江湖集啓蒙鈔 (5 volumes)<sup>10</sup>

Date: Published in Kanbun 8 (1668).  
 Publisher: Tsutsumi Rokuzaemon 堤六左衛門

Written in a mixed-vernacular style with *katakana*. By the early Edo-period Sōtō-school monk Manshitsu Sokai 巳室祖价 (Banshō-ji 万松寺 temple, Nagoya, 11<sup>th</sup> generation).

[7] *Shinchū shōwa Gōko fūgetsu shū* 新註唱和江湖風月集 (8 volumes)<sup>11</sup>

Date: Published (according to afterword date) in Kyōhō 3 (1718).  
 Publisher: Unknown.

A work of commentary and also original poetry by the Sōtō-school monk Geppa Dōin 月坡道印.

### The Medieval Within Commentaries of the Early Modern Period

Here let us examine the respective content of [1] the *Ryakuchū* and [2] the *Ryakuchū shō*, taking by way of example a single verse (#140) found near the beginning of the Chinese anthology’s second volume, a composition by the compiler Songpo Zongqi himself.<sup>12</sup> Portions marked out by a straight underline represent content shared by both texts [1] and [2], which is to say, portions that [2] the *Ryakuchū shō* has taken from [1] the *Ryakuchū* and rendered, more or less faithfully, into Japanese.

<sup>9</sup> Facsimile in *Zengaku tenseki sōkan*, vol. 11 (op. cit.).

<sup>10</sup> No facsimile volume available. Based on the Komazawa University Library text. (Call number: 永久 1022).

<sup>11</sup> No facsimile volume available. Based on the Komazawa University Library text. (Call number: H151/5).

<sup>12</sup> For a more detailed discussion (from the present author) on poem #140, see Iizuka Hironobu 飯塚大展, et al., “*Gōko fūgetsu shū ryakuchū kenkyū* (11)” 『江湖風月集略註』研究 (十一), *Komazawa daigaku Zen kenkyūjo nenpō* 駒澤大学禅研究所年報 30 (2019.1).

[1] *Ryakuchū* 略註<sup>13</sup>

Title: 帰江陵奔講師喪 江陵に帰つて講師の喪に奔る (或本帰字上有送人之二字)

- |   |         |                |
|---|---------|----------------|
| 1 | 講罷殘經去不回 | 殘經を講じ罷めて去つて回らず |
| 2 | 石床花雨翠成堆 | 石床の花雨 翠 堆を成す   |
| 3 | 天荒地老重相見 | 天荒地老いて重ねて相見    |
| 4 | 眼在髑髏眉底開 | 眼は髑髏眉底に在つて開く   |

去不回者、講師死也。講得經論称仏意、則雨花動地。須菩提宴坐岩中、諸天雨花。梁武帝講放光般若時、天雨四花等事。又西山亮座主講經時、有雨花之瑞云々。天荒地老者、久義也。

Title: *Headed home to Jiangling in haste for his master's mourning*  
(Another version of the text has before “Headed home . . .” the words “Upon sending off one”)

- 1 Finished teaching the scriptures left, gone is he with no return;
- 2 On his stony seat, flowers rain to make heaps of piled jade.
- 3 Beyond sky's ruin and earth's end shall you next each other see,
- 4 When eyes there are in hollow skull, beneath the brow wide-open.

Here “gone is he with no return” refers to the master's death. It rains flowers and shakes the earth because he was one who taught and grasped the scriptures and thus pleased the Buddha's mind. When Subhūti was sitting at rest among the rocks, the various devas rained flowers down upon him. Also the story about how when Emperor Wu of Liang was teaching the Light-emitting Wisdom [Sutra] (Fangguang bore 放光般若), heaven showered him with four types of flower, etc. And it is said that when Abbot Liang 亮 of Xishan 西山 was teaching the scriptures, there was a miracle of flowers raining. The phrase “beyond sky's ruin and earth's end” signifies a long span of time.

[2] *Ryakuchū shō* 略註鈔<sup>14</sup>

Title: 帰江陵奔講師喪

*Headed home to Jiangling in haste for his master's mourning*

婦ノ上ニ送ルト云字在テヨイゾ。唐土テハ、ドノ禪僧モ初メハ教者ニ依テ教学ヲスルソ。是ヲ受業ノ師ト云ソ。サウシテ後ニ參禪ゾ。夫レニ依テ經意ヲモ能ク窮ルニ依

<sup>13</sup> Notes on [1] the *Ryakuchū* 略註 text:

- (1) Line numbers, etc., are added here for ease of comparison between the two commentaries.
- (2) Conversely, all *kunten* 訓点 glossing points found in the base text have been omitted.
- (3) The *yomi-kudashi* 読み下し rendering of the poem is my own.

<sup>14</sup> Notes on [2] the *Ryakuchū shō* 略註鈔 text:

- (1) As above in text [1], line numbers, etc., are added here for ease of comparison.
- (2) Here, too, all *kunten* glossing points found in the base text have been omitted.
- (3) In some cases, for ease of reading, the text as given here represents a rearrangement of the base text in accordance with the omitted *kunten*, with *okurigana* supplied at need. Examples:

Line 1: 殘スレ經ヲ → 經ヲ殘ス

Line 2: 雨レ花ヲ → 花ヲ雨ス (ふら・す)

テ、禪学モ広イソ。日本テモ上代ニハ如此アツタニ依テ、ヨカツタソ。今時ハサヤウニ無イニ依テ、錯リカ多イソ。是ハ江陵ト云処ヘ帰テ講師ノ喪ニ逢フゾ。

It is appropriate to have the words “Upon sending off one” before “Headed home . . .” In China, all Zen monks begin with a period of [doctrinal] study under an instructor. They call this the “master of teaching.” Only after this do they engage in Zen practice. As a result of the deep understanding of scripture they achieve because of this, Zen erudition there is wide-ranging. Such was once the case in Japan, too, in older times, and things were the better for it. Because nowadays that is no longer the case, error has become common. This [title] means that [the poem’s addressee] is traveling home to the place called Jiangling to be there in time for his master’s mourning.

### 1 講罷殘經去不回

Finished teaching the scriptures left, gone is he with no return;

講師ノナリゾ。此間講シ残シタ経ヲ講シ罷テ死ナレタソ。去不回トハ、死シテ一度去テハ不回ソ。[A] 或ハ講シ罷テ経ヲ残ストヨマフトイヘトモ、二重三重テ何ントヤラウシタソ。

This is a description of his master. Having finished teaching those scriptures which, only recently, he had left still untaught, he then died. The meaning of “gone is he with no return” is that once someone has died and gone, there is no returning for him. [A] One might also read [the verse] as signifying that when he finished teaching, there were still scriptures he had left untaught, but that would need [the verse] to be in something like two or three different pieces.

### 2 石床花雨翠成堆

On his stony seat, flowers rain to make heaps of piled jade.

此間講経ノ時キ花カ雨タカ、今ニ堆ヲ成シテアルソ。雨花ノコトハ、梁ノ武帝放光般若ヲ講セシトキモ花ヲ雨シ、西山ノ亮座主講経ノトキモ花ヲ雨シ、須菩提般若ヲ説ク時モ花ヲ雨ス。[B] 日本ニテモ、聖徳太子講経ノトキモ天花乱墜シタソ。爰テモ講師チヤホトニ、花ハ雨ラストモ花カ雨タト云カ作法ゾ。

Recently while he was teaching the scriptures it rained flowers, and now they have piled up in heaps. Regarding the expression “raining flowers,” it also rained flowers when Emperor Wu of Liang taught the *Light-emitting Wisdom* [Sutra], as it rained flowers when Abbot Liang of Xishan was teaching the scriptures, and as again it rained flowers when Subhūti was expounding upon the *Wisdom* [Sutra]. [B] Also in Japan, when Shōtoku Taishi 聖徳太子 was teaching the scriptures, then too flowers poured from the skies in profusion. So too here, even if there is no rain of flowers, one says that it rained flowers out of convention—[the deceased] was after all [the addressee’s] own master.

### 3 天荒地老重相見

Beyond sky’s ruin and earth’s end shall you next each other see,

講師ハ死シ去タホトニ、天モ荒レ地モ老タソ。此ノ如ク云タトテ、百年二百年ニ成テ年シクイデハ無ケレトモ、死去テ何ンニモ無イ処ヲ云ソ。爰ノ相見シ難イ処テ相見シタソ。何ニト相見シタソナレハ、

When his master died and passed away, it blighted the sky and aged the earth itself. What this manner of speaking intends is not the long span of after a hundred or two hundred years, but rather his sense of nothing at all remaining after [his master's] death and departure. And yet here they see each other again, despite how impossible seeing one another has become at this point. Now, as to how it is possible to see each another thus . . .

#### 4 眼在髑髏眉底開

When eyes there are in hollow skull, beneath the brow wide-open.

喜識尽タ髑髏ノ上ニ活眼睛カアルソ。爰テ相見シタソ。前ニ「髑髏那畔重相見、立尽空山又夕陽」ト同意ソ。

On the hollow skull of one who is done with the knowledge of joy, there is an enlivened [i.e., enlightened] eye. It is with this that they see one another. The meaning is the same as in the earlier poem: “Yonder beside the hollow skull shall you next each other see / Standing to end the mountain void, again with the evening sun.”<sup>15</sup>

Of the two passages in [2] the *Ryakuchū shō* marked out above in wavy underline, the first [A] is almost identical to this passage found in the *Kintaishū* 襟帯集, a work credited to—though likely merely copied out or owned by—Bunshi Genshō 文之玄昌 (1555–1620), a Rinzai-school monk active in Kagoshima: “Given the difficulty of determining the significance here of “left,” one might also read [the verse] as signifying that when he finished teaching, there were still scriptures he had left untaught, but that would need [the verse] to be in something like two or three different pieces” (残字難解程ニ、講シ罷テ残經トヨマウトイヘトモ、二重三重テ何トヤラウシタソ).<sup>16</sup>

Furthermore, the second such passage [B] also finds its content mirrored in another text, this time the *Gōko fūgetsu shū shō* 江湖風月集抄, a work by Hōshuku Shusen 彭叔守仙 (1490–1555), a monk of the Kyoto Gozan temple Tōfuku-ji 東福寺 famous for his scholarship (an autograph copy of this text survives, containing Shusen’s record of lectures by his teacher Hōkyō Kōrin 芳郷光隣, to which he has appended further theories of his own). There, after citing the same precedent examples of Subhūti and Emperor Wu of Liang (though no reference to Abbot Liang is made), Shusen goes on to write: “In Japan, it is said that when Shōtoku Taishi was teaching *Queen Śrīmālā’s Sutra* (*Shōmangyō* 勝鬘經) at Tachibana-dera 橘寺, there occurred a prodigy of flowers raining, etc.” (日本ニテハ、聖徳太子講勝鬘經於橘寺時、有雨花瑞云々).<sup>17</sup>

In other words, the *Ryakuchū shō* has not only recast the commentary of the *Ryakuchū* into more accessible language, but in places where the *Ryakuchū* itself was silent, has also supplied detailed analyses on its own initiative, drawing upon lectures and theories of the medieval period from the Gozan system and beyond.

<sup>15</sup> This references vv. 3–4 of poem #62 in the first volume of *Jianghu fengyue ji*.

<sup>16</sup> Facsimile (of a *Seikidō sosho* 成實堂叢書 reproduction of the original text) found in *Zengaku tenseki sōkan*, vol. 11 (op. cit.).

<sup>17</sup> Facsimile in *Ryūmon bunko zenpon sōkan* 龍門文庫善本叢刊, vol. 4 (Tokyo: Benseisha, 1985).

Similar cases may be observed elsewhere. Omitting here any particular examples, the *kanbun* commentary of [5] the *Kassan shō* 夾山鈔 commentary draws frequently upon the theories of Kōzei Ryūha 江西龍派 (1375–1446, also called Zokusui 続翠), a monk of the Muromachi period whose activities centered on the Kyoto Gozan temple Kennin-ji 建仁寺. Also the author of, for example, a commentary on the poetry of Du Fu 杜甫 (the *Toshi Zokusui shō* 杜詩続翠抄), in his wide-ranging scholarship Kōzei frequently employs the technical term *shitagokoro* 下心 (“deeper meaning”)<sup>18</sup>—essentially the same as Kassan’s concept of the “verse’s inner [meaning]” (*kuichū* 句中)—as an interpretive tool for discussing the true meaning intended by a given poet.

And it is worth noting that this method of analysis employed by Kōzei had on commentaries produced by later generations of Zen monks a widespread and lasting influence. For example, Sesshin Jisen 説心慈宣 (d. 1626, also called Soin 素隠), a late-Muromachi monk of the Myōshin-ji Branch, in his commentary on the famous anthology of Tang-era poetry *Santishi* 三体詩, the *Santaishi Soin shō* 三体詩素隠抄—another commentary that circulated in both old moveable-type and woodblock-printed editions—likewise analyzed many of that anthology’s works using a similar framework, finding on the poem’s surface a “[meaning] above” (*kami* 上) which contrasted with the “[meaning] underneath” (*soko* 底) that reflected the poet’s true intention. This constitutes yet another case of medieval-era “knowledge” coming to circulate in the early modern period through the vehicle of print.

### Conclusion: The Circulation of “Knowledge” and Publication Activity

In the dynamic world of early-modern period commercial publishing, competition between rival publishers sometimes took the form of reproducing rival editions containing the same in-demand text, but also often took the form of producing novel variations on such a text, developing it in the direction of greater detail—or greater accessibility. In the course of these activities, a wide range of diverse commentaries came to be published. Yet if contemporary monks frequently featured as central participants in such efforts, as editors and also as authors in their own right, the content of the commentaries they produced was not necessarily itself as contemporary, and indeed often hearkened back to medieval commentaries from a variety of monastic schools which—as least up to that point—had depended for their transmission on hand-copied manuscripts. As a result, a body of “knowledge” that throughout the medieval period has remained largely hidden, came at length through such publications to circulate more widely through society as a whole.

<sup>18</sup> For further discussion of this technical term, see Horikawa Takashi, “‘Shitagokoro’ no setsu” 「下心」の説, *Nihon koten bungakukai kaihō* 日本古典文学会々報 130 (1998.7).



# On the Reception and Uses of Li Shizhen's *Classified Materia Medica (Bencao gangmu)* in 17<sup>th</sup>-century Japan: Text, Categories, Pictures<sup>1</sup>

Matthias HAYEK

## Introduction

The *Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目 (Classified *Materia Medica*, Jp. *Honzō kōmoku*), a summa on pharmacology (*bencao* 本草, Jp. *honzo*) published in 1596 in Nanjing, has been praised as a truly epoch-making book. The richness of the work alone could justify its fame: it lists, describes, and discusses the medicinal properties of 1,895 different kinds of plants, herbs, minerals, and animals. Nor did its compiler, Li Shizhen 李時珍 (1518–1593), stop at merely collecting the more traditional sort of *bencao* material: fully endorsing the Neo-Confucian epistemological paradigm of “investigation of things” (*gewu zhiwuzhi* 格物致知, Jp. *kakubutsu chichi*),<sup>2</sup> he extended the purview of his compilation to the basic components of the surrounding world, as well as to the realm of man. If, as Georges Métaillé has meticulously shown, Li cannot really be considered a “precursor” to modern zoology, he nevertheless devised a system that, while retaining most of the subjective categories of “folk taxonomy,” still strove after a renewed form of coherency.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This research would not have been possible without the digital resources made available by the National Institute of Japanese Literature, both through the renewed *Database of Pre-modern Japanese Works*, and through the *Center for Open Data in the Humanities* (CODH). I would also like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their useful remarks and advice, as well as Jeffrey Knott for his careful editing. For any remaining mistakes, the fault is mine alone.

<sup>2</sup> Elmann, Benjamin, *On Their Own Terms: Science in China 1550–1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005).

<sup>3</sup> See the following series of studies by George Métaillé: (1) “Des mots et des plantes (dans le *Bencao gangmu* de Li Shizhen)”, *Extrême-Orient/Extrême-Occident* 10 (1988), pp. 27–43; (2) “The *Bencao gangmu* (Classified *Materia Medica*) of Li Shizhen—An innovation in Natural History?”, in *Innovation in Chinese Medicine*, ed. Elisabeth Hsu (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); (3) “Le *Bencao gangmu* de Li Shizhen et l’histoire naturelle au Japon durant la période d’Edo (1600–1868)”, *Études chinoises* 25 (2006), pp. 41–68 and pp. 221–261; and (4) “Some Reflections on the History of Botanical Knowledge in China”, *Circumscribere* 3 (2007), pp. 66–84.

The broad scope of Li's work may explain why it enjoyed a wide reception not only in China but also in other parts of East Asia. In the Japanese case, the introduction of the *Bencao gangmu* in the first years of the 17<sup>th</sup> century has been defined as the key event that laid the foundations for further developments, not only in the pragmatic realm of pharmacology proper (*bonzōgaku* 本草学 or *yakubutsugaku* 薬物学), but also in what might be called the “study of nature” in its broader sense (*hakubutsugaku* 博物学). According to Ueno Masuzō 上野益三 (1900–1989), one of the chief specialists on the history of the natural sciences in Japan, the broader, naturalistic scope of Li's book stimulated several successive generations of Japanese scholars, leading to the formation of a local tradition of natural history.<sup>4</sup> This tradition is seen as clearly distinct from the Chinese one, insofar as for these scholars, the main interest lay in listing and in reflecting upon local specimens, and additionally because, independently as a local tradition, it proved able to coexist with—and at some point even to converge with—those Western “scientific” views that were gradually being introduced to Japan through the so-called field of “Dutch studies” (*rangaku* 蘭学). Within this narrative, which had already become established by the time of Shirai Mitsutarō 白井光太郎 (1863–1932) and Watanabe Kōzō 渡辺幸三 (1905–1966)—Ueno's forerunners in the field of the history of *bonzō* and *hakubutsugaku* in China and Japan—Li's *Bencao gangmu* played an ambiguous role. On the one hand, it was seen as having been a welcome catalyst for the development of a local scholarship. On the other, it was cast as a “limitation” partly responsible for preventing the earlier appearance of a properly scientific mode of thought, whether in spontaneous generation domestically or through the external stimulus of Western knowledge.<sup>5</sup> In the words of Watanabe and Ueno, the *Bencao* ended up “dominating” (*shibai* 支配)<sup>6</sup> the mind of Japanese naturalists, who tended to “blindly follow”<sup>7</sup> Li's system, and were consequently as stubbornly impervious to change as Aristotelians had been in the face of Copernicus, Galileo, and the Kepler findings. In these scholars' “progressivist” view—reminiscent of what Lucien Febvre called in European context the “old myth of the Renaissance”<sup>8</sup>—Kaibara Ekiken's 貝原益軒 (1630–1714) work *Yamato bonzō* 大和本草 (Japanese *Materia Medica*, 1708) represents, at long last, a form of “critical emancipation” from the *Bencao gangmu*. Having thus been launched, moreover, this movement was in turn nourished and sustained, so the narrative goes, by an empiricist stance that emphasized

<sup>4</sup> Ueno Masuzō 上野益三, “Honzō kōmoku to Nihon no hakubutsugaku” 本草綱目と日本の博物学, *Kōnan joshi daigaku kenkyū kiyō* 甲南女子大学研究紀要 7 (1971), pp. 153–163.

<sup>5</sup> Watanabe Kōzō 渡辺幸三, “Tokugawa jidai ni okeru honzōgaku gairon” 徳川時代に於ける本草学概論, *Yakuyō shokubutsu to shōyaku* 薬用植物と生薬 3 (1950), pp. 33–39.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>7</sup> Ueno (op. cit.), p. 154.

<sup>8</sup> Febvre, Lucien, *Le problème de l'incroyance au 16<sup>ème</sup> siècle: la religion de Rabelais* (Paris: Albin-Michel, 1942), p. 353.



working with actual samples as being more important than any search for overarching, arbitrary theories—an approach that would indeed be followed by later naturalists such as Ono Ranzan 小野蘭山 (1729–1810). Recent studies on this topic have helped bring both depth and nuance to this narrative,<sup>9</sup> in which one might even perceive an attempt to justify a form of “Japanese cultural exception” within the East Asian sphere, one that not only explains Japan’s success in rapid modernization (Japanese early-modern scholarship ostensibly being already almost on par with Western science), but also accounts for its failures (hindered, ostensibly, from “reaching” the level of the West earlier by virtue of its age-old reliance on Chinese paradigms). In the end, however, the idea that the *Bencao* ruled the field from its “official” introduction in 1607 up until 1709 appears to remain unchallenged. One of the main reasons, as I see it, for the persistence of this view, is that the original observations leading to its formulation still stand on strong ground. The fact remains that Li’s *Bencao* was reprinted 14 times in Japan over the course of the Edo period (1603–1868), and its influence was indeed very palpable, on subsequent publications treating *materia medica* and on encyclopedic works alike. Yet the question of the exact nature of this influence, especially beyond the boundaries of pharmacology proper, has so far gathered little attention, at least outside of studies dedicated to the particular textual landmarks of the aforementioned narrative. In this paper, I hope to give a closer look at how the *Bencao* was actually used, in a selection of works published before 1700. After first briefly reviewing the details of the *Bencao*’s own composition and the earliest traces of its introduction in Japan, I will move on to consider its direct influence on Japanese *materia medica* texts, as well as on *materia dietetica* texts, a genre closely related to the field of *honzō*. Finally, I will turn to the illustrated dictionaries and commentaries that made use of the *Bencao*.

The “details” of the *Bencao gangmu* can be narrowed down to two main aspects: (1) its formal structure, e.g., the general organization of the text, the structure of each entry, etc., and (2) the knowledge it contains—that is, the choices, selections, and quotations produced by Li himself, as well as all the pictures added in by the work’s various publishers. My goal here is to shed light on which of these aspects has been influential, depending on the genre of publication. Contrary to what a situation of epistemic “domination” might lead one to expect, it seems to me that Li’s theoretical framework, and the worldview he tried to construct in his *magnum opus*, were not necessarily received in their fullness before the time of the so-called “critical” scholars such as Inō Jakusui 稻生若水 (1655–1715) and Kaibara Ekiken. Rather, the work functioned mostly as a collection of textual and pictorial elements that were used to supplement a preexisting framework,

<sup>9</sup> Isono Naohide 磯野直秀, “Nihon hakubutsugaku-shi oboegaki 14” 日本博物学史覚書 XIV, *Keiō gijinku daigaku Hiyooshi kiyō* 慶應義塾大学日吉紀要 44 (2008), pp. 99–124. See also Métaillé, op. cit. (2006), as well as Federico Marcon, *The Knowledge of Nature and the Nature of Knowledge in Early Modern Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

one being rediscovered from local classics amidst the boom in commercial publishing. In other words, reception of the *Bencao* as a coherent whole, reception that could serve as a basis for further development along the same lines as Li's work and following a similar methodology, may have occurred much later than the traditional narrative would have us believe.

### 1. The *Bencao gangmu*: Publication History, Structure, and Contents

Li Shizhen finished his compilation in 52 *juan* 卷 (volumes), after 30 years of work, in 1578. It was printed eighteen years later, in 1596, in Jinling 金陵 (modern Nanjing), after Li's death. This "Jinling" edition, the first of three that were produced before the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, adds two separate fascicles containing illustrations for the sections on minerals, plants, and animals.<sup>10</sup> Li Shizhen probably had no part in these pictures, which were devised by his two sons, Li Jianzhong 李建中 and Li Jianyuan 李建元, and which are famous for their lack of both quality and naturalistic accuracy. A new edition, known as the Jiangxi 江西 edition, was made in Nanchang 南昌 in 1603, with again the same illustrations, printed either as a separate fascicle, or, in subsequent copies, placed as appropriate at the beginning of each volume. It was only in 1640—with the new printing by Qian Weiqi 錢蔚起 in Wulin 武林 (Hangzhou 杭州), known as the Wulin or Qianya 錢衛 edition—that the illustrations were redrawn and, in some cases, amended. This last edition became the basis for all later reprintings, until a wholly new edition was produced in 1885.

The 52 *juan* are organized by category as follows:

Water section	1
Fire section	1
Earth section	1
Metals and minerals section	5
Herbs section	10
Grains section	4
Vegetables section	10
Fruits section	4
Trees section	6
Clothes and utensils section	6
Insects and vermin section	4
Scaly creatures section	4
Shelled creatures section	2
Birds section	4
Beasts section	4
Man section	1

<sup>10</sup> On the various editions of the *Bencao*, see Watanabe Kōzō, "Ri Jichin no *Honzō kōmoku* to sono hanpon" 李時珍の本草綱目とその版本, *Tōyō-shi kenkyū* 東洋史研究 12-4 (1953), pp. 333-357.

Through this general structure, we can see that Li tried to innovate in a number of ways.<sup>11</sup> Division of the *materia medica* into natural categories was not new in itself: this had been the standard model in the field since Tao Hongjing's 陶弘景 *Shennong bencao jing jizhu* 神農本草經集註 (Collected Commentaries on Shennong's *Materia Medica*), compiled at the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE. However, the number of such sections did not show much change until the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and works published in Li Shizhen's own time did not have more than 10 categories.<sup>12</sup> Li had thus greatly augmented the number of categories, deriving some of them by division—he separated scaly and shelled things—while others, such as the initial ones dealing with natural elements, or the later one on clothes, he simply added, taking his inspiration from encyclopedic works (*leishu* 類書). What is more, he made notable changes to the order of the sections, which he justifies as follows in his *fanli* 凡例 (preliminary remarks):

日本玉石水土混同、諸虫鱗介不別、或虫入木部、或木入草部。今各列為部、首以水火、次之以土、水火為万物之先、土為万物母也。次之以金石、從土也。次之以草穀菜果木、從微至巨也。次之以服器、從草木也。次之以虫鱗介禽獸、終之以人、從賤至貴也。<sup>13</sup>

Old books mix up jades, minerals, waters, and earths, they do not distinguish between insects, scaly creatures, and shelled creatures; some “insects” have an entry in the tree section and some trees in the herb section. . . I have now ordered everything into sections (*bu*) beginning with waters and fires, followed by earths. [That is because] Water and Fire come before the myriad things, and Earth is their mother. Then [follow] the metals and minerals, [because] they come from the Earth; then the herbs, grains, vegetables, fruits, and trees, from the smallest to the biggest; then the clothes and utensils, [made] from herbs and trees; then the “insects,” the scaly creatures, the shelled creatures, the birds, the beasts, to finish with man: from the vile to the precious.<sup>14</sup>

In other words, what Li had created was a wholly new “ladder of things,” with a hierarchy more coherent and more clearly-formulated than anything found in previous encyclopedias.<sup>15</sup> He also abandoned the traditional ranking in order by

<sup>11</sup> For an extensive presentation of the contents and structure of the *Bencao gangmu*, see Paul Unschuld, *Medicine in China: A History of Pharmaceutics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), pp. 145–163. See also Marcon (op. cit.), pp. 35–37.

<sup>12</sup> Métaillé, op. cit. (2001), p. 225.

<sup>13</sup> Li Shizhen 李時珍, *Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目 (pub. 万曆 Wanli 18/1590), vol. 3. Available at: <https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1287084/3>

<sup>14</sup> Métaillé, op. cit. (2001), p. 227.

<sup>15</sup> On the conceptual framework behind Li's design, see Carla Nappi, *The Monkey and the Inkpot: Natural History and its Transformations in Early Modern China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010). On the role of order in encyclopedias, see Matthias Hayek, “Encyclopaedia and Dictionaries in Premodern and Early Modern Japan: Chinese Heritage and the Local Reordering of Knowledge,” to be published in a forthcoming volume on cultural encyclopedias edited by Anna Boroffka.

the so-called “three grades” (Ch. *sanpin* 三品), which grouped drug materials according to their level of toxicity (superior = non-toxic, intermediate = moderately toxic, low = toxic), replacing this instead with a new hierarchy that reflected the relative subordination of each classificatory level to another. According to Li’s *fanli*, “Sections” (*bu* 部), such as “herbs” or “fish,” represent thus a higher tier of more encompassing *gang* 綱 (Jp. *keō*), while “Categories” (*lei* 類, Jp. *rui*) such as “fragrant tree” or “scaly fish” or “mountain birds” constitute, relative to the *gang*, a lower tier of more narrowly-drawn *mu* 目 (Jp. *moku*). And these “Categories” (*lei*), in their own turn, become themselves *gang* with respect to the yet narrower *mu* of more specific “kinds” (*zhong* 種, Jp. *shu*). This same hierarchy is also applied within the individual entries, where the first section, devoted to the principle of “rectification of names” (*zhengming* 正名), is a *gang* when compared to the alternative names given in following sections. Finally, although the preliminary remarks never state this explicitly, there are what Georges Métaillé calls “covert categories” that delineate series of what might seem to be considered “families” of entries,<sup>16</sup> with their own hierarchies divided between one particular generic entry and others which, in a few cases, are explicitly introduced as its “subordinates” (*shu* 屬, Jp. *zoku*).<sup>17</sup> For example, the *prunus mume* (*mei* 梅) is a sort of “sub-kind” of *prunus salicina* (*li* 李). These families, as well as this notion of “*shu*” itself, Li Shizhen seems to have found in the *Erya* 爾雅, one of the oldest *leishu* (dating to the Han dynasty), as well as in that work’s commentaries, such as those by Guo Pu 郭璞 (276–324) or Luo Yuan 羅願 (1136–1184). The criteria behind these ancient “families” are not always clear. However, in many cases, they proceed from similarities in forms and habits, affinities which are sometimes also underlined by a semantic proximity, e.g., the use of the same character in a compound name.<sup>18</sup>

As for the entries themselves, they follow a fixed pattern, with up to eleven sections, but in most cases usually only four: (1) the *shiming* 釋名 (explanation of names), that is, the determination of the “correct name,” usually by looking at ancient sources such as the *Erya*, then (2) the *jijie* 集解 (collected commentaries), (3) the *qivei* 氣味 (quality and flavor), and (4) the *zhu zhi* 主治 (main therapeutic indications). And if these last two are indeed quite common in *bencao* literature, Li also devised new headings of his own, adding the *faming* 發明 (explication) section, where he gives details on how and why various drugs are effective, providing either his own interpretation or quoting those of other authors, and also adding the *fulu* 附錄 (appendix) section, where one can find new additions of

<sup>16</sup> Métaillé, *op. cit.* (2007), p. 71.

<sup>17</sup> The term *shu* 屬 is also used to specify the grouping under which a given material is “subordinated” within various larger organizational schemata, such as the five phases, the *yin* and *yang*, or, in the case of body parts, the set of governing organs, in order to indicate the particular broader category with which the “subordinate” shares correlative properties.

<sup>18</sup> For a detailed presentation of the general structure of the *Bencao gangmu*, see Nappi (*op. cit.*), pp. 50–68.

materials or kinds that are in some manner related to the main entry, without being singled out yet as sub-species in their own right, or whose therapeutic usages had yet to become widely recognized and known.<sup>19</sup>

All these innovations indicate a theoretical and systematic intent on Li's part. Even though his groupings, whose criteria alternate between philological, morphological, and ecological proximity, are quite different from those of modern "scientific" taxonomy, his work has a strong internal coherency, deeply rooted in Neo-Confucian natural philosophy and its *gemu* 格物 worldview. This novelty in its structure and in its aims, in other words, thus characterizes the *Bencao gangmu* no less than any of its extended pharmacological content.

The question is: to what extent was Li's intent actually received in 17<sup>th</sup>-century Japan?

## 2. Early Reception in Japan

Turning now to the introduction of the *Bencao gangmu* in Japan, we can see that it followed two main lines, which together would end up defining the subsequent development of its influence: (1) the medicinal and the dietetical line, and (2) the so-called "encyclopedic" line. The latter begins with Hayashi Dōshun 林道春 (1583–1657), better known as Razan 羅山, who recorded Li's work in his *Kiken shomoku* 既見書目 (Catalogue of Books Already Seen) as early as 1604. Three years later, in 1607, Razan obtained an exemplar of the Jianxi edition in Nagasaki, which he presented to Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1543–1616). Meanwhile, there is evidence attesting to the fact that the *Bencao* was also known within the Manase 曲直瀬 school of medicine. Manase Gensaku 曲直瀬玄朔 (1549–1632), adopted son of the school's founder, Manase Dōsan 曲直瀬道三 (1507–1594), and heir also to the school's headship, published in 1608 a pharmacology manual, *Yakushō nodoku* 薬性能毒 (On the Potential Effects of Drugs), based largely on Dōsan's own *Nodoku* 能毒 (Potential Effects) but also expanded with contents from the *Bencao*.<sup>20</sup>

Razan was the first to give an overview of the work's general content and structure, with his *Tashikihen* 多識編 (Book of Extensive Knowledge). This is

<sup>19</sup> On the structure of these entries, see Métaillé, op. cit. (2001), and Nappi (op. cit.).

<sup>20</sup> Other students of the same school mention the *Bencao* in their writings as early as the early 1600's. See Marcon (op. cit.), pp. 57–58. On the Manase school, see Machi Senjurō 町泉寿郎, "The Evolution of 'Learning' in Early Modern Japanese Medicine," in *Listen, Copy, Read: Popular Learning in Early Modern Japan*, eds. Matthias Hayek and Annick Horiuchi (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 163–204. On the relationship between Dōsan's original *Nodoku*, which circulated among his disciples in manuscript form, and later printed manuals, see Noguchi Daisuke 野口大輔, Endō Jirō 遠藤次郎, Nakamura Teruko 中村輝子, Aoyagi Makoto 青柳誠, "Manase Dōsan *Yakushō nodoku* no kenkyū" 曲直瀬道三『薬性能毒』の研究, *Nihon ishigaku zasshi* 日本医学史雑誌 53:1 (2007), pp. 150–51.

not a pharmacology treatise, but rather a glossary covering the entries of both the *Bencao gangmu* and Wang Zhen's 王禎 (1271–1333) agronomical encyclopedia, the *Nongsbu* 農書 (1313). Thus, although it follows the order and structure of Li's work throughout its first four *kan* 卷 and at the beginning of the fifth, it then continues with words from the *Nongsbu*. Razan's book was completed in 1612, and circulated in manuscript form before being printed in 1630 in movable type, with a subsequent woodblock edition in 1631. Its 2,315 entries share the same, uniform organization: the excerpted Chinese name is given a possible equivalent in Japanese (with the phrase *ima an*[*zuru ni*] 今案, *lit.* "I now suggest"), most of which are taken from Minamoto no Shitagō's 源順 (911–983) *Wamyō ruijushō* 和名類聚抄 (Classified Compilation of Japanese Names [i.e. equivalents to Chinese characters]), or *Wamyōshō*, compiled between 931 and 938, and first printed in 1610 in moveable type. Razan, an early advocate of Neo-Confucianism and polymath scholar, was probably sensitive to Li's *genu*-oriented project. His glossary, however, limited itself to a "study of the names" (*meibutsugaku* 名物学), and thus exploited only the first part of each entry, the *shiming*, working from a lexicographical perspective. In fact, *Tashikihen* was mostly used in the context of Chinese poetry composition, a field quite remote from Li's own encyclopedic project.<sup>21</sup>

Conversely, the Manase school did not necessarily embrace the *genu* worldview, or indeed Li's personal innovations, in its usage of the *Bencao*. In *Shokushō nōdoku* 食性能毒 (On the Potential Effects of Foods), a section on the toxicity of ingredients included in the work *Nichiyō shokushō* 日用食性, a *materia dietetica* in Japanese published in 1631, Manase Gensaku, while indeed following the order of the entries of the *Bencao* in his selection of substances, nonetheless based his text almost exclusively on the *qiwei* and *zhuszhi* sections of the entries, or in other words on the most "classical" and least unique parts of Li's work, and with no explicit reference to it as source.<sup>22</sup> The "categories" (*lei*), too, are not made apparent, and as such, the *gang/mu* hierarchy is not clearly visible. As we will see, *materia dietetica* (*shokumotsu honzō* 食物本草) constituted an important category of *honzō*-related books. In their prefaces, the authors and compilers of such works position these as practical guides for "people's day-to-day lives" (*tami no nichiyō* 民の日用), leaving little place for medical theory.

Subsequently, Li's book was itself printed in Japan for the first time in 1637 by Noda Yajiemon 野田弥次右衛門. This first edition is based on the Jiangxi version. The text has glossing points (*kunten* 訓点) to help Japanese readers understand the text, as well as Japanese names for the entries, which are taken from Razan's *Tashikihen*. A new version, based on the same Jiangxi version but with

<sup>21</sup> Marcon (op. cit.), pp. 67 and 71, quoting from Nishimura Saburō 西村三郎 and Kameda Jirō 亀田次郎.

<sup>22</sup> Katō Itsuko 加藤伊都子 and Mayanagi Makoto 真柳誠, "Manase Gensaku *Shokushō nōdoku* ni okeru *Honzō kōmoku* no shusha" 曲直瀬玄朔『食性能毒』における『本草綱目』の取捨, *Nihon ishigaku zasshi* 日本医史学雑誌 38:2 (1992), pp. 213–215.

pictures from the 1640 Qianya edition, was printed in 1653. Finally, two editions based completely on the Qianya version were produced, one in 1659 (with a revised reprint in 1669 and many later undated editions), and one in 1672.<sup>23</sup>

Thus, by 1640, Li's work had been made more easily available to a scholarly audience, with its updated picture set and with Razan's Japanese readings. How did this new situation influence the reception of the work, and the intellectual project underlying it as a whole?

The period between the Kan'ei 寛永 (1624–1645) and Kanbun 寛文 (1661–1673) eras represents a turning point in the history of publishing in Japan. The 1630's saw the rise of commercial publishers in Kyoto, such as the aforementioned Noda, who gradually shifted from moveable-type to woodblock printing, a technique that allowed the inclusion of illustrations with relative ease. And even though their numbers paled in comparison to those of Buddhist texts, which still accounted for the majority of publications, various practical manuals, too—on medicine, divination, or poetry, together with commentaries or illustrated versions of classical texts—began to occupy a significant part of the market. According to Mayanagi Makoto 真柳誠, some 58 books related to *honzo* were published between 1608 and 1699, almost 77% (45) of them after 1630.<sup>24</sup>

The *Bencao* comes to figure more and more prominently in a greater share of these publications, at least from the 1650's onwards. In *Honzō kanben* 本草簡便 (A Simplified *Materia Medica*), published in 1652, Jūansai Gen'yū 就安齋玄幽, supposedly a disciple of the Manase school, lists 204 substances in all. Each of these entries starts with Gen'yū's own commentary, followed by a section discussing the name of the given material and a further section on its therapeutic properties. In both of these latter sections, Li is quoted first. The order of the entries, however, does not follow the *Bencao* at all.

We can also see quotations from Li making a new appearance in re-editions of older manuals on *materia dietetica*. For instance, Yamaoka Genrin's 山岡元隣 (1631–1672) *Shokumotsu waka honzō zōho* 食物和歌本草増補 (Augmented *Materia Dietetica* in Poetic Form), published in 1667, is for the most part merely a reissue of the contents of the *Waka shokumotsu honzō* 和歌食物本草 (A Poetic *Materia Dietetica*)—an anonymous work published in 1630—but its additional material is commentary derived from the *Bencao*. The original work, in two or three *kan*, introduced its

<sup>23</sup> This last one, titled *Kōsei honzō kōmoku* 校正本草綱目 (Classified *Materia Medica*, Edited and Corrected), is known as the “Ekiken version,” in reference to Kaibara Ekiken. This edition contains an additional table listing the entries with their Japanese names, which for the most part are identical with those given by Ekiken in his *Yamato honzō* (1708). However, the entries in the main text still follow *Tashikiben*, and the *kunten* glossing is of a level considered by some specialists to be incongruent with Ekiken's other scholarship. See Isono (op. cit.).

<sup>24</sup> Source: <http://square.umin.ac.jp/mayanagi/materials/EdoBencaobook.html> (accessed 1/1/2021). Note: working from the list provided on this page, in my calculation of the figures given above I have excluded encyclopedias and dictionaries (texts such as the *Wamyō ruijusho* 和名類聚抄).

*bonzō*-related knowledge on each of some 240 materials in the form of a dedicated sequence of Japanese *waka* 和歌 (31-syllable poems of a 5/7/5/7/7-syllable line structure). For example, the first verse of the sequence for the “boar” (*inoshibishi* 猪) entry reads:

猪はひえにて手おひ百びやうのどくとしるべし血をうかす也<sup>25</sup>

The boar, being cold, should be known to be toxic for a hundred diseases and wounds. It makes the blood float.

Such use of *waka* as a means for transmitting medical knowledge was already visible in Manase Dōsan’s writings. Chinese poems were used by Dōsan for his students as mnemonic devices—a technique known as *gejue* 哥訣 in Chinese medical primers of the Ming period<sup>26</sup>—but he also used *waka*. The Manase school, which had been using the *Bencao* since the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, has been offered as one possible origin for the *waka bonzō* genre.<sup>27</sup> Yet it should be noted that, unlike the aforementioned *Shokushō nodoku*, the original *Waka shokumotsu bonzō* did not make any reference to the *Bencao*.

In Yamaoka’s work, before each poem sequence we find the name of the entry in Chinese as given in the *Bencao*, and a short extract from the *Bencao*’s *qiwei* section. In the case of the boar entry, this extract simply previews the contents of the poem quoted above, stating that [the fierce boar’s flesh] is “sweet, extremely cold, and has toxicity” (甘大寒有毒). Yamaoka then gives his own commentary on the *Bencao*’s entry, explaining that Li distinguished between two kinds of boar, the “wild boar” 猪 and the “mountain boar” 山猪 (or rather “fierce boar” 豪猪, the “correct name” of the entry), but that the original *Waka bonzō*’s entry for “boar” had only referred to the mountain variety. At this point he accordingly added an entry on “wild boar,” with two additional verses translating this new entry’s *Bencao* extract into Japanese (*waka*) (**Figure 1**).

While integrating the contents of the *Bencao*, Yamaoka, who was a disciple of the poet and specialist in Japanese classics Kitamura Kigin 北村季吟 (1625–1705),

<sup>25</sup> *Waka shokumotsu bonzō* 和歌食物本草 (pub. 寛永 Kan’ei 7/1630), vol. 1. Available at: <https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1287084/3>

<sup>26</sup> For more on this topic, see Angela Ki Che Leung, “Medical Instruction and Popularization in Ming-Qing China,” *Late Imperial China* 24:1 (2003), pp. 130–152. See also Marta Hanson, “From under the Elbow to Pointing to the Palm: Chinese Metaphors for Learning Medicine by the Book (Fourth–Fourteenth Centuries),” *The British Journal for the History of Science (BJHS) Themes* 5 (2020), pp. 75–92.

<sup>27</sup> Regarding *materia dietetica* texts with explanations in the form of poems, see Hata Yuki 畑有紀, “Waka-keishiki de shirusareta shokumotsu honzō-sho no seiritsu ni tsuite” 和歌形式で記された食物本草書の成立について, *Kotoba to bunka* 言葉と文化 14 (2013), pp. 37–56. Hata based her study on papers published by Ehara Ayako 江原絢子 and Sakurai Miyoko 桜井美代子 in *Tōkyō kasei gakuin daigaku kiyō* 東京家政学院大学紀要 32–34 (1992–1994), to which at time of publication I was unable to obtain access. Most of the texts discussed here have been collected as (annotated) facsimile editions in the series *Shokumotsu bonzō-bon taisei* 食物本草大成, 12 vols., gen. ed. Ueno Masuzō, ed. Yoshii Motoko 吉井始子 (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1980).



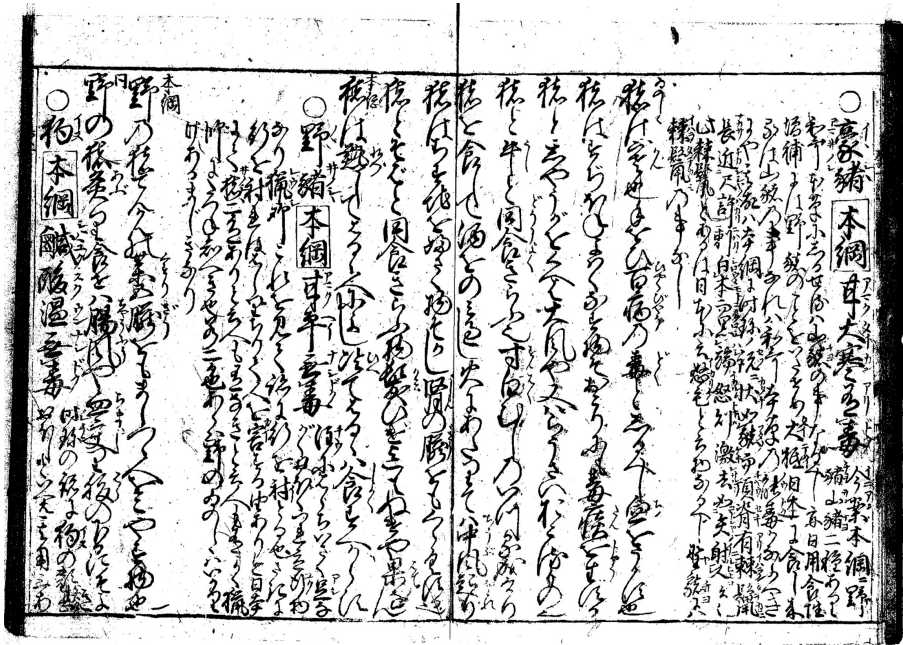


Figure 1. *Shokumotsu waka bonzō zōho* 食物和歌本草増補. (NIJL).  
<https://doi.org/10.20730/200005521> (image no. 7)

gave priority to the original order of the *Waka bonzō*, which had been organized in a fashion reminiscent of Japanese dictionary genres like the *setsuyōshū* 節用集, in that its poems were first indexed by initial syllable following the order of the *iroha* syllabary, then divided up among thematic categories: grains, plants, trees, fruits, beasts, birds, fish, insects. Thus, he deliberately ignored Li's organizational principles and the hierarchies Li had established between the entries of a group of species, allowing as a result the above inversion in the ordering of the two types of boards—in deference to a preexisting Japanese framework.

Similarly, Nagoya Gen'i 名古屋玄医 (1628–1696), founder of the “ancient recipes” (*kobō* 古方) school, in his *Etsuho shokumotsu bonzō* 関甫食物本草 (*Etsuho's Materia Dietetica*, 1669, printed in 1671),<sup>28</sup> quotes heavily from the *Bencao*. This book in two volumes is written in Sino-Japanese (*kanbun* 漢文), and presents information on the properties of plants and animals. The *Bencao* and Li are regularly quoted on the topic of *qimei* (quality and flavor) and on the applications and effects of various materials, but excerpts from Li's work do not always come first. The ten categories chosen by Gen'i are: grains (*koku* 穀), vegetables (*sai* 菜),

<sup>28</sup> Etsuho being one of Gen'i's names. The work was published in Kyoto by Murakami Kanbei 村上勘兵衛, along with the aforementioned Noda one of the main publishers of the time.

fungi (*take* 茸 and *kin* 菌, two categories), water herbs (*suisō* 水草, e.g. seaweeds), fruits (*ka* 菓), herbs (*sō* 草), fish (*gyo* 魚), shells (*kai* 介), and birds (*kin* 禽). The order of the entries does not follow Li's general plan, though there are groupings of entries that share similarities with the *Bencao*'s implicit "families," such as for "beans" (*tō* or *mame* 豆) and for "chives and onions" (*nira* 韭 and *negi* 葱, respectively). This, however, may merely hearken back to other *bonzō* works, or even to the *Wamyōshō*, a source Gen'i has a marked tendency to cite, along with Razan's *Tashikiben*. Gen'i's commentaries deal mostly with the properties of the ingredients, and if he shows no hesitation in raising questions about what he reads in the *Bencao*, the critiques he voices are not trenchant. For example, in the work's first entry, which deals with *uruchi* 粳, or non-glutinous rice—as opposed to the glutinous variety, *mochi* 糯—Gen'i first quotes Li in stating that this rice is both sweet and bitter (*kanku* 甘苦), then goes on to make a brief note where he remarks that other texts speak only of its sweetness, adding that the rice one can taste today in Japan is not bitter. Rather than rejecting Li's statement, he wonders if the difference may "come from the quality of the soil" (是因\_地氣\_然乎).

The *Hōchū biyō wamyō bonzō* 庖厨備用和名本草 (*Materia Medica* with Japanese Names to be Used in the Kitchen, 1684) of Mukai Genshō 向井元升 (or 玄松, 1609–1677) adopts quite a different stance. Mukai, a famous Confucian scholar and physician from Nagasaki, is well-known for his *Kenkon bensetsu* 乾坤弁説 (Explanation of the Universe), a Japanese presentation with commentary of Sawano Chūan's 沢野忠庵 (i.e. Christóvão Ferreira's, 1580–1650) European astronomical and cosmological knowledge.<sup>29</sup> He is also known as an early receiver and transmitter of Western medicine and pharmacopeia, through his contacts with Dutch doctors in Nagasaki.<sup>30</sup> In later life, Mukai established himself in Kyoto and interacted with other scholars, such as Kinoshita Jun'an 木下順庵 (1621–1699), a renowned master who penned one of the prefaces to this work, and Kaibara Ekiken. This *Wamyō bonzō*, written entirely in Japanese with *katakana*, was probably completed around 1671 (the date of Mukai's own preface), but was printed only in 1684. In his preliminary remarks, Mukai clearly positions the *Bencao gangmu* as the most up-to-date of *Bencao* works, and then announces that he will use it to discuss and correct (*ben* 弁) the names of the entries. In the first section out of thirteen,

<sup>29</sup> Hiraoka Ryūji 平岡隆二, "Kenkon bensetsu shoshahon no kenkyū" 『乾坤弁説』諸写本の研究, *Nagasaki rekishi bunka hakubutsukan kenkyū kijō* 長崎歴史文化博物館研究紀要 1 (2006), pp. 51–63; Idem, *Nanban-kei uchūron no gententeki kenkyū* 南蛮系宇宙論の原典的研究 (Fukuoka: Hana Shoin, 2013).

<sup>30</sup> On Mukai Genshō and his reception of Western knowledge, see Wolfgang Michel, "Shoki kōmō-ryū geka to jūi Mukai Genshō ni tsuite" 初期紅毛流外科と儒医向井元升について, *Nihon ishigaku zasshi* 56:3 (2010), pp. 367–385; Idem, "On the emancipation of *materia medica* studies (*bonzōgaku*) in early modern Japan", *Proceedings of the 5th International Symposium on the History of Indigenous Knowledge* (2015), pp. 93–106.

titled “investigating doubts” (*shitsugai* 質疑), Mukai reflects upon the degree of correspondence between the Japanese names given by Razan's *Tashikiben* or Shitagō's *Wamyōshō* and their paired Chinese characters. In doing so, he acknowledges the *Bencao*'s innovations, noting for instance that, contrary to what had been current in the “old/former *materia medica*” (*moto no honzō* 旧本草) Li had moved the *ki* 葵 (Ch. *kuī*) plant from the “vegetable” section to that of “damp herbs.”<sup>31</sup> In the 490 entries of his work, Mukai first gives the Japanese names from *Wamyōshō* and *Tashikiben*, when they exist, after which he introduces a “consideration of the *Bencao*” (*honzō wo kangauru ni* 考本草), a section whose “*Bencao*” may refer to the *honzō* literature in general, but which fairly frequently displays important similarities with Li's *Bencao gangmu* in particular. What is more, in other sections of the entries, Mukai sometimes quotes more explicitly from “Li Shizhen's *Bencao gangmu*,” giving extensive translations into Japanese. He then adds his own observations, as well as additional advice (and warnings) about the consumption of the given ingredient. Regarding his selection and ordering of entries, despite his claim to use mainly “Dongyuan's *Shiwu bencao*” (東垣食物本草)—a work attributed to the Song-dynasty physician Li Gao 李杲 (Li Dongyuan 李東垣, 1180–1251)—what Mukai actually did was follow the structure of the *Bencao gangmu*, even keeping its narrower “Categories” (*lei*), such as “plains birds” (*genkin* 原禽), “water birds” (*suikin* 水禽), and “forest birds” (*rinkin* 林禽). In the specific case of birds, he had made changes to the order of the categories, moving the plains birds thus to the front, and omitting the group of “mountain birds” (*sankin* 山禽). For the remaining categories, however, he included all birds from the *Bencao* that he deemed edible, referring only to their Chinese names without trying to find Japanese equivalents, all while reintroducing entries from the *Shiwu bencao* among these. On a few occasions, such as with the “snake and insect” section, Mukai did prefer the division used in Dongyuan's work, but in the particular case, this amounts only to a list of entries without any content. Mukai explains that, if these materials are included in *Bencao* books, it is because “of all that grows between Heaven and Earth, there is nothing foreigners do not eat, making no distinction between the toxic and the safe” (外国の人は天地の間に生ずるもの良毒をわかたず一つとして食せざるはなし), which may, he says, make them ill and eventually lead them to their death. Japanese people, however, never eat insects or snakes, being blessed with “a naturally noble character” (天生の自然貴品にして) and an unrivalled diversity of products.

In other words, Mukai shows a rather clear understanding of Li's innovations in terms of structure and categories, and chose not only to follow them (or not), but to make them explicitly apparent. This may not come as a much of a surprise, given his systematic references to *Tashikiben*, but it is still a striking

<sup>31</sup> In fact, Mukai is here criticizing the identification of this plant with the *aoi* (*afubi* in traditional orthography), a Japanese plant written with the same 葵 character. He judges that the *ki* 葵 should rather be identified with a wholly different plant, the *fuki* 蕒.

difference compared to many of the previous *shokumotsu honzō* works introduced here above. At the least, it was certainly not a systematic feature in works published around the same time. Shimotsu Genchi's 下津元知 (dates unknown) *Zukai honzō* 図解本草 (Illustrated Explications of the *Materia Medica*, in 10 *kan*, completed in 1681, published in 1685), for example, opens with a portrait of Li Shizhen, which indicates the deference shown by the author to his predecessor. Yet the book itself follows the *iroba* order, and collates Li Shizhen's own findings with two other Chinese sources: Li Zhongli's 李中立 *Bencao yuanshi* 本草原始 (1612),<sup>32</sup> and the fairly recent *Bencao dongquan* 本草洞詮 by Shen Mu 沈穆 (1661).<sup>33</sup> One of Shimotsu's goals was to distinguish between Chinese and Japanese plants, surmising that their therapeutic properties should be different. He makes clear reference to the *Bencao gangmu*, giving even the pages where one can find the corresponding entry, but he also relies on Japanese sources. He moreover makes important changes to the pictures, choosing not to use even the "new" Qianya version. Meanwhile, Arai Genkei's 新井玄圭 *Shokumotsu tekijō* 食物摘要 (Chosen Extracts on *Materia Dietetica*, 1678, republished many times up to the end of the century with minor changes in title, e.g. *Shokumotsu tekijō taizen* 大全, *taisei* 大成, etc.) shares as a work many traits in common with the *Bencao gangmu*. Written in *kanbun* with glossing points, it begins with a section on "waters," although with a slightly different order of entries, before moving on to grains, plants, and animals. In some sections, Arai chose to follow the order and subsections of the *Bencao*, but he did not do so systematically. He does distinguish between "scaly" and "scaleless" fish, for example. But in the bird section, plains birds and forest birds appear to be mixed up, and mountain birds are omitted, as they had been in Mukai's book. This new organization does not, however, seem to be arbitrary, but follows rather the lines of "covert families," which in this case are groupings based on the proximity of the birds' Japanese names. For instance, three different kinds of *shigi*, or sandpiper, are grouped together—the *shigi* 鶺鴒, the *botoshigi* 秧鷄, and the *ubashigi* 竹雞—as are the *tsuchigurebato* 斑鳩 (oriental turtle dove), the *aobato* 青鷓 (green pigeon), and the *iebato* 鷓 (domestic pigeon). Moreover, Arai made an interesting choice regarding the identification of species: in the case of birds, after discussing 35 entries taken from the *Bencao*, he created a whole appendix where he listed in *katakana* the Japanese names of 32 species for

<sup>32</sup> On the reception of this work in Japan, see Mayanagi Makoto, "Chūgoku honzō to Nihon no juyō" 中国本草と日本の受容, in *Nihonban Chūgoku honzō zuroku* 日本版中国本草図録 9 (Chūō Kōronsha, 1993), pp. 218–229.

<sup>33</sup> On the Japanese reception of this work, see Mayanagi Makoto, "Honzō igen to tabako" 『本草彙言』と烟草, *Tabako-shi kenkyū* たばこ史研究 36 (1991), pp. 1480–1488. Mayanagi, in reflecting upon the manner in which the Chinese name for the tobacco plant was introduced, estimates the arrival of this Qing-period work in Japan at no earlier than 1680. According to Métaillé, op. cit. (2006), pp. 47–48, its illustrations complement nicely those of the *Bencao* because of the former's focus on the various parts of the plants.

which he considered there existed as yet no “correct name.” Among these, notably, we find entries such as *hibari* or *mozū*, to which previous works had, in fact, assigned various Chinese characters, some of them even taken from the *Bencao*. In other words, rather than supplying a wrong identification for any of these Japanese entries, and thereby assigning it to the wrong place, Arai preferred instead to set these entries aside as matters for later elucidation. Although he may have used the term “appendix” (*furoku* 附録), reminiscent of Li's own *fulu*, Arai did not attempt to redistribute these entries under those of other species with certain identifiable traits in common. In other words, while Arai did integrate Li's method in part, the *Bencao gangmu* was not used here as an absolute model. Regarding the content of Arai's entries, it is subdivided into different parts, each clearly identified by a boxed header: *kimi* 気味 (quality and flavor), *shokkein* 食禁 (restrictions), *shuji* 主治 (main applications and effects), and, in some cases also *sogi* 疏義 (commentary) and *hobō* 方法 (recipes). Here also Arai departs from Li's model, as he favored the tradition already established by previous *shokumotsu honzō* texts.

A work that goes further in its integration of Li's categories is Hitomi Hitsudai's 人見必大 *Honchō shokkan* 本朝食鑑 (Catalogue of the Food of Our Country, 1697). Hitsudai followed in the steps of Mukai and Arai, and reused a great part of the structure of Li's book. He included not only a section on waters, as Arai had, but also sections on fires and “earths,” albeit with only a handful of entries each, though he did eventually expand them in order to incorporate further Japanese materials. After these sections, he followed Li's plan rather closely, keeping all the categories for the vegetables, three out of six for the fruits, and all the categories for the birds. He did also make some changes. For the grains, he placed the rices first and preferred, like Mukai, to group snakes and insects together in one volume-end category. He also merged the beasts and cattle into a single group, while leaving out the “wanderers and strange bipeds” (*yūnai* 寓怪, Jp. *gūkai*). Finally, he doubled the number of categories for fish, by making a clearer distinction between freshwater and seawater fish, while also maintaining the presence or “absence” of scales as a discriminating criterion.<sup>34</sup> Given that his aim was to compile a *materia dietetica*, Hitsudai logically left out sections on clothes, man, and even medicinal herbs. Nonetheless, by including fires and earths, and by expanding the fish categories—particularly in a way that capitalizes

<sup>34</sup> For a comparison between the *Honchō shokkan* and the *Bencao gangmu* in terms of contents and structure, see Li Li 李利 and Ehara Junko 江原絢子, “*Honzō kōmoku* to *Honchō shokkan* no bunrui ni miru shokubunka-teki na tokuchō” 『本草綱目』と『本朝食鑑』の分類にみる食文化的な特徴, *Nihon chōri kagakukai-shi* 日本調理科学会誌 40:3 (2007), pp. 193–201. See also Une Satsuki 畦五月, “*Shokumotsu honzō* to *Honchō shokkan* no hikaku wo tōshita shokubunka no sōi to sore-zore no tokuchō ni tsuite shokuhin no seishitsu (kimi, kōnō) no chigai ni shiten wo atete” 『食物本草』と『本朝食鑑』の比較を通じた食文化の相違とそれぞれの特徴について食品の性質（気味、効能）の違いに視点をあてて, *Nihon chōri kagakukai-shi* 44:3 (2011), pp. 238–245.

on Li's own design—he clearly demonstrates his intent to use the *Bencao* as a general model, and not merely as a source of information.

Thus, we can see that, although the *Bencao* came to be effectively the main source used by Japanese scholars for naming and describing plants and animals in the context of *materia medica* and *dietetica*, it was not until the late 17<sup>th</sup> century that there appeared works explicitly embracing Li's categorization of the entries, along with his hierarchical scheme.

### 3. The *Bencao gangmu* as an Inspiration for Illustrated Books

Let us now turn to the other “line of reception” of the *Bencao gangmu*, i.e. the so-called “encyclopedic” works. Starting with the *Tashikiben*, these are works concerned for the most part with lexical issues—finding the correct names for things—and not with the pragmatic effects of medical or alimentary substances. The first and most well-known of such works that one reliably finds in lists of publications related to *honzo* and natural history is probably the *Kinmō zui* 訓蒙図彙 (Illustrated Vocabulary for Educating Children) compiled by Nakamura Tekisai 中村惕齋 (1629–1702) and published in 1666.<sup>35</sup> Tekisai, a Neo-Confucian moralist who helped vulgarize Chinese classics into Japanese, wanted to give “children” new material for learning Chinese characters and their Japanese meanings, while also helping them associate each character with a single picture. Although the preface explains that he had in fact designed this vocabulary for one of his young relatives, actual “children” were not necessarily the only expected readers of the work. Indeed, lists of *leishu* 類書 (Jp. *ruisho*, books arranged by categories) as far back as the Heian period, such as Shitagō's *Wamyōshō*, or his pupil Minamoto no Tamenori's 源為憲 (?–1011) *Kuchizusami* 口遊, had often presented themselves as guides for noble children. Tekisai can be said to have followed this *topos*, with a new twist: the “children” he had in mind, like many other contemporary authors of “educational” works in the vernacular, were those people not skilled enough in classical Chinese (or even in classical Japanese) to have direct access to sources of “higher” status.

In his preliminary remarks, Tekisai states that, for the Chinese characters, he used mainly Wang Qi's 王圻 *Sancai tubui* 三才圖會 (Illustrated Collection of the Three Powers, 1607–9) and Xu Guangqi's 徐光啓 *Nongzheng quanshu* 農政全集 (Complete Treatise on Agriculture, 1639), as well as “the illustrated explanations

<sup>35</sup> This work had many different editions over the years—in 1668, 1693, 1695, and in 1789. Each quite different from the others in terms of the contents, layouts, and illustrations it featured, these editions proved nonetheless able to coexist without replacing one another. See Christophe Marquet, “Instruire par l'image: encyclopédies et manuels illustrés pour enfants à l'époque d'Edo,” in *La pédagogie par l'image en France et au Japon*, eds. M. Simon-Oikawa and A. Renonciat (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2009), pp. 84–90. See also Sugimoto Tsutomu 杉本つとむ, *Jisho/jiten no kenkyū* 辞書・事典の研究 II, *Sugimoto Tsutomu chosaku-shū* 杉本つとむ著作集 7 (Tokyo: Yasaka Shoten, 1999), pp. 233–276.

of the specialists in *materia medica*” (*shoke honzō no zusetsu* 諸家本草の図説). He also tells the reader that for the names of each of the entries, he had used the “correct name” (*seimei* 正名), and that, as sources for the Japanese names, among Japanese books he had used the *Wamyōshō* and the *Tashikihen*, as well as many dictionaries such as the *Kagakushū* 下学集 and the *Setsuyōshū* 節用集 (both of the 15<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>36</sup> Given the time of publication, there is no doubt that Tekisai had access to the latest version of the *Bencao gangmu*, although Li’s work is not cited *per se*. And indeed, many of Tekisai’s illustrations for metals, minerals, plants, and animals had been taken directly from the Qianya edition of the *Bencao*. In some cases, such as for the “crocodile” (*wani* 鱷) or, even more strikingly, for the “horse-shoe crab” (*kabutogani* 蟹), the “realistic” quality of his illustrations greatly exceeds that of the original. This may be partly explained by the shift in focus this “illustrated vocabulary” represents when compared to traditional *honzō* books. As stressed by Roel Sterckx, *bencao* illustrations had mostly been conventional tools—“a commentarial extension of the text, or as yet another type of ‘nomenclature’ that serves to circumscribe its properties”—rather than a means of clearly identifying the described materials as they were actually encountered in the field.<sup>37</sup>

In the case of Tekisai’s illustrated vocabulary, the images are indeed “another type of nomenclature,” except that the only texts associated with them are the Chinese characters and their Japanese names. In contrast to *honzō* texts, where pictures might have been seen as secondary for readers with experience in the field—that is, for readers like the target audience of most of the works I have reviewed so far—the pictures in Tekisai’s primers were no less important than the text itself, since they were required to create an equivalence between a vernacular word, a Chinese glyph, and an element of the surrounding world that, in many cases, already had its own standardized representation in visual materials such as paintings and picture books.

The illustrations in Tekisai’s “Vocabulary” can thus be said to expand upon those in the *Bencao*, but as far as its organizational principles are concerned, the relationship between the *Kinmō zui* and the *Bencao gangmu* is not always clear. In the general structure of his work, Tekisai clearly follows the *leishu* tradition, which also influenced Li Shizhen himself. The *Kinmō zui* thus distinguishes a first section on “heaven,” followed by another on “Earth” (including geography and topography, as well as habitations), with the biggest part of the book being devoted to living things, starting with Man and his culture, before moving on to cattle and to beasts, to birds, to dragons and fish, to insects and shells, to rices

<sup>36</sup> On *setsuyōshū* in general, see Satō Takahiro 佐藤貴裕, *Setsuyōshū to kinsei shuppan* 節用集と近世出版 (Osaka: Izumi Shoin, 2017).

<sup>37</sup> Sterckx, Roel, “The Limits of Illustration: Animalia and Pharmacopeia from Guo Pu to *Bencao gangmu*,” *Asian Medicine* 4 (2008), pp. 357–394. On illustrations in *bencao* texts, see also by André-Georges Haudricourt and Georges Métaillé, “De l’illustration botanique en Chine,” *Études chinoises* 13:1–2 (1994), pp. 381–416.

and grains, to vegetables, fruits, trees, and finally to flowers and herbs. In this regard, the *Kinmō zui* appears to be closer to Shitagō's *Wamyōshō* than to any other Chinese or Japanese *leishu*. This also accords well with the fact that Tekisai chose to “focus on Japanese names” (*wamyō wo shu to su* 和名を主とす), which made him favor a local tradition in terms of organization, e.g., by placing rice, and not hemp, at the beginning of the “grains” section.

Regarding the order of the entries within each section, we can detect competing logics at work, the “families” of the *Bencao* being only one among them. To take, for example, the case of birds, the *Kinmō zui* lists 77 separate entries, compared to the *Bencao gangmu*'s 72. But in fact, 6 of the 77 deal with various “parts” of birds and other “secondary” generic items, such as eggs, wings, or hatchlings, so there is not really much of a difference in number. Among the remaining 71 entries of the *Kinmō zui*, only 8 were absent from the *Bencao*, and Tekisai had found these in the *Wamyōshō*, e.g. the *mozū* 鴟 (bull-headed shrike). For their illustrations, he could turn to the *Sancai tubui*, but in many cases the “famous artists” he employed made their own drawings. This leaves 63 entries in common with the *Bencao*. The general order does not follow the four categories of birds devised by Li. Rather, it seems that Tekisai first listed birds with names in two characters, starting with the numinous and rare ones such as the *hōō* 鳳凰 (phoenix) and the *kōsui* 孔雀 (or *kujaku* 孔雀, peacock), followed by *ōmu/inko* 鸚鵡 (parrot), *token/hototogisu* 杜鵑 (cuckoo), *sekirei/ishitadaki* 鶺鴒 (wagtail), *takuboku/teratsutsuki* 啄木 (woodpecker), *shōryō/sazaki* 鶉 (wren), and *henfuku/kawabori* 蝙蝠 (bat), as well as *roji/u* 鸕鷀 (cormorant), *sōkatsu/manazuru* 白鷺 (white-naped crane), *en'ō/oshidori* 鴛鴦 (mandarin duck), and *hekitei/nio* 鸕鷀 (little grebe). If, however, we consider this group as a single section, we can say that, among its members, the four groups stipulated by Li are more or less preserved, albeit in reverse order: mountain, forest, plains, water.

Following this, we find birds named by one unique character, beginning with *kaku/tsuru* 鶴 (crane) and *kan/ōtori* 鸛 (stork), which were the first pair of “water birds” in the *Bencao*. Then comes a cohesive group of birds of prey (hawks and eagles, etc.), in an order very close to the *Bencao*'s. Tekisai has even given entries of their own to birds that in the *Bencao* had only been “appended” under the entries of others, such as *en/tobi* 鳶 (kite) and *shun/hayabusa* 隼 (falcon). These birds of prey are then followed in turn by what Li had categorized as “water birds” (ducks, etc.), “forest birds” (crows, etc.), and “plains birds.” As before, in most cases the order preserves the *Bencao*'s “families.” Even when—as in the cases of *kyō/fukurō* 梟 (owl) or *ro/sagi* 鶯 (egret)—an “intruder” seems to break the line, it is usually a matter of visual presentation on the page, in order to, e.g., put *bu/kamo* 鳧 (wild duck) together with *gaku/abiro* 鶯 (house duck), allowing the two ducks to face each other. The birds section as a whole ends with a *furoku* 附錄 (appendix), in which the *Bencao*'s order is not really preserved, with groupings there that seem to rely more on the characters themselves (it begins, for instance, with a whole series of roosters whose names contain the character *kei* 鷄). Thus,



although Li's work clearly influenced Tekisai, and while the general idea of a "family" of species is, if anything, made here even more visible through the use of pictures, the systematic preservation of Li's design *per se* was not one of the compiler's priorities.

Tekisai's *Kinmō zui* was published amidst a first, timid growth in the publication of such illustrated texts, probably stimulated by the same group of Ming works, as well as by other commentaries of classical texts with pictures. For instance, in 1667, the publisher Ōwada Kyūzaemon 大和田九左衛門 produced a new, annotated version of the *Sangoku sōden on'yō kankatsu Hoki naiden kin'u gyokuto shū* 三国相伝陰陽輶轄簠簋内伝金烏玉兔集 (Book of the Golden Crow and the Jade Hare, Secret and Exposed, of the Round Vessel and the Square Vessel, the Wheel and the Wedge, the Yin and the Yang, Transmitted Through the Three Countries).<sup>38</sup> Often simply abbreviated as the *Hoki*, this was an apocryphal treatise on hemerology and calendar divination attributed to Abe no Seimei 安倍晴明 (921–1005), to which Ōwada had added a further volume containing pictures and explanations. Considered at the time to be one of the founding classics in the field of divination, the work itself had been in print already from the very beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, with editions published both in moveable type (1612, 1627) and in woodblock (1628). This new text by Ōwada, however, was the first annotated and illustrated edition of the work. The publisher was very much conscious of this uniqueness, stating, in an afterword, that he had "added a separate volume at the end with pictures," this being "a direct means of making [the text] clearer" (附卷尾於図説。積其事、解其義。夫能直而明之。). And indeed, in this additional volume, Ōwada included pictures and tables corresponding to many of the text's keywords. More than this, for most of the hundred illustrations the book contains, he clearly specifies even the original sources of the pictures. Among them, 17 had been taken from the Qianya edition of the *Bencao gangmu*, 13 from the *Sancai tubui*, 12 from the *Wuyingtu* 五經図 (Pictures of the Five Classics, 1614)—another Ming work, 32 from Mao Yuanyi's 茅元儀 *Wubeizhi* 武備志 (Treatise on Military Preparations, 1621),<sup>39</sup> 10 from "a certain book" (*aru sho* 或書), and the remaining 16 from various other Chinese texts. Illustrations from the *Bencao* are concentrated in two main entries, both of which deal with a particular series of items that appears in the main text: the "five grains" (*gokoku* 五穀) and the "seven rarities" or "seven treasures" (*shitchin* 七珍/*shippō* 七宝). The first group is a ubiquitous series, with many variants differing in both contents and ordering. In this specific case, the "grains" are: *kibi* 黍 (proso millet), *mame* 菽 (soy), *asa* 麻 (hemp),

<sup>38</sup> On divination texts in Edo Japan, see Matthias Hayek, "From Esoteric Tools to Handbooks 'For Beginners': Printed Divination Manuals from the Seventeenth Century to the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century," in *Listen, Copy, Read* (op. cit.), pp. 46, 288–318; Idem, "Edo jidai no 'ura' wo kaimamiru" 江戸時代の『占』を垣間見る, *Shomotsugaku* 書物学 12 (2018), pp. 2–8.

<sup>39</sup> A domestic edition, with glossing points by the Confucian scholar Ukai Sekisai 鵜飼石齋 (1615–1664), was published in 1664.

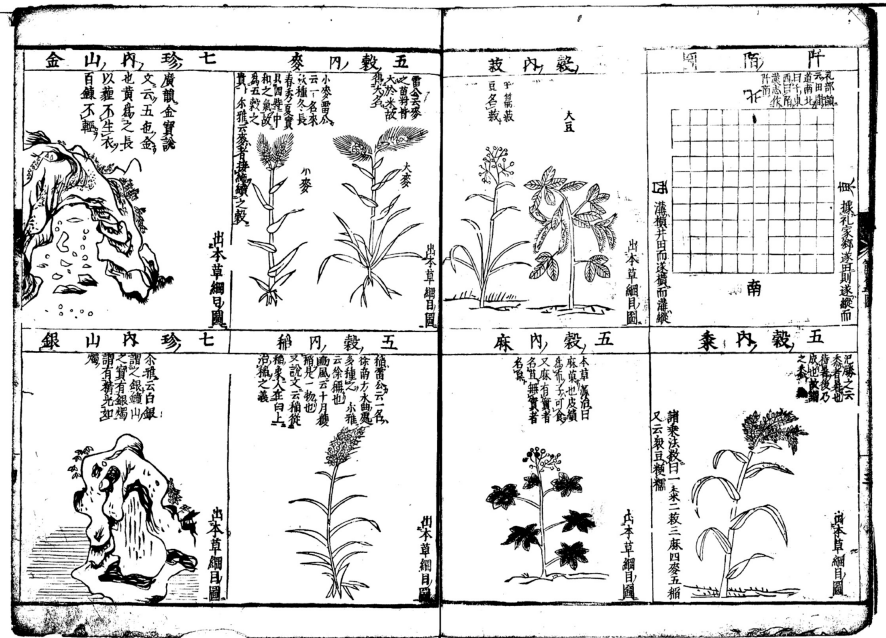


Figure 2. The five grains (*gokoku* 五穀). *Sangoku sōden on'yō kankatsu Hoki naiden kin'u gyokuto shū zukai* 三国相伝陰陽輻輳籩簋内伝金烏玉兔集図解. (NIJL).

<https://doi.org/10.20730/200005702> (image no. 6)

*mugi* 麦 (wheat), and *ine* 稻 (rice). For each of these, the text gives a picture and a short quotation (Figure 2).

Although the pictures all come from the *Bencao gangmu*, the quotations themselves do not. In most cases, they were taken from Li Zhongli's *Bencao yuanshi*. What is more, the order of the five grains here is different from that put forth by Li Shizhen who, quoting the *Suwen* 素問 (ancient medical text of the Qin-Han period), put hemp first, followed by wheat, then two sorts of millet (*ji* 稷 and *shu* 黍), and finally soy. In fact, the order in Ōwada's work comes from a particular Buddhist treatise, one actually quoted in one of the pictures: the *Zhucheng fashu* 諸乘法数 (Ritual Numbers of the Different Vehicles), compiled by the monk Xingshen 行深.<sup>40</sup> The seven treasures, too, form a Buddhist group—the *saptarāna*—composed of *kin* 金 (gold), *gin* 銀 (silver), *ruri* 琉璃 (“lapis lazuli”), *hari* 玻璃 (quartz or crystal), *shako* 砮磔 (giant clam), *menō* 瑪瑙 (agate), and *shinju* 真珠 (pearl). All of these are included in the *Bencao*, but not as group, since they belong to a number of different categories, ranging from “shells” (*shako*) to “minerals” (gold). In this case, the quotations given in the pictures are from the *Fanyi mingyi ji* 翻譯名義集 (Collection of Translated Names), a Song-period Buddhist text

<sup>40</sup> A domestic re-edition of this early Ming work was published in 1500.



Figure 3. The seven treasures (*shitchin* 七珍). *Sangoku sōden on'yō kankatsu Hoki naiden kin'u gyokuto shū zukai* 三国相伝陰陽輻轉篋篋内伝金玉兔集図解. (NIJL). <https://doi.org/10.20730/200005702> (image no. 7)

reprinted in Japan in 1628. In other words, the editor of this new version of the *Hoki* used the 1640 edition of Li's *Bencao* above all as a practical source for pictures needed to represent Buddhist notions, an approach that can clearly be linked to both the “lexicographic” and the “encyclopedic” perspectives we see in the *Kinmō zui*, though Ōwada’s work itself displays no similar regard for Li’s design or his findings (Figure 3).<sup>41</sup>

From 1684 onwards, this trend of illustrated commentaries accelerated, with the last part of the 17<sup>th</sup> century seeing the publication of ever greater numbers of illustrated catalogues specializing in different topics, from clothes, to people, to weapons and armor, etc., many of them bearing the phrase *kinmō zui* in their titles.<sup>42</sup> Being “topic-oriented,” however, most of them lack the broader, “encyclopedic” view of the original.

One notable exception would be the *Nanji kunmō zui* 難字訓蒙図彙 (Illustrated Vocabulary for the Education of Children, with Characters Difficult [to Read]).

<sup>41</sup> Incidentally, a similar text, with the new title *Hoki genkai taizen* 篋篋諺解大全 (Complete Compilation of the *Hoki*, Explained in the Vernacular), was published in 1682 by Nakano Sōzaemon 中野宗左衛門, but uses the same pictures without even mentioning their origin.

<sup>42</sup> Most of these have been collected in the series *Kinmō zui shusei* 訓蒙図彙集成, 8 vols., ed. Asakura Haruhiko 朝倉治彦 (Tokyo: Ōzora-sha, 1998).

This book, in five *kan*, published in 1687, is based on an earlier dictionary by Nagai Johei 永井如瓶 (1661–1731), a poet from Osaka. This source text, *Jigen benmōshō* 邇言便蒙抄 (Collection with Easy Words to Help Children), published in 1682, had three volumes: one for the “head” 首, one for the “navel” 臍, and one for the “feet” 足. Entries in the *Jigen benmōshō* were distributed over 12 categories: *kenkon* 乾坤 (Heaven and Earth), *jikō* 時候 (time and weather), *jingi* 神祇 (spirits and gods), *jinrin* 人倫 (people), *keiki* 氣形 (“forms of the *qi*” = animals), *shitai* 支體 (body parts), *sōmoku* 草木 (herbs and trees), *ishoku* 衣食 (clothes and food), *kizai* 器財 (vessels and tools), *kyotaku* 居宅 (habitations), *saishiki* 彩色 (colors), and *genko* 言語 (language). As the author Nagai himself explains in his preliminary note, this is a variation on the “three powers” system, projected on a human body, with these thematic categories representing the twelve months of the year. The categories are not original, and closely resemble those of the *Setsuyōshū*. what makes Nagai’s work unique is the way he supplies different contents for the same topics across the different volumes. The first volume “gathers characters and words commonly used in the world,” while the second focuses on explaining the meaning and origins of “difficult characters” (*nanji* 難字). The last volume then deals with “alternative names” (*imyō* 異名) and reflects on “precedents” (*koji* 故事). Such, at least, is the theory behind the organization, though it is not applied equally to all the various sections.

The 1687 reedition as the *Nanji kummō zui*, however, while keeping this general structure, transformed Nagai’s opening remarks into a full preface, and added a line indicating that new pictures had been introduced throughout. Nor are these pictures—by the famous artist Hishikawa Moronobu 菱川師宣 (d. 1694)—the only changes made to the contents of the original. The editor has indeed moved whole sections of text around between the volumes, making the original differences between the “head,” “navel,” and “feet” volumes almost indistinguishable. He has also added numerous entries in the animal sections, with 34 new entries for birds alone. Many of these new entries, moreover, are absent from the *Kinmō zui*, but can be found in either the *Bencao gangmu* or the *Sancai tubui*. More than half of them correspond to what Li called mountain birds, though they are not listed in the same order, and among them, several “fabulous” birds which had lacked independent entries in the *Bencao*, such as the *ran* 鸞 (Ch. *luan*), or entirely new ones, such as the *ishikuidori* 石食鳥 (cassowary), are featured prominently—though without any explicative text (Figure 4).

These “new” entries were then finally themselves included in the *Zoho tōsho Kinmō zui* 增補頭書訓蒙図彙 (Augmented Version, with Head-notes, of the *Kinmō zui*) published in 1695, as a sort of extension of the work’s earlier “appendix” to the birds section—although by this time, mention of the “appendix” itself had disappeared.



Figure 4. *Nanji kinmō zui* 難字訓蒙圖彙. (NIJL, Ukai Bunko 鶴飼文庫).  
<https://doi.org/10.20730/200019308> (image no. 57)

## Conclusion

Through this brief and partial survey of 17<sup>th</sup>-century *honzō* and encyclopedic literature, my goal was to reflect upon the idea, still frequently put forth when presenting the developments of naturalistic knowledge in Japan, that Li Shizhen's *Bencao gangmu* was widely perceived already at the time as an authoritative work, one from which only 18<sup>th</sup>-century scholars such as Kaibara Ekiken finally “broke free.” At the end of our journey here, the situation appears more nuanced. Li's *Classified Materia Medica* was indeed a ubiquitous reference in Japanese *honzō* works published after its introduction in the country. It was regularly quoted in books in Chinese, and translated or paraphrased in books in Japanese. However, for almost seventy years, these quotations and references were limited in their purpose to mere identification of the names of materials and their effects. This is not in itself surprising, for at least two reasons. Firstly, Razan's *Tashikiben*, which provided a point of connection between Li's work and the oldest available local authority, the *Wamyōshō*, was, as Marcon puts it, a “book of names,”<sup>43</sup> and

<sup>43</sup> Marcon (op. cit.), p. 67.

it may have led to an emphasis on the *zhengming* aspect of the *Bencao*. Secondly, both *materia medica* and *materia dietetica* were mainly concerned with the toxicity and potency of the various materials, and in this regard, proper identification was of course especially crucial. Yet the originality of Li's work resides not only in its lexicographical aspects, but also in its broad rethinking of the categories themselves—and of the hierarchy between entries—as an expression of the Neo-Confucian “investigation of things.” As far as can be gleaned from printed books, this aspect seems to have eluded Japanese *honzō* specialists, and “encyclopedists,” for the major part of a century, Razan being an early exception. Instead, they tended to keep to older classifications, whether from other, older *bencao* books or from older local encyclopedias and dictionaries. Again, there are reasons for such a situation, as above all books in the vernacular were designed precisely not to be exhaustive summa, but to serve rather as pragmatic tools for learning, or for quickly looking up the properties of a given ingredient. What is more, at the time of its introduction, the relative novelty of the *Bencao* may have been itself a disadvantage, in a context where older texts were generally regarded as having the greater authority. Even authors like Mukai, who showed a deeper interest in the classificatory innovations of the *Bencao gangmu*, did not follow them “blindly,” and indeed preferred to put forth a (supposedly) older work, the *Shinju bencao*. Mukai often relied on the knowledge he gathered from foreigners in Nagasaki to offer different points of view, and in some cases, he did not hesitate to do so even thirty years before Ekiken's *Yamato honzō*. Meanwhile, though illustrated books did make use of Li's work, this was mostly for its pictures, and not for its text or for its general structure, although we can sometimes see Li's logic nonetheless partially piercing through in Tekisai's *Kinmō zui*. All in all, it seems to me that the 17<sup>th</sup> century was a period rather of the *Bencao* being “digested bit by bit,” leading eventually to a more general integration of Li's worldview at the very end of the 1690's with works like the *Honchō shokkan*. These works, which finally established the *Bencao gangmu* as a “classic” to be followed, paved the way for what may have been the true juncture point of the “medicinal” (naturalistic) and “encyclopedic” lines of Japanese scholarship: Terajima Ryōan's 寺島良安 *Wakan sansai zue* 和漢三才図会 (Illustrated Compendium of the Three Powers of China and Japan), published around 1715. Further research should thus focus on the reception of the *Bencao gangmu* in the first part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, seeing the period not so much as one of emancipation from the *Bencao* model, but rather as one in which the work's more theoretical and organizational aspects were discussed, reused, or discarded—and to what ends.

**Comparison between the Bird Sections of the *Bencao gangmu*,  
the *Kinmō zui*, and the *Nanji kinmō zui***

(1) **Background Colors:** blue = water birds, pink = plains birds, green = forest birds, gray = mountain birds, white = birds not found in the *Bencao gangmu*. (2) **Script:** red type = changes in the order of entries. (3) **Signs:** # = entries annexed to the *fulu* section in the *Bencao gangmu*, \$ = names mentioned in the *shiming* or *jijie* sections as alternative names or related kinds. Note: English translations of the *Bencao gangmu* follow Paul U. Unschuld, trans., *Ben Cao Gang Mu, Volume IX: Fowls, Domestic and Wild Animals, Human Substances* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2021).

*Bencao gangmu*

本草綱目

**Water Birds**

鶴 *he*, red crowned crane

鶴 *guan*, white stork

鶻雞 *cang ji*, gray crane

陽鳥 *yang niao*, yang bird

鵞鶩 *tu qiu*, lesser adjutant

驂躡 *meng tong, meng tong*

鶻鷗 *ti hu*, pelican

鶻 *e*, oriental swan goose

鴈 *yan*, wild goose

鶻 *hu*, whooper swan

鶻 *bao*, great bustard

鶻 *mu*, domestic duck

鶻 *fu*, wild duck

鶻鶻 *pi ti*, grebe

鶻鶻 *luan yang*, mandarin duck

鶻鶻 *xi chi, xi chi*

鶻鶻 *jiao jing*, Chinese squacco heron

鶻 *lu*, little egret

鶻 *ou*, common gull

鶻鶻 *zhu yu, zhu yu*

鶻鶻 *lu ci*, common cormorant

*Kinmō zui*

訓蒙図彙

鳳凰 *hōō*, phoenix

孔雀 *kōsui* (*kujaku* 孔雀), peacock

鶻鶻 *ōmu/eibu*, parrot

鶻鶻 *token* (*bototogisu*), cuckoo

鶻鶻 *sekirei* (*ishitataki*), wagtail

啄木 *takuboku* (*teratsutsuki*), woodpecker

鶻鶻 *sbōryō* (*sazaki*), wren

\$ 鶻鶻 *henfuku* (*kanabori*), bat

鶻鶻 *roji* (*u/shimatsudori*), cormorant

鶻鶻 *sōkatsu* (*manazuru*), white-napped crane

鶻鶻 *en'o* (*osbidori*), mandarin duck

鶻鶻 *hekitei* (*nio*), little grebe

鶻 *kaku* (*tsuru*), crane

鶻 *kan* (*ōtori*), stork

鶻 *yōō* (*taka*), hawk

鶻 *shū* (*washi*), eagle

\$ 鶻 *en* (*tobi*), *kite*

\$ 鶻 *kyō* (*fukuro*), owl

\$ 鶻 *yō* (*hasbitaka*), sparrowhawk

\$ 鶻 *shun* (*hayabusa*), falcon

鶻 *kō* (*bishikui*), bean goose

鶻 *kō* (*kugui*), swan

*Nanji kinmō zui*

難字訓蒙図彙

**First volume (*jōkan* 上卷)**

鶻 *tsuru*

鶻 · 陽鳥 *kan, yōchō*

鶻 *uguisu*

鶻 *nivatori*

鶻 *tsubame*

鶻 *bototogisu*

**Third volume (*maki no san* 卷之三)**

比翼鳥 *hiyokudori*, single-winged bird

鳳凰 *hōō*

\$ 鶻 *ran*

孔雀 *kujaku*

鶻鶻 *ōmu*

鶻鶻 *shako*

鶻鶻 *sekirei*

鶻 *washi*

鶻鶻 *en'o* (*osbidori*)

鶻 *kumataka*

鶻 *hasbitaka* 隼 *hayabusa*

鶻 *kugui* 鶻 *u*

鶻 *kamome* 鶻 *chidori*

白鶻 *hakkan*

魚狗 *yu gou*, common kingfisher  
 # 翡翠 *fei cui*, halcyon  
 蚊母鳥 *wen mu niao*, mosquito-mother bird  
**Plains Birds**  
 雞 *ji*, chicken  
 雉 *zhi*, common pheasant  
 鸕雉 *di zhi*, Reeve's pheasant or mountain chicken  
 鶯雉 *bi zhi*, golden pheasant or brocade chicken  
 # 吐綏鷄 *tu shou ji*, turkey  
 鶉鷄 *he ji*, brown-bird chicken  
 白鷓 *bai xian*, silver pheasant  
 鷓鴣 *zhe gu*, Chinese francolin  
 竹雞 *zhu ji*, Chinese bamboo partridge  
 # 杉鷄 *shan ji*, fir chicken  
 英雞 *ying ji*, water rail  
 秧雞 *yang ji*, sprout chicken  
 鶉 *chun*, common quail  
 鶉 *yan*, yellow-legged button quail  
 鶉 *yu*, redshank  
 鴿 *ge*, rock pigeon  
 突厥雀 *tu jue que*, Pallas' sand grouse  
 雀 *que*, house sparrow  
 蒿雀 *hao que*, wormwood sparrow

鶩 *ga (togan)*, domestic goose  
 鴈 *gan (kari)*, goose

鷗 *o (kamome)*, seagull

鳧 *bu (kamo)*, duck

鶯 *ro (sagi)*, egret

鶩 *boku/bu (ahiru)*, domestic duck

鶯 *o (uguisu)*, Japanese bush warbler

燕 *en (tsubakurame)*, swallow

鶉 *hi/ga (hiedori)*, brown bulbul

鶉 *shaku (kasasagi)*, magpie

鴉 *a (karasu)*, large-billed crow

烏 *u (karasu)*, crow

鳩 *kyu/ku (bato)*, pigeon

鴿 *ko (iebato)*, domestic pigeon

鶉 *itsu (shigi)*, sandpiper or snipe

鶉 *jun (uzura)*, quail

鶉 *to (tsugumi)*, thrush

鶉 *keki (mozū)*, butcher bird

雀 *jaku (suzume)*, sparrow

鶉 *fu (shitoku)*, bunting

鶉 *ryu (soi)*, kingfisher

鶉鳩 *toshiyorikoi*

鶉 *chin*

鶉 *fukurō*

鶉 *karuga*, Japanese grosbeak

矮鷄 *chabo*

黃雞 *Kashima*

雀鷄 *tsu*

兄鷄 *konori*, Eurasian sparrowhawk

雀賊 *essai*, male Japanese sparrowhawk 鶉 *sashiba*, grey-faced buzzard

木菟 *mimizuku*

鶉 *nue*

鶉 *ubume*

水札 *keri*, grey-headed lapwing 鶉 *tsugumi*, thrush

鶉 *hijodori*

鶉 *hibari*

鶉 *keratsutsuki*

鶉 *hima*, siskin

鶉 *uso*, bullfinch

山雀 *yamakara*, varied tit; 鶉 *mozū*, bull-headed shrike, 百舌鳥 *mozū*

鶉 *kuina* 杜鵑 *hototogisu*

四十柄 *shijūkara*, Japanese tit; 喚子鳥 *yobukodori*

剥啄鳥 *teratsutsuki* 鶉 *hojoro* meadow bunting

翠雀 *ruri* 鶉 *bigara*, coal tit

卵 *tamago* 鶉 *sueri*

石食鳥 *ishikuidori* (cassowary)



巧婦鳥 *qiao fu niao*, Eurasian wren, or 鷦鷯 *jiao liao, jiao liao*  
 燕 *yan*, swallow  
 石燕 *shiyān*, stone swallow  
 伏翼 *fu yi*, bat  
 鼯鼠 *lei shu*, complex-toothed flying squirrel  
 寒號蟲 *han hao chong*, complex-toothed flying squirrel

**Forest Birds**

斑鳩 *bānjū*, pigeon  
 青鸚 *qīng zhuī*, greenish pigeon  
 鳩鳩 *shī jū*, common cuckoo  
 桑扈 *sāng hù*, Chinese grosbeak  
 伯勞 *bó láo*, shrike  
 鸚鵡 *qū yǔ*, crested mynah  
 百舌 *bǎi shé*, one hundred tongues  
 練鵲 *lián què*, paradise fly-catcher  
 鶯 *yīng*, oriole  
 啄木鳥 *zhuō mù niǎo*, great spotted woodpecker  
 慈烏 *cí wū*, jackdaw  
 烏鴉 *wū yā*, large-beaked crow  
 鵲 *què*, Eurasian magpie  
 山鵲 *shān què*, red-beaked blue magpie  
 鵲嘲 *hu cháo*, hoopoe  
 杜鵑 *dù juān*, lesser cuckoo  
 鸚鵡 *yīng wū*, parrot  
 # 秦吉子 *qín jí zǐ*  
 # 烏鳳 *wū fēng*

鵝 *kaku (misago)*, osprey

雞 *kei (nivatōri)*, chicken  
 雉 *chi (kiji)*, pheasant  
 卵 *ran (tamago)*, egg  
 雛 *sū (hina)*, chick  
 羽 *u (ba)*, feather  
 翼 *yoku (tsubasa)*, wing  
 嘴 *shi (kuchibashi)*, beak  
 尾 *bi (o)*, tail

**Appendix (*furoku* 附錄)**

\$ 鷄雞 *konkei (tomaru)*, gamecock  
 矮雞 *waikei (chabo)*, Japanese bantam  
 錦雞 *kinkei*, golden pheasant  
 綬雞 *jukei*, tragopan; horned pheasant  
 \$ 山雞 (鸚雉) *sankei (yamadori)*, long-tailed pheasant  
 \$ 火雞 (駝鳥) *kakei*, cassowary  
 竹雞 *chikuakei (yamashigi)*, woodcock  
 秧雞 *okei/yokei (kuina)*, water rail  
 青鳩 *seikyū (yamabato)*, green pigeon  
 鳩鳩 *shikyū (kakkōdōri)*, common cuckoo  
 \$ 角鴟 *kakushi (tsuku)*, eagle owl  
 \$ 怪鴟 *kaishi (yotaka)*, grey nightjar  
 \$ 皂鵞 *sōshū (kumataka)*, black butcherbird

**Mountain Birds**

鳳凰 *feng huang*, phoenix  
 孔雀 *kong que*, green peafowl  
 駝鳥 *tuo niao*, ostrich  
 鷹 *ying*, goshawk  
 雕 *diao*, golden eagle  
 鶚 *e*, osprey or fish hawk  
 鷂 *chi*, black kite  
 鷗鵂 *chi xiu*, Eurasian scops-owl  
 鴞 *xiao*, Asian barred owlet  
 鳩 *chen*, *chen* bird  
 姑獲鳥 *gu buo niao*, wench bird  
 治鳥 *zhi niao*, *zhi* bird  
 # 木客鳥 *mu ke niao*, tree visitor bird  
 # 獨足鳥 *du zu niao*, single leg bird  
 鬼車鳥 *gui che niao*, demon chariot bird  
 諸鳥有毒 *zhu niao you du*, all poisonous birds

§紅鶴 *kokaku (tsuki)*, flamingo  
 白鷗 *hakkan*, silver pheasant  
 烏鳳 *ubo (onagatori)*, Japanese paradise flycatcher  
 雲雀 *unjaku (hibari)*, skylark  
 翠雀 *suishaku (ruri)*, bluebird  
 画眉 *gabi (bobojiro)*, Chinese huamei  
 §蠟嘴 *rosbi (mamedori)*, hawfinch  
 山鵲 *sanshaku*, red-billed blue magpie  
 練鵲 *renjaku*, Japanese waxwing (\*not to be mistaken with the 連鵲 *renjaku*)  
 鷓鴣 *koisei (goisagi)*, black-crowned night heron  
 鸚鵡 *kuyoku*, mynah bird

# Naturalizing Li Shizhen’s *Bencao gangmu* in Early-modern Japan: The Cases of *Honchō shokkan*, *Yamato honzō*, and *Wakan sansai zue*

Annick HORIUCHI

## Introduction

It is widely recognized by historians of natural history that Li Shizhen’s 李時珍 (1518–1593) *Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目 (Classified *Materia Medica*) played a major role in the development of *honzō* studies (or *honzōgaku*) in early modern Japan. This landmark opus in the history of the Chinese *bencao* tradition was printed for the first time in 1596 in China and was frequently reissued up until the early 20th century.<sup>1</sup> In Japan, Li Shizhen’s work was imported shortly after its publication in China, and as early as the 1630s, Japanese reprints of the book appeared with diacritic signs assisting its reading.<sup>2</sup>

The book aroused the curiosity of a wide range of intellectuals, especially physicians and Confucian scholars. It was first and foremost regarded as a reference book for identifying natural substances and assigning correct names because of the vast erudition on which it was based. Its systematic and orderly character appeared also as a model to be followed. The book was also highly valued for the information it provided on the various uses—especially therapeutic—of the

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<sup>1</sup> See for example Georges Métaillé, “The *Bencao gangmu* of Li Shizhen: An Innovation in Natural History?” in *Innovation in Chinese Medicine*, ed. Elisabeth Hsu (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 221–261.

<sup>2</sup> See Mayanagi Makoto 真柳誠, “*Honzō kōmoku* no Nihon hatsu torai kiroku to Kinryō-bon no shozai” 『本草綱目』の日本初渡来記録と金陵本の所在 [Record of the first importation of the *Bencao gangmu* into Japan and the location of the Kinryō edition], *Kanpō no rinsbō* 漢方の臨床 45:11 (1998), pp. 1431–1439 (with additions dated 2010, 2014, and 2018), available at: <http://square.umin.ac.jp/mayanagi/paper01/kinryou.htm>; also the digital exhibition of the National Diet Library titled “Egakareta dōbutsu, shokubutsu: Edo jidai no hakubutsushi” 描かれた動物・植物：江戸時代の博物誌 [Animals and Plants Described: Natural Histories of Edo period], available at: <https://www.ndl.go.jp/nature/cha1/index.html>.

products it covered, or for its drug formulation recipes.<sup>3</sup> As a consequence, *bonzō* studies blossomed in Japan during the 17<sup>th</sup> century, producing a wide range of books reflecting one or several aspects of the Chinese model. A series of encyclopedic books were published at the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> century such as *Honchō shokkan* 本朝食鑑 (Mirror of Our Country's Foodstuffs, 1697), *Kōeki bonzō taisei* 広益本草大成 (Comprehensive *Materia Medica* for a Large Benefit, 1698), *Yamato bonzō* 大和本草 (*Materia Medica* of Japan, 1709), and *Wakan sansai zue* 和漢三才図会 (Illustrated Sino-Japanese Encyclopedia of the Three Realms, 1712). They show the strong commitment of Japanese scholars to deepening their knowledge of the natural world and to bringing it closer to the general public.

Among these books, historians generally emphasize the role of the *Yamato bonzō* in the emergence of a “native” science of *bonzō* in Japan. According to them, the book went further than its Chinese model in exploring natural substances by dissociating them from medical concerns. For example, Yabe Ichirō 矢部一郎 states that the *Yamato bonzō* is the first example of a Japanese contribution to the field of “natural history” (*bakubutsugaku*).<sup>4</sup> Ueno Masuzō 上野益三, for his part, praises Kaibara Ekiken's 貝原益軒 (1630–1714) scientific spirit, which led him to introduce into his work the fruits of his personal observations and investigations, thus taking the first steps on the road to “natural history.”<sup>5</sup> Both researchers stress the importance of having broken with the medical dimension of the *Bencao gangmu*, and of having paved the way to “natural history,” a field of study they seem to highly value because of its proximity to Western science. This narrative is so widely accepted nowadays that the originality or modernity of the *Yamato bonzō*'s approach to natural substances is seldom questioned. However, the same historians often point out that the *Bencao gangmu* was read and used by specialists of *bonzō* until the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, as shown by Ono Ranzan's 小野蘭山 (1729–1810) famous *Honzō kōmoku keimō* 本草綱目啓蒙 (1803–1806), a thorough commentary on Li Shizhen's classic based on the author's lifelong observations of nature and his outstanding scholarship. Ueno states that long after the *Yamato bonzō*'s publication, the *Bencao gangmu* remained a must-read book difficult to replace.<sup>6</sup>

It is however somewhat contradictory to assert simultaneously that Kaibara Ekiken opened up a new field of research which made the *Bencao gangmu* obsolete, and that the *Bencao gangmu* itself continued to be read until the end of the

<sup>3</sup> Métaillé says: “The compilation of these recipes should not be under-estimated, for it makes the *Bencao gangmu* a precious reservoir of practical medical knowledge accessible to physicians in the late Ming.” Op. cit., p. 252.

<sup>4</sup> Yabe Ichirō 矢部一郎, *Edo no bonzō: yakubutsugaku to bakubutsugaku* 江戸の本草：薬物学と博物学 (Tokyo: Saiensu-sha, 1984), pp. 64–66.

<sup>5</sup> Ueno Masuzō 上野益三, *Nihon bakubutsugakushi* 日本博物学史, *Kodansha gakujutsu bunko* 講談社学術文庫 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, first printed in 1973, reprinted in 1989), p. 67.

<sup>6</sup> Ueno (op. cit.), p. 96.

18<sup>th</sup> century. To get a clearer picture, we need to take a closer look at the way Japanese scholars read and used the *Bencao gangmu* and the extent to which they departed from mere book-knowledge. It is also important not to focus solely on Kaibara Ekiken, but to also take into account his contemporaries, who were themselves very active and who may have taken different approaches.

The purpose of the present paper will be to shed light on the transformations that took place at the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> century in the perception and description of natural things, by examining the content and the structure of entries in a selection of encyclopedic works. Because of the extensive nature of these works, this study will restrict itself to the field of animals, and more particularly to fish. Why fish? As a major component of Japanese diet at the time, it is to be expected that the subject caught scholars' attention. As a matter of fact, while entries dedicated to "fish"<sup>7</sup> in the *Bencao gangmu* are split into groups of 31 (scaly fish), 28 (scaleless fish) and 9 (addendum) entries, this number increases by groups of 39 (river fish) and 83 (sea fish) entries in the *Yamato honzō*, showing Kaibara's interest in the subject. To put Kaibara's approach in perspective, two other treatises will be considered: the *Honchō shokkan* and the *Wakan sansai zue*, published respectively shortly before and shortly after the *Yamato honzō* itself.

After a brief presentation of the three books, a selection of entries will be examined in order to highlight each author's approach to the topic and general purpose, and also in order to evaluate the respective weight given to Chinese scholarship and to personal observations. My aim is to demonstrate that each work has its own reasoned method, and that Kaibara Ekiken's approach is not as innovative as it has been claimed.

### The *Bencao gangmu*

Before examining the aforementioned books, it might be useful to recall the main features of the *Bencao gangmu* which will play an important role in our analysis. As a Confucian scholar, Li Shizhen was eager to propose an organized and systematized vision of the "natural world," in line with the rationalistic approach promoted by Neo-Confucian scholarship.<sup>8</sup>

"Natural world" in this context has a broader meaning than it does today. Entries in the *Bencao gangmu* not only covered living beings, minerals, and plants, but

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<sup>7</sup> Fish has to be understood here in the popular meaning, that is, as "any animal living exclusively in the water; primarily denoting vertebrate animals provided with fins and destitute of limbs; but extended to include various cetaceans, crustaceans, mollusks, etc." (Oxford English Dictionary).

<sup>8</sup> For an analysis of Li Shizhen's classification, see Joseph Needham, with the collaboration of Lu Gwei-Djen et al., *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol. 6, *Biology and Biological Technology*, Part 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 308–320. For a general reflection on Neo-Confucian thinking on knowledge, see Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol. 2, *History of Scientific Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1985, pp. 472–489.

also included, albeit marginally, a range of products that were manufactured, such as rice wine (*shu*<sup>9</sup> 酒) in the cereals section. To take this diversity into account, we will thus refer to the objects discussed in the entries as “substances.” The term used by Li Shizhen is “kind” (*shu* 種), but the term found in Japanese books is more often “thing” (*mono* 物). According to Georges Métaillé, Li Shizhen introduced a new rationale in classifying substances. He distinguished two levels: a more encompassing level called “section” (*bu* 部) and a more restricted level called “category” (*rui* 類). Li Shizhen explains his classification in the prefatory notes to his book as follows:

The old books treat in a undifferentiated manner jades, minerals, waters, and earths; they do not distinguish between “insects,” scaly creatures, and creatures with shells; some “insects” have an entry in the tree section, some trees in the herb section, . . . I have now ordered everything into sections, beginning with waters and fires, followed by earths, [because] Water and Fire precede the myriad things and the Earth is the mother of the myriad things. Then [follow] the metals and minerals, [because] they come from the Earth; then the herbs, grains, vegetables, fruits, and trees, from the smallest to the biggest; then the clothes and utensils, [made] from herbs and trees; then the “insects,” the scaly creatures, the shelled creatures, the birds, and the four-legged animals, ending with man: from the vile to the precious.<sup>10</sup>

Although most entries were about plants, 430 entries were devoted to animals. These entries were divided into five sections (*bu* 部): “insects” (*chū* 虫), scaly [creatures] (*rin* 鱗), shelled [creatures] (*kai* 介), birds (*kin* 禽) and four-legged [animals] (*jū* 獸). Scaly [creatures] were further divided into four categories (*rui* 類): dragons (*ryū* 龍), snakes (*ja* 蛇), fish (*gyo* 魚), and scaleless fish (*muringyo* 無鱗魚). Fish were thus divided into scaly ones (31) and scaleless ones (28). The number of substances considered in each category was rather modest, showing Li Shizhen’s limited knowledge of marine animals. The fact that “scaleless fish” were classified among “scaly animals” appears quite strange to modern eyes but no contemporary scholar found it odd. “Scaleless fish” was a very heterogeneous category, including marine mammals such as whales, dolphins, and sharks, as well as cuttlefish, octopus, eels, jellyfish, and lobsters. Under the heading “supplements,” Li Shizhen addressed the different ways of processing and eating fish (raw, vinegared, salted) and fish by-products such as oil.<sup>11</sup>

Li Shizhen’s work relied on a wide variety of sources, including not only ancient and recent books of the *bencao* tradition, but also a vast collection of medical or historical books, travel diaries, and official documents of many

<sup>9</sup> Pronunciation of Chinese characters will be given in Japanese, for the sake of simplicity.

<sup>10</sup> Métaillé (op. cit.), p. 227.

<sup>11</sup> There are many editions of the *Bencao gangmu*. For this study, I will use the Japanese edition published in 1714. See for example the copy housed at the National Diet Library (DOI: 10.11501/2556533). The fascicles dealing with “Scaly [creatures]” are fascicle 43 and fascicle 44.

sorts.<sup>12</sup> On the basis of this immense erudition, and by pointing out the errors of his predecessors, he selected the most relevant and reliable information related to the given substance, such as its correct name, its morphology, and its positive or negative effects on the human body. Entries were organized according to fixed headings, the most important ones being: “Explaining the Names” (*shakumyō* 釈名), “Collected Commentaries” (*shūge* 集解),<sup>13</sup> “Flavor and Thermo-influence” (*kimi* 気味), “Main Therapeutic Indications” (*shuji* 主治), and “Appended Recipes” (*juhō* 附方),<sup>14</sup> showing the methodical and systematic nature of his approach.

### The Japanese *honzō* Treatises

The importation of the *Bencao gangmu* into Japan was immediately followed by the publication of a number of Japanese treatises that were primarily concerned with giving the “correct” vernacular names to the *Bencao gangmu*'s entries. Hayashi Razan's 林羅山 (1583–1657) *Tashikiben* 多識編 (Collection of Wide Knowledge) printed in 1630 was the first to tackle the task and to draw attention to this encyclopedic work. It contained a list of the Chinese entries of the *Bencao gangmu*, with the corresponding vernacular names, using Chinese characters as phonograms. Such an undertaking was not totally new in Japan. Since the Heian period, it had been a major concern for Japanese physicians to identify medicinal substances that could be found on Japanese soil in order to replace imported products.<sup>15</sup> Edo scientists could rely on Minamoto no Shitagō's 源順 (911–983) *Wamyō ruijushō* 倭名類聚抄 (Categorized Notes on Yamato Names, 931–938), also known as *Wamyōshō*, which, interestingly enough, went through many re-editions during the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

Because of the thoroughness of Li Shizhen's investigation, Japanese scholars were strongly encouraged to give a new impetus to this task of identification and to correct past errors. The task was complicated for two reasons. Many substances known in China had no counterpart in Japan, and conversely, many substances widely known in Japan seemed to be unknown to Chinese scholars. This issue of identification would keep Japanese scholars busy for a very long time as we will see later.

It is also important to note that works on *materia medica* such as the *Bencao gangmu* provided in addition a variety of nutritional information. Food was considered to be part of the *materia medica*. Knowing which plant could be consumed—and how—was part of the knowledge expected from a physician. Specialized

<sup>12</sup> See Métaillé (op. cit.), p. 222.

<sup>13</sup> “An assembly of important quotations concerned with the habitat and nature of the thing” according to Needham et al., *Science and Civilization in China*, Vol. 6, Part 1 (op. cit.), p. 316.

<sup>14</sup> See Métaillé (op. cit.), p. 250, for other translations. Needham et al., *Science and Civilization in China*, Vol. 6, Part 1 (op. cit.), refer to these sub-headings respectively as “essential properties” (*kimi*), “principal uses” (*shuji*), and “collection of prescriptions” (*juhō*).

<sup>15</sup> For example, a 20-fascicle edition of the book was published as early as 1617.

works in this field did exist in China and they attracted as much attention as the *bencao* works themselves. For example, the *Shimū bencao* 食物本草 (Nutritional Natural History) was, in parallel with the *Bencao gangmu*, widely read in Japan during the 17<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>16</sup> giving rise to a local literature focused on food. The three books which we propose to discuss were published at a time when the success of this kind of encyclopedia was at its highest.<sup>17</sup>

### The *Honchō shokkan* (Mirror of Our Country's Foodstuffs)

The *Honchō shokkan* 本朝食鑑 is the work of an Edo physician called Hitomi Hitsudai 人見必大 (d. 1701).<sup>18</sup> His twelve-fascicle encyclopedia, printed in 1697, is fairly representative of the high level of scholarship Japanese scholars had achieved in the field of *materia medica* by the late seventeenth century. The book was written in classical Chinese (*kanbun* 漢文) and its 442 entries were exclusively devoted to edible products.<sup>19</sup> Entries were patterned on the *Bencao gangmu*'s model and adopted similar headings. The book did not, however, blindly follow its model. As suggested by the name, the *Honchō shokkan* focused exclusively on substances that were known in Japan. The author put a special emphasis on substances of animal origin, to which eight out of twelve fascicles were devoted. The classification in the *Honchō shokkan* broadly followed that of the *Bencao gangmu*. Animals were split into “Birds,” “Scaly [creatures],” “Shelled [creatures],” “Four-legged and farm [animals]” (*jūchikubu* 獸畜部), and “Snakes and ‘insects.’” In other words, snakes and dragons were no longer classified as “scaly [creatures],” the latter category being exclusively composed of fish.

Fish was definitely a major topic for the author of the *Honchō shokkan*, as can be seen by the number of entries (91) and the number of fascicles (3) devoted to the subject (**Tables 1 and 2**). The “scaly [creatures]” section was split into four subsections (*ru*) according to the creatures' living environment (rivers and lakes vs. great rivers and the sea) and their scaly or scaleless nature. A number of species unknown to Li Shizhen, but widely consumed in Japan, such as *saba*, *katsuo*, *buri*, *sabara*, *ankō*, or *mebaru* (**Table 2**), were introduced with a wealth of information on their morphology, their fishing areas, and methods for consuming and processing them.

<sup>16</sup> According to Needham, it is difficult not to get lost in the maze of editions of this book, some of which attribute false paternity to reputed scholars of ancient times. See *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol. 6, Part 1 (op. cit.), pp. 353–354. The most important of these works is the one supposedly based on a compilation of Li Gao 李杲 (1180–1251), completed by Li Shizhen (22 *juan* 卷) and printed in 1638. In Japan, the book was reprinted at Kyoto, in 1651.

<sup>17</sup> Yabe (op. cit.), pp. 54–55; Ueno (op. cit.), pp. 141–142.

<sup>18</sup> Hitsudai's father was a native of Kyoto, but he moved to Edo when he joined the shogun's staff as a physician. See Hitomi Hitsudai, *Honchō shokkan*, trans. & ed. Shimada Isao 島田勇雄, vol. 1, *Tōyō bunko* 東洋文庫 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1980), pp. 283–284. For the original edition, see the copy housed in the National Diet Library (DOI: 10.11501/2557332).

<sup>19</sup> Yabe (op. cit.), pp. 55–56.



The *Yamato honzō* (*Materia medica* of Japan)

As regards Kaibara Ekiken's *Yamato honzō* (*Materia Medica* of Japan, 1709), it was a 16-fascicle encyclopedia<sup>20</sup> claiming a direct filiation with the tradition of *honzō* (*materia medica*), and more particularly with the *Bencao gangmu*. Like its Chinese model, it covered the three realms of plants, minerals, and animals, with three fascicles devoted to animals, among which one was devoted to fish. Historians generally emphasize Kaibara's focus on Japanese substances, but we have seen that the earlier *Honchō shokkan* was already focused on Japanese products. If the *Yamato honzō* with its 1,366 entries was of greater scope, it is to be noted that Kaibara cites the *Honchō shokkan* as a reference for edible products and makes abundant use of it.<sup>21</sup>

Contrary to what the title suggests, not all the 1,366 entries of the *Yamato honzō* dealt with Japanese substances. 772 of them, that is, more than half, were substances that had been listed and named in the *Bencao gangmu*. As regards the remaining substances, a number were labeled "Japanese items" (*wabin* 倭品) because they were only observed in Japan and had no Chinese names. Some of them were labeled "foreign" (*gai* 外) or "barbarian substances" (*banshu* 蛮種) because they were mainly known from Chinese books or were imported products.

Kaibara also deviated from his model when it came to classification. He did not adopt Li Shizhen's two-level classification. He used the term *rui* 類 for all categories, regardless of the level of classification. Moreover, he did not hesitate to remove ancient categories, such as that of scaly [creatures], which he replaced with "fish." Following the *Honchō shokkan*, a distinction between "river fish" and "sea fish" was introduced. For each category, the number of entries was significantly higher than in the *Bencao gangmu* (**Table 1**)<sup>22</sup>: 39 river fish (18 "Japanese," 1 "foreign") and 83 sea fish (37 "Japanese," 11 "foreign," 1 "barbarian").

Another important feature of Kaibara's encyclopedia was his use of the vernacular. Among the three authors, he was the only one to adopt this mode of writing, even though his terminology consisted mainly of Chinese terms. It nevertheless showed Kaibara's willingness to broaden the audience of *honzō* studies.

In the preliminary notes of the fascicle devoted to fish, Kaibara stressed the diversity of fish in Japan and the impossibility of knowing them all:

In general, there are a large number of fish varieties. Each province has its specific products (*bin* 品) and they cannot be thoroughly investigated. There are differences from one place to another in the provinces. Some products exist in one place and do not exist in others. Morphology, nature, and flavor may be different.

<sup>20</sup> To be precise, the printed edition was composed of 16 fascicles, 2 fascicles of supplements, and 3 fascicles of illustrations.

<sup>21</sup> *Yamato honzō*, in *Ekiken zenshū* 益軒全集 (Ekiken's Complete Works), vol. 6 (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1973), p. 13.

<sup>22</sup> It must be noted that entries on processed products deriving from fish such as *kamaboko* 蒲鉾 or *shiokara* 塩辛 are also included among these. This was already the case in the *Honchō shokkan*. In the *Bencao gangmu*, by comparison, they were listed separately in an addendum.

In our country, characters used to name substances (*binbutsu* 品物) are commonly mistaken. This is particularly true with fish names. Many Chinese characters used in ancient times have been mistakenly transmitted, so that there are many incorrect names. It is fair to say that “one has repeated without clarifying.”<sup>23</sup>

He also complained about the fact that as regards fish, the *Bencao gangmu* was not reliable:

Fish in the *Bencao gangmu* are few in number compared to other substances. Notes on sea fish are particularly sketchy. Evidence is often lacking. Moreover, fish are listed in no particular order, without distinguishing between river fish and sea fish.<sup>24</sup>

Now, when we look at Kaibara Ekiken’s fish entries in the *Yamato honzō*, we note that they are generally short and are not very detailed. He says in his introduction that he did not consider it necessary to elaborate on the issue of food, because the *Honchō shokkan* had already provided so much information.<sup>25</sup> His commentaries are far less organized than those of the earlier work, and the content varies greatly from one fish to another with no predefined format. This suggests a rather different approach to the subject.

#### The *Wakan sansai zue* (Illustrated Sino-Japanese Encyclopedia of the Three Realms)

The *Wakan sansai zue*, which is our last example, is a 105-fascicle encyclopedia in classical Chinese (*kanbun*), published in 1712 by an Osaka physician, Terajima Ryōan 寺島良安 (dates unknown). Terajima is not generally considered to be a specialist in *honzō* studies, though his book demonstrates a high level of scholarship in this field. Animals, plants, and minerals make up a large part of his encyclopedia. Four fascicles (48 to 51) are devoted to fish, for which he uses the same classification as the *Honchō shokkan* (**Table 1**) with the difference that processing methods are kept separate from the fish themselves in a section called “uses of fish” (*uo no yō* 魚之用). The number of fish entries has grown to 145, including processed products (**Table 1**).

Fish entries in the *Wakan sansai zue*, like all other entries in the book, begin with an illustration of the fish, complete with information about its Chinese and Japanese names, alternative names, and readings (**Figure 1**). The text itself is composed of a quotation from the *Bencao gangmu*, when the fish is known in China, and a general description given under the heading “My comment” (*an[zuru ni]* 按). If Japanese classics such as the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (Chronicle of Japan) are explicitly quoted,<sup>26</sup> Terajima never mentions his contemporaries or immediate predecessors,

<sup>23</sup> *Yamato honzō* (op. cit.), p. 318.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> *Yamato honzō* (op. cit.), p. 13.

<sup>26</sup> Only ancient sources (historical or not) are explicitly mentioned. The *Wamyōshō*, because of its antiquity, is mentioned as a source, suggesting the high status of this book at the time.

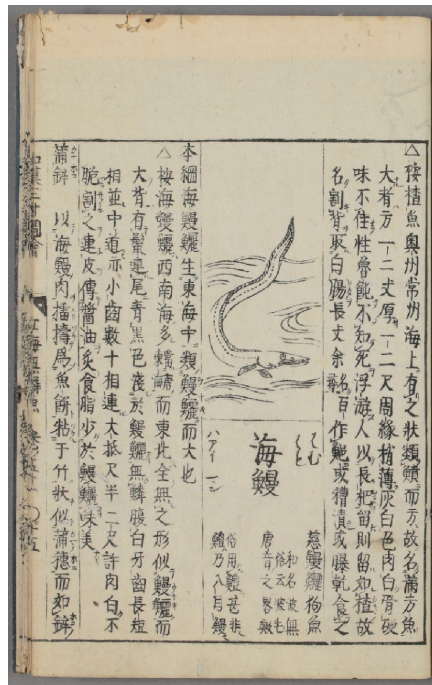


Figure 1. Entry for *hamo* 海鰻 in the *Wakan sansai zue* 和漢三才図会. (Waseda University Library).<sup>27</sup>

Table 1. Fish Classifications in the *Bencao gangmu* and in the Three Japanese Encyclopedias

<i>Bencao gangmu</i>	<i>Honchō shokkan</i>	<i>Yamato bonzō</i>	<i>Wakan sansai zue</i>
Scaly fish (31)	River and lake scaly fish (11)	River fish (39)	River and lake scaly fish (26)
Scaleless fish (28)	River and lake scaleless fish (8)	Sea fish (83)	Great river and sea scaly fish (48)
Addendum (9)	Great river and sea scaly fish (35)		River and lake scaleless fish (9)
	Great river and sea scaleless fish (37)		Great river and sea scaleless fish (40)
			Uses of fish (22)
Total: 68 (59+9)	Total: 91	Total: 122	Total: 145

<sup>27</sup> Year of publication unknown. Call number: 文庫31/e0860. Fascicle 51. Available at: [https://archive.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kosho/bunko31/bunko31\\_e0860/bunko31\\_e0860\\_0034/bunko31\\_e0860\\_0034\\_p0025.jpg](https://archive.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kosho/bunko31/bunko31_e0860/bunko31_e0860_0034/bunko31_e0860_0034_p0025.jpg)

such as the *Yamato honzō* or the *Honchō shokkan*, even though he draws heavily on them.

It is a distinctive feature of the *Wakan sansai zue* that it includes an illustration in each entry. The *Honchō shokkan* has none. The *Yamato honzō* has been supplemented with two separate volumes specifically dedicated to illustrations, entitled: *Yamato honzō shobin zu* 大和本草諸品図 (Substances of the *Yamato honzō*, Illustrated). But these only deal with a selection of substances.

### Particular Fish Entries in the Three Encyclopedias

We will now look at a few examples of entries, in order to capture the particularities of each work. Three fish have been selected because of their place within the *honzō* tradition in China and Japan (Table 2).

#### [1] 鱧魚 (*reigyō*)

The first example, *reigyō* 鱧魚, is a fish well-known to specialists of *materia medica* since ancient times. In the *Bencao gangmu*, its name appears in the “scaleless” category, within the “scaly [creatures]” section. In addition to the alternative names and a morphological description of the fish, significant space is assigned to therapeutic indications and appended recipes. Quoting ancient authors, Li Shizhen introduces the *reigyō* as a fish that can be caught in all seasons in ponds and marshlands. Let us examine Li Shizhen’s specific note on this fish:

時珍曰、形長体円、頭尾相等、細鱗玄色、有斑点花紋、頗類蝮蛇、有舌有齒有肚、背腹有鬣連尾、尾無歧。形狀可憎、氣息腥惡、食品所卑。南人有珍之者、北人尤絕之。<sup>28</sup>

Shizhen says: It is a fish with an elongated shape, and a round body. Head and tail are equal [in size]. It has fine scales, a dark color, with spotted floral patterns, quite similar to vipers, with a tongue, teeth, and a belly; it has spines on the back and on the belly, up to the tail; the tail has no fork. It has a repulsive look, a nasty smell. As food, it is disregarded. Some southerners appreciate it. Northerners have definitively rejected it. . . .

Let us keep in mind simply that it is a fish which has a serpentine shape and a repulsive aspect, and which is not consumed as food. As a drug, Li Shizhen stresses its effectiveness against hemorrhoids and tumors.

The *reigyō* is a fish that has long raised a major problem of identification in Japan. In Minamoto no Shitagō’s *Wamyōshō*, which Edo scholars regarded with much respect, the *reigyō* had been identified with the *hamo* (dagger-tooth pike conger), a kind of eel found in Japan and consumed in the Kansai region. But a

<sup>28</sup> Li Shizhen, *Kinryōbon Honzō kōmoku*, 金陵本本草綱目, vol. 6, ed. Miyashita Saburō 宮下三郎 (Tokyo: Oriento shuppansha, 1992), p. 477. See *Bencao gangmu*, fascicle 44, section 鱧之四.

Table 2. Three Examples of Fish

	<i>Bencao gangmu</i>	<i>Honchō shokkan</i>	<i>Yamato honzō</i>	<i>Wakan sansai zue</i>
1. 鱧魚 ( <i>reigyō</i> )	鱧魚	鱧 はも	鱧魚 うみうなぎ (海鰻 はも)	鱧 やつめうなぎ (海鰻 はむ、はも)
2. 鮪 ( <i>shibi</i> )	鱧魚 しんぎよ 別名：鮪	しび	しび	鮪 しび、はつ
3. <i>kisugo</i>	(absent)	幾須子魚 きすご	きすご (和品)	幾須吾 きすご

book published in 1684 by a Nagasaki scholar<sup>29</sup> reported that the *reigyō*'s description in the *Bencao gangmu* did not correspond to the *hamo*'s appearance. The same scholar suggested identifying the *reigyō* with another fish, known in Nagasaki as *keitago*.<sup>30</sup> The *Honchō shokkan* ignores this remark and goes back to the old identification with the *hamo*. The author merges the *Bencao gangmu*'s description of the fish with what he knows about the fish called *hamo*, appreciated for its taste. After having quoted the morphological description from the Chinese treatise, he comments on its taste, on how it is consumed, and on where it can be fished:

It has an ugly aspect but it has a very good taste. The flesh is white and pure. They are three to four feet long for the larger ones, one to two feet for the smaller ones. Lately, the flesh of the fresh fish is grinded into a paste (*kamaboko* 蒲鉾). It is one of the most delicious *sake* accompaniments. It is also consumed dried (*shiraboshi* 白干し) [. . .] It is abundantly fished in the seas of Naniwa<sup>31</sup> in Settsu Province, in Sakai, Sumiyoshi, and Kishiwada in Izumi province,<sup>32</sup> and also in the provinces of Kii, Harima, Tango, and Tajima<sup>33,34</sup>

He then mentions the practice which had spread recently in Kii province of bathing newborns in the broth of this fish to protect them from smallpox. He seems not to be fully convinced of the effectiveness of such a practice, but says that it is mentioned in Li Shizhen's book. Other therapeutic indications (for hemorrhoids and tumors) are also mentioned. The author seems not to pay attention to the discrepancies between his own knowledge of the *hamo* and the *Bencao gangmu*'s description. Nor is it a problem for him to quote passages from the *Bencao gangmu* that he regards as dubious.<sup>35</sup> In other words, the *Bencao gangmu* is too

<sup>29</sup> The book in question is Mukai Genshō's 向井元升 *Hōchū biyō wamyō honzō* 庖厨備用倭名本草 (pub. Jōkyō 貞享 1/1684).

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, fasc. 8.

<sup>31</sup> Naniwa is the ancient name for Osaka and its region.

<sup>32</sup> Izumi is a former province located south of modern Osaka Prefecture.

<sup>33</sup> Kii, Harima, Tango, and Tajima are all located around Osaka, Kyoto, and Hyōgo Prefectures in the Kansai region.

<sup>34</sup> *Honchō shokkan* (op. cit.), vol. 4, pp. 253–254.

<sup>35</sup> Hitomi Hitsudai discusses at length Li Shizhen's recommendation about bathing newborns in the broth of this fish and expresses his doubts as to the effectiveness of such a method. *Ibid.*

prestigious a reference to be questioned overtly. He makes the choice to allot plenty of space to recent practices observed in Japan.

The *Yamato honzō*, for its part, conceives two separate entries for the *reigyō* and the *hamo*.<sup>36</sup> Both entries are relatively short. In the former (*reigyō* 鰻魚), Kaibara explains that the *Wamyōshō*'s reading of the name as *hamu* is improper, and that *hamo* derives from the Chinese pronunciation (*tōon* 唐音) of the word 海鰻 (Ch. *haiman*). Kaibara states that the *reigyō* is the sea fish known as *umi-unagi* 海鰻 (sea eel) in Kyushu.<sup>37</sup> Its morphology matches exactly the description given in the *Bencao gangmu*. The fish has an ugly appearance and Japanese people do not eat it. He also rejects his contemporaries' identification of it with the *kitago* or the *tsunoji*.<sup>38</sup> Lastly, he points out that there is another species also called *umi-unagi* (literally "sea eel"), very similar to the contemporary eel, which may in fact be consumed.<sup>39</sup>

The entry for *hamo* in the *Yamato honzō* is equally very short. *Hamo* is written with the Chinese characters 海鰻, which reminds us of the *kaimanrei* 海鰻鱺 mentioned in the *Bencao gangmu*, though Kaibara does not make any explicit connection between the two.<sup>40</sup> Kaibara reminds us once again of the mistake made in the past of confusing it with the *reigyō*. Concerning the fish itself, he does not provide any description, and only mentions that it is consumed dried, or processed as *kamaboko*.

From this particular example, one grasps that Kaibara's main concern is to name the fish by its correct name and clear up the old confusion between the *reigyō* and the *hamo*. The descriptive elements he gives are meant to support his claim about whether it is or is not the fish mentioned by Li Shizhen, rather than to inform the reader about the ways he might eat or use it.

Let us now consider the *Wakan sansai zue*. Its author, Terajima Ryōan, introduces the Japanese reading of *yatsume unagi* 八つ目鰻 ("eight-eyed eel") for the

<sup>36</sup> See *Yamato honzō* (op. cit.), vol. 16, pp. 336–337.

<sup>37</sup> The entry begins as follows:

順和名ニハムト訓ス。アヤマレリ。ハモハ海鰻ナリ。唐音ナリ。鰻ハ筑紫ノ方言ウミウナギト云。本草ニイヘルゴトク形長ク体円ク頭ト尾ト同大サニテ相等シク細鱗玄色ニシテ星アリ。形少蝮蛇ニ似タリ。尾マタナク其形ミクルシク可レ悪。[...]

[Minamoto no] Shitagō's *Wamyōshō* gives the reading *hamu*. This is an error. *Hamo* corresponds to 海鰻. It is the Chinese pronunciation. 鰻 is read *umi unagi* in the Tsukushi dialect. As it says in the *Bencao gangmu*, [this fish] has an elongated shape, a round body, and the head and tail are equal [in size]. It has fine scales and a dark color, with spots. Its shape looks like that of a small snake (viper?). Its tail has no fork. It has a repulsive look and must not be touched. . . .

The reading *umi unagi* has been given here in *katakana* to avoid confusion, because if written in Chinese characters, it would have been exactly the same: 海鰻.

<sup>38</sup> *Yamato honzō* (op. cit.), vol. 16, pp. 336–337.

<sup>39</sup> This last *umi-unagi* is possibly the one mentioned in the *Bencao gangmu* under the name of *kaimanrei* 海鰻鱺, but Kaibara remains silent about it. See note 40 below.

<sup>40</sup> The *Bencao gangmu* mentions two different fish named *manreigyō* 鰻鱺魚 and *kaimanrei* 海鰻鱺 (Table 3), which can be translated respectively as "eel" and "sea eel." The transcription *hamo* 海鰻 only keeps the first two characters of the second fish.

fish called *rei* 鱧. The entry begins with a quotation from the *Bencao gangmu*, giving that work's description of the fish and its therapeutic indications. This is followed by a detailed description of the local specimen, mentioning the seven or eight small star-shaped slots near each eye, as well as some information about its habitat. According to Terajima's explanation, the fish is found in the rivers and ponds of northern regions (of Japan); in winter, it is fished by breaking the surface of the ice. Local people consume it, and it tastes better than [ordinary] eel. It is also sold dried, as *himono* 干物, in Kyoto. The author complains about the fact that many wrong readings of the name of this fish are still in circulation.<sup>41</sup>

The *Wakan sansai zue* also contains an entry dedicated to the *hamo*/*hamu*, which he writes with the same Chinese characters (海鰻) as Kaibara.<sup>42</sup> The description is partly quoted from the *Bencao gangmu*, which is explicitly mentioned. He also quotes from the *Honchō shokkan* and from another source, but these contemporary sources are not explicitly mentioned. He furthermore warns about the confusion often made between the *reigyō*—that is, the *yatsume unagi*—and the *hamo*. Thus do we see that Terajima closely follows the example of Kaibara in conceiving two separate entries for the *hamo* and the *reigyō*, with the difference that he identifies the *reigyō* with the *yatsume unagi*. For his two predecessors, the *yatsume unagi* is a distinct fish.

From this first short examination, we can conclude that Li Shizhen's *Bencao gangmu* remained an essential reference for the three Japanese scholars. Li's description of the fish is systematically quoted and constitutes the starting point of their investigations. The three authors have different interpretations regarding the name given to this fish in Japan. For Hitomi Hitsudai, the *reigyō* has to be identified with the *hamo*. For Kaibara, it has no strict equivalent in Japan, but is close to a fish found in the Kyushu area. For Terajima, it is the *yatsume unagi*. Among the three scholars, Kaibara is the closest to the “truth” since the *reigyō* is not found in Japan and is only known through imported specimens.<sup>43</sup> One might find it strange that, while the fish was barely known in Japan, Kaibara kept mentioning it in his *Yamato honzō*, supposedly centered on Japanese substances. This can be explained by the fact that his priority was to shed light on the true nature of this fish, and to categorically reject the hasty identifications of his contemporaries.

## [2] 鮪 (*shibi*)

Let us now turn to the second example: tuna 鮪 (*shibi*).

Tuna has been widely fished and consumed in Japan since ancient times. The name *shibi* was used to designate tuna, especially in western Japan. This name

<sup>41</sup> Terajima Ryōan, *Wakan sansai zue* 和漢三才図会, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Tōkyō Bijutsu, 1970), p. 553.

<sup>42</sup> Terajima (op. cit.), p. 562.

<sup>43</sup> Nowadays, the “true” *reigyō* is called “Blotched snakehead.” But it is interesting to note that the fish called *hamo* is sometimes written with the same characters as *reigyō*. See Ono Ranzan 小野蘭山, *Honzō kōmoku keimō* 本草綱目啓蒙, vol. 3, *Tōyō bunko* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1991), p. 230.

was mentioned in the *Wamyōshō* and it was used in ancient poetry as well. Edo scholars were nevertheless faced with a delicate problem. There was no entry in the *Bencao gangmu* under the name *i* 鮪, but the word *i* 鮪 did appear under the *shingyo* 鱈魚 entry, as an alternative name used in ancient books.<sup>44</sup> The problem was, firstly, that the description of the *shingyo* 鱈魚 or the *i* 鮪 in the *Bencao gangmu*—nowadays identified with the marlin—did not fit the fish known as *shibi*, that is, tuna<sup>45</sup>; and secondly, that there was no fish in Japan corresponding exactly to the *shingyo*'s description.

The description given in the *Bencao gangmu* could be summarized as follows: The *shingyo* is a shark-like fish, living in deep water. It has white flesh and has no scales on its back. It is blue-green in color. Its belly is white. In the springtime, it moves up to the warm waters of the surface and is dazzled by the sun's rays. It has a very long nose, as long as its body. Its mouth is under its jaw. It eats but does not drink. It has blue, plum blossom-like spots under its cheeks. The color of its flesh is pure white. Its flavor is inferior to that of the fish called *ten* 鱈, the sturgeon, etc.<sup>46</sup> The *Bencao gangmu* entry also included short comments regarding the fish's edibility (its taste is considered good) and various minor therapeutic indications or effects on the body.

When examining how this fish is discussed in the three Japanese books, one notes that both the *Honchō shokkan* and the *Yamato bonzō* have an entry under *shibi* 鮪, but have no entry under the name *shingyo* 鱈魚. In the *Yamato bonzō*, the name *shibi* is given only phonetically, using the *hiragana* syllabary. The *Honchō shokkan* provides a range of first-hand information the author seems to have collected directly from fishermen. This is a remarkable feature of the work that can also be seen in other entries, such as those for “mackerel,” “bonito,” or “whale.” As the text is long, I will give here only an outline of the description.

- Habitat: places where it is fished (on the coast of the northwestern regions)
- History: known since ancient times and mentioned in ancient poetry (the *Man'yōshū* 万葉集)

<sup>44</sup> Li Shizhen says that “the big ones are called *ō-i* 王鮪 [“king-?”], the small ones *shuku-i* 叔鮪 [“cadet-?”], and the smallest ones *rakushi* 鰭子.”

<sup>45</sup> From the description Li Shizhen gives of the *shingyo*, the identification is difficult. Ono Ranzan, in his *Honzō kōmoku keimō*, begins the entry for this fish by saying that “it is not clear” (*tsumabiraka narazu* 詳ナラス), and adds that it has wrongly been identified with the *kajikitōshi*. But he says also that the *shingyo* is the fish called *kigyō* 旗魚 in the *Taiwan fuzhi* 台湾府志 (Description of Taiwan Prefecture). See Ono Ranzan, *Honzō kōmoku keimō*, vol. 3 (op. cit.), p. 236. Today, the *kigyō* is identified as the marlin, that is, as the *kajiki* of Japan, another name for the *kajikitōshi*, one that refers to its spear-like snout. We will see below that the *Wakan sansai zue* identifies the *shingyo* as the *kajikitōshi*.

<sup>46</sup> 時珍曰、出江淮、黄河、遼海深水处、亦鱈属也。岬居、長者丈余。至春始出而浮陽、見日則目眩。其状如鱈、而背上無甲。其色青碧、腹下色白。其鼻長与身等、口在頷下、食而不飲。頰下有青斑、紋如梅花状、尾歧如丙。肉色純白、味垂於鱈、髻骨不脆。羅願云、鱈状如鬻鼎、上大下小、大頭哆口、似鉄兜鍪、其鰾亦可作膠、如鱈缺也、亦能化龍。See the entry for 鱈 in *Bencao gangmu*, chapter 鱗之四, section 無鱗魚. See Li Shizhen (op. cit.), p. 486.



- Morphology: size of the fish, big head, sharp mouth, long nose; a mouth under the jaw; the two opercula are like a steel helmet; green spots under the cheek; blood spurting out of the eyes after its death; no scales on its back but a dark blue color; white belly; a hard and forked tail; etc.
- Taste: mentions the *chiai* 血合, a part of the flesh, dark-colored, which has to be removed when cooking because of its bad taste.
- Fishing: tools and techniques used by fishermen.
- Strength and weakness of the fish: strength concentrated in its head.
- Fish processing and culinary preparations (eaten raw or passed quickly over the flame). Trade.
- Different names of the fish, according to its age. Names of young fish (*mejika* 目鹿).
- Places where it is consumed.
- Flavor.<sup>47</sup>

The author does not explicitly mention the relationship of the fish with the one called *shingyo* in the *Bencao gangmu*. Comments, however, regarding its flavor and its therapeutic indications are reproduced from the corresponding headings of the *shingyo* entry in the *Bencao gangmu*. For this author, therapeutic indications are an important part of an entry, and should be included regardless of their degree of appropriateness.

We note once again this remarkable feature of the *Honchō shokkan* of being on the one hand open to observation, and to including first-hand information about food consumption, while on the other hand being excessively respectful of tradition, reproducing even rubrics that have lost their meaning, and about which the author himself does not hide his suspicion.

The *Yamato honzō*, for its part, explains where the problem lies for its author. He says:

The character *i* 鮫 has been read as *shibi* in Japan since ancient times. This *i* 鮫 is another name for the *shin* 鱒. In the *Bencao gangmu*, Li Shizhen says: “the *shin* has a blue-green color, the color of the belly is white.” This is close to the fish called *shibi*. Shizhen also says: “[I]ts nose is long, as long as its body. Its mouth is under its jaw. The color of its flesh is pure white.” All of this is different from the *shibi*.<sup>48</sup>

He then goes on to describe the *shibi* found in Japan and stresses the fact that it is a scaly fish, that its morphology is similar to the bonito's (*keatsuo* 鰹). Its flesh is red and toxic and occasionally causes ailments. It is fished in great numbers in the Gotō islands and Hirado island in Kyushu. The problem was that there was no fish in the *Bencao gangmu* that corresponded to the *shibi*'s description. He concludes that the *shibi* and the *shingyo* are probably of the same category (*rui*).

Thus can we see that, for the *Yamato honzō*'s author, the main issue is to designate each fish by its correct name. He is using the *Bencao gangmu* as a sort of bible

<sup>47</sup> *Honchō shokkan* (op. cit.), pp. 223–224.

<sup>48</sup> *Yamato honzō* (op. cit.), pp. 343–344.

that will provide the correct name and an accurate morphological description for each fish. Its content can neither be questioned nor discussed. And inasmuch as the description of the *i* 鯖 did not correspond to the morphology of the fish called *shibi* in Japan, he does not feel authorized to use the character 鯖, even if it had been used in Japan from ancient times.

Concerning the fish itself, Kaibara does not say much about the way it is consumed. He stresses its toxicity and considers it as a fish less tasty than the *katsuo*.<sup>49</sup> We can therefore conclude that Kaibara's objective lies much more in the identification of the correct name than in giving complete information on the fish itself. But we also note that identifying the correct name cannot be done without observing the physical features of each fish with great detail. Therefore, the observation of fish is more a consequence in his case than an objective in itself.

The *Wakan sansai zue*, for its part, keeps the two entries: *shin* 鱒 (Japanese name: *kajitoshi* 梶通し)<sup>50</sup> and *i* 鯖 (*shibi*). For the former, the description of the *Bencao gangmu* is quoted. For the latter, he quotes the *Yamato honzō* and the *Honchō shokkan* without mentioning his sources. He says that the two fish are considered to be the same fish in the *Bencao gangmu*, but that the issue has not been resolved.

### [3] *keisugo*

Let us examine lastly the example of the *keisugo*, a fish mentioned in the three Japanese books and known only through its vernacular name (*zokushō* 俗称). Both the *Honchō shokkan* and the *Wakan sansai zue* make reference to the name's phonetical transcription in *kei-su-go* 幾須子 (or 幾須吾) but the *Yamato honzō* gives only a *hiragana* transcription.

The *Honchō shokkan* offers by far the most detailed description, one which is partially taken up by the other two books. The fish is found almost everywhere in the seas of Japan. It is a small fish that can reach at most 7 or 8 *sun* 寸 (20–25 cm), with large and thin scales, a non-forked tail, and very white flesh with a sweet flavor. It can be consumed as *namasu* 魚膾 (served raw in vinegar) or in grilled fish cakes (*gyobei* 魚餅). Although they belong to the same category, the author mentions the morphological differences between those that swim upriver (*kawakisu*) and those that are fished in the open sea (*umikisu*). The popular fishing for it organized in various areas (Shiba, Shinagawa, Nakagawa) within the city of Edo, during the seventh and eighth lunar months, is mentioned as a distinguished entertainment. The *Honchō shokkan* takes a close interest in the *keisugo*'s not-so-common particularity of having two “white stones” in its head. He explains

<sup>49</sup> Here we note a discrepancy between the appreciation of the fish in the *Honchō shokkan* and the *Yamato honzō*. Tuna was not very popular in western Japan where it was considered toxic. In eastern Japan, especially in Edo, the fish was widely consumed and appreciated.

<sup>50</sup> The Japanese name given to the *shingyo* seems to be correct, according to Ono Ranzan, though Ranzan states that the identity of this fish is unclear. See note 45 above.

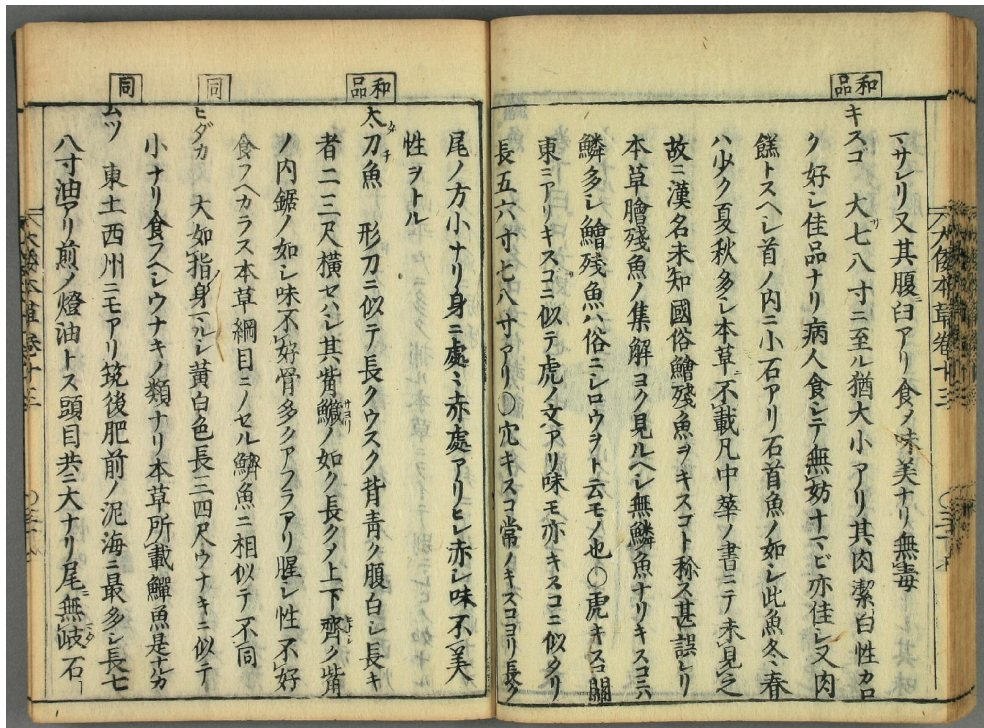


Figure 2. Entry for *kisugo* in the *Yamato honzō*. (Waseda University Library).

[https://archive.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kosho/ni01/ni01\\_00413/ni01\\_00413\\_0013/ni01\\_00413\\_0013\\_p0039.jpg](https://archive.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kosho/ni01/ni01_00413/ni01_00413_0013/ni01_00413_0013_p0039.jpg)

that these are only head bones, but that by their color and shape they look like stones. For the author, the *kisugo* is not only a tasty fish that will not harm even sick people, but it also has therapeutic effects against urinary lithiasis.<sup>51</sup>

As already mentioned, entries in the *Yamato honzō* do not follow a fixed pattern. In this case, the morphological description is summed up in two lines:

Its length can reach 7 to 8 *sun*. There are large ones and small ones. Its flesh is an immaculate white, its nature light and good.<sup>52</sup>

We have already mentioned that Kaibara did not make use of the transliteration of the name using Chinese characters. Kaibara also briefly comments that the *kisugo* has wrongly been mistaken in the past for the fish called *kaisangyo* 鱸殘魚 in the *Bencao gangmu*. He gives evidence of this being a mistake (the former has no scales while the latter has them), then adds: “The *kaisangyo* is what is currently named *shiro’uo* in Japan.” Kaibara ends by mentioning two varieties of fish that

<sup>51</sup> *Honchō shokkan* (op. cit.), pp. 60–61.

<sup>52</sup> *Yamato honzō* (op. cit.), p. 343.

look like the *kisugo*.<sup>53</sup> Thus we see that, once again, Kaibara never loses sight of Li Shizhen's teaching and is particularly careful not to use mistaken Chinese names to designate Japanese varieties (**Figure 2**).

The entry in the *Wakan sansai zue* is also very short, providing a very general description of the fish and also of its culinary quality. There are no new observations reported by the author. It contains no new elements, with the exception of a regional name and details on the morphology of the two varieties called *kawakisu* (“*kisu*[go] of the river”) and *torakisu* (“tiger *kisu*[go]”).

## Conclusion

Our study of entries on fish in three encyclopedias published at the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> century has shown that, as far as fish are concerned, the current assessment of the *Yamato honzō* is not necessarily an apt one.

More precisely, it was made clear that:

- The *Bencao gangmu* played a key role in the design of these three books, especially with the morphological descriptions and the names that it provided for each substance. Regarding fish, therapeutic indications were often quoted but rarely investigated. These may have been considered of little use, given the primary purpose for which fish were caught.
- The *Honchō shokkan* stands out for the place it gives to first-hand information about morphology, toxicity, gustative quality of the fish, fishing grounds, fishing techniques, and culinary preparations. It is likely that observations and data were collected from those involved in catching fish or processing them. The substances examined are only those that can be found in Japan, and the accuracy of their naming is not a priority. Hitomi Hitsudai's approach corresponds best to that of “natural history,” even if his investigations are essentially driven by pragmatic and utilitarian considerations.
- The *Yamato honzō* allows only limited space for the description of the fish. Priority is given instead to its identification—i.e., to the assignment of a correct Chinese name. When no Chinese name can be assigned to the substance (i.e., when the substance is only known in Japan), the Japanese name is written in *hiragana*. This does not prevent Kaibara from being an excellent observer, if only because of his strong motivation not to deviate from the *Bencao gangmu*'s teaching.
- As for the *Wakan sansai zue*, its approach is original in that it does not follow any of the paths taken by its predecessors, even though it draws heavily on their work. The author's veneration for the *Bencao gangmu* leads him to include almost systematically all the substances mentioned in the Chinese book<sup>54</sup> and to

<sup>53</sup> The *tora-kisugo* 虎きすご, already mentioned by Hitomi Hitsudai, and the *ana-kisugo* 穴きすご.

<sup>54</sup> See **Table 3**, listing the fish entries in the three books.

quote from it abundantly. The *Wakan sansai zue* lists a large number of Chinese substances that, being barely found in Japan, had been eliminated by its two predecessors. This is consistent with the author's definition of his own encyclopedia as "Sino-Japanese" (*wa-kan* 和漢), in contrast to predecessors whose works had put the emphasis on Japan. Although his sources are not made explicit, and we do not know whether he himself made his own observations, the knowledge he collected is considerable, making him a true encyclopedist.

Our investigation has shown that, on the threshold of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, scholars were not really engaged in the observation of nature for its own sake, but driven rather by utilitarian considerations, or by the desire to remove, once and for all, the uncertainties that existed regarding the names of the substances. Their knowledge of natural substances had nevertheless been enriched with many new elements. As far as edible products are concerned, attention was now focused on the living environment and on consumption processes, rather than on medical applications. In this respect, it can safely be stated that the scope of *bonzō* studies in Japan had come to extend far beyond the *materia medica*.

**Table 3**  
List of Fish Entries in the *Bencao gangmu* and the Three Japanese Encyclopedias

本草綱目 (1596)	本朝食鑑 (1697)	大和本草 (1709)	和漢三才図会 (1712自序)
鱗類魚 31	河湖有鱗類 11	河魚 39	河湖有鱗魚類 26
鯉魚	鯉	鯉	鯉こひ
鰻魚	鮒ふな	鯽 (一名鮒)	鮒ふな
鱒魚	鮭さけ	鱒魚さけ	波長魚はちやう
鱒魚	鱒ます	鱒魚あめのうを	鱒たひらこ
鮭魚	鮭あめ	鱒魚あゆ	鱒みごい
青魚	鮓はそ	鰻はえ (和品)	嘉魚まるたいを
竹魚	鮓あゆ	をいかは (和品)	鮭さけ
鱒魚	鮓はえ	もろこ	鱒ます
白魚	佐比魚さひ	かまつか (和品)	鮭あめのいを
鰻魚	鱒み (或みごひ)	ごり (和品)	波須魚はすうを
鱒魚	金魚 (きんぎょ)	をもと	鱒あゆ
石首魚	河湖無鱗類 8	鮓みごい	黄鯛魚わたこ
鰻魚	鮓なます	あゆもどき (和品)	石鯛魚をいかば
鱒魚	鮓 (さんしょうお)	泥鱒どぢやう	鮓うぐひ
鱒魚	鰻鱺魚うなぎ	杜父魚	鱒はえ
嘉魚	鮓どぢやう	ひび	鯊かなびしや
鰻魚	加志加魚かじか	鱒絲魚きぎ	石斑魚いしぶし
鯽魚	鮓ぎぎ	はす (和品)	渡父魚どんぼ、どんこ
鮓魚	鮓いしぶし	わたか (和品)	番代魚ばんだい
鱒魚	泳沙魚すなくぐり	鱒魚いさざ	彈塗魚はぜ
鱒魚	江海有鱗類 35	鱒殘魚しろうを	牟豆むつ
鯊魚	鯛たい	麵條魚しろうを	金魚きんぎょ
杜父魚	鱒たら	うぐひ (和品)	鱒かん
石斑魚	阿羅魚あら	水くり (和品)	鰻そう
石鯛魚	鰻いしもち	鱒魚にんぎょ	鱒おこぜ
黄鯛魚	幾須子魚きすご	鮓魚さんせうを	鱒あさち
鱒魚	鱒なよし	鱒ます	江海有鱗魚類 48
鱒殘魚	鱒すずき	河鱒	鯛たひ
鱒魚	鮓ぶり	しくち (和品)	はなおれたひ
鱒魚	鮓さば	河鱒かわぼら	鳥類魚すみやきたひ
金魚	鱒いわし	鰻鱺う (む) なぎ	海鯽くろたひ、ちぬたひ
無鱗魚 28, 附録 9	鮓このしろ	わかさぎ (和品)	鷹羽魚たかのは
鱒魚	鱒かど	こもつつき (和品)	方頭魚くずな、あまたひ
鰻鱺魚	鮓かます	岸睨きしにらみ (和品)	金線魚いとより
海鰻鱺	細魚さより	目高 (和品)	錦鯛くそくいを、にしきいを

本草綱目 (1596)	本朝食鑑 (1697)	大和本草 (1709)	和漢三才図会 (1712自序)
鰾 (善) 魚	鯿魚やがらいお	金魚	緋魚あかを、あか
鮪魚	鮪こち	鯪魚なまつ	血引魚ちひき
鱧魚	学鯪まながつお	鯊はぜ	眼張魚めばる
鱒魚	鱒かればい	いだ (和品)	藻魚もいを
牛馬	赤魚あかお	海魚 83	銅頭魚かなかしら
鮠魚	眼張魚めばる	棘鬣魚たひ	保宇婆宇ほうほう
鯪魚	藻魚もうお	鰯ぶり (和品)	古伊知こいち
鯿魚	鮎魚女あひなめ	えつ	藻伏魚もふし
鰯魚	旗代魚はたしろ	ふか (和品)	栄螺破魚さしいわり
黄頰魚	波世魚はぜ	鮫魚	鱈白魚はたしろ、せう
河豚	鰻あさち	大口魚たら (外)	鱈身魚あいなめ
海豚魚	鱈たちうを	松魚かつを (外)	油身魚あぶらめ、いたちいを
比目魚	鉄頭魚かなかしら	鬼鯛 (和品)	梭子魚かます
鮎魚	伊左幾魚いさき	鮎魚やから	鱈さより、はりを
鮫魚	鰻むつ	鱈あぢ (和品)	啄長魚たす
烏賊魚	棚子魚たなご	海鰻くじら、いさなどり	鯿魚やがら
章魚	恵曾魚えそ	龍涎	鮪こち
海鰻魚	藻臥魚もふし	華臍魚あんかう (外)	恵曾魚えそ
文鰻魚	志比羅魚しひら	青魚かど (和品)	幾須吾きすご
魚虎	乃宇羅幾魚のうらぎ	鯖さば	鰻にべ、くち
魚師	鮎魚いたちうを	鰻魚たなご	墨頭魚
海蛇	江海無鱗類 37	馬鮫魚さはら	佐伊羅さいら、のうらぎ
鰻	鯨くじら	鯨いはし	鱈しいら、ひいを、くまひき
海鰻	鱈ふか	鱈魚うみうなぎ	鰻ひら
海馬	鮫さめ	海鰻はも	鰻ほら、なよし
鮑魚	鰻わに	あなご (和品)	鱈すずき、はね、せいこ
鱈鰻	鰻鮎魚いるか	鰻魚しゃちほこ (外)	鯖さば
鰻	鮪しび	緋魚	鱈このしろ、つなし、こはだ
鰻膠	鰻かつを	鱈すずき	鰻たなご
魚鱈	鱈さはら	鱈このしろ	伊佐木いさき
魚鮎	鱈あじ	いさき (和品)	大口魚たら
魚脂	疣背魚いぼせ	藻魚もうを (和品)	阿羅あら
魚鮎	鰻はも	目ばる (和品)	鰻ぶり、はまち
魚子	八目鰻やつめうなぎ	滑魚なめり (和品)	鰻王しわう
諸魚有毒	鰻鰻ふぐ	しいら (和品)	鰻いわし
	鮫鱈あんこう	あら	閩眼鰻うるうめいわし

本草綱目 (1596)	本朝食鑑 (1697)	大和本草 (1709)	和漢三才図会 (1712自序)
	鱒えい	比目魚かれい	鯡にしん、かず
	楂魚うきぎ	靴底魚くつそこかれい	魚虎しゃちほこ
	鯨とびを	章魚たこ	人魚にんぎょ
	臙をこし	水母くらげ	靉魚ろくぎょ
	鮎しろを	鰻鱺魚あいのうを (和品)	河湖無鱗類 9
	氷魚ひを	鱈魚さより	鮎なまづ
	蛸魚たこ	石首魚くち	黄類魚ごり、かじか
	烏賊魚いか	梭魚かます (外)	鱈絲魚ぎぎ
	海月くらげ	文鱈魚とびうを	鮎さんせういを
	海鼠なまこ	海鱈ゑい	鰻鱺うなぎ
	老海鼠ほや	鱈魚なよし	鱈やつめうなぎ
	海馬	きすご (和品)	鱒きたご、あぶらこ
	雀魚すずめを	太刀魚たち (和品)	泥鰌とじょう
	鰻えび	ひだか (和品)	鮎ひを
	鯡あみ、あみざこ	むつ (和品)	江海無鱗類 40
	石楠花鰻しゃくなげ	しび	鯨くじら
	乾魚 (ほしうお)	海豚いるか	鱈ふか
	鹽魚	つかや (和品)	鱈かぢとをし
	魚醬 (しおから)	きだこ (和品)	鮎しび、はつ
	魚鮓すし	烏賊いか	堅魚かつを
	魚臙なます	鮎魚まなかつを	鮎なめいを
	蒲鉾かまぼこ	まんぼう (和品)	海豚魚いるか
	魚脂	白魚	河豚ふぐ、ふぐへ、ふぐと
		むかでくじら (和品)	鰐わに
		河豚ふぐ	鮎さめ
		鱈魚すずめふぐ、すずめうを (外)	皮剥魚かははぎ
		うき木 (和品)	馬鮎さはら、さごし
		をこぜ (和品)	文鱈魚とびいを、ひいご
		金頭かな (がしら) (和品)	華臍魚あんかう
		有足魚 (和品)	海鱈魚ゑい、こめ
		はたはた (和品)	鮎まながつを
		こち (和品)	鮎かがみいを、まとうを
		八目鰻鱺 (やつめ) うなぎ (和品)	鰻背魚うぼせ
		和尚魚 (外)	仁良岐にらぎ
		彈塗めくらはぜ (外)	鰐かれい、からゑひ



本草綱目 (1596)	本朝食鑑 (1697)	大和本草 (1709)	和漢三才図会 (1712自序)
		とくひれ (和品)	牛舌魚うしのした
		奥目張をきめばる (和品)	鱒あぢ
		がうご (和品)	楂魚うきく、まんぼう
		海鱸絲魚 (和品)	海鰻はむ、はも
		ゑそ (和品)	阿名呉魚あなご
		なきり (和品)	鱒たちいを
		きこり魚 (和品)	玉筋魚いかなご、かますこ
		たがへ (和品)	鱈残魚しろいを
		魚臈	鱒ちりめんこあい
		魚鮓	章魚たこ
		鰹鮓ちくい、なしもの、しほから	石距てながたこ
		鮑魚ほしうを	望潮魚いひたこ
		肉糕かまぼこ (和品)	烏賊魚いか
		糟魚麴魚	柔魚たちいか、するめいか
		糟しおうを	海鼠とらご
		びりり (蛮種)	海蛇くらげ
			鱒魚すずめいを、うみすずめ
			鰕えび
			紅鰕いせえび、かまくらえび
			海糠魚あみ、あめじゃこ
			鰕姑しゃこ、しゃくなげ
			海馬かいば
			船留魚ふなとめ
			魚の用
			鱒いろこ
			鰓あぎと
			魚干かしらほし
			鱒はた、ひれ
			腴つちすり
			鯛いをのわた
			鯉いをのほし
			鯛いをのこ
			炙やきもの
			膾あつもの

本草綱目 (1596)	本朝食鑑 (1697)	大和本草 (1709)	和漢三才図会 (1712自序)
			臍いりもの
			膾なます
			魚軒さしみ
			鮓すし
			蒲鉾かまぼこ
			魚醃ししひしを
			鱈鯨しほから
			鰯ふへ
			鱈しをもの
			鰻ひもの
			鰻めさし
			肴さかな

## *Tsukumogami emaki* and Urban Spaces

SAITŌ Maori

Translated by Kristopher REEVES

**T***sukumogami emaki* 付喪神絵巻 (Illustrated Scroll of Animated Utensils, 16<sup>th</sup> century) is a short tale featuring as its protagonists a band of used utensils who have turned into monsters (*yōkai* 妖怪). This work belongs to a genre of such tales composed between the 14<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, known as *otogi-zōshi* 御伽草子, or Muromachi tales. More than four hundred of these Muromachi tales exist, a great number of which are accompanied by vivid illustrations. Some have been preserved in the form of books, others in the form of scrolls. In most cases, the author and illustrator, along with the exact date of composition remain uncertain. The author of *Tsukumogami emaki*, likewise, is yet unknown. In previous research, however, it has been argued that the work shows connections with the illustrated scroll *Hyakki yagyō emaki* 百鬼夜行絵巻 (Illustrated Scroll of the Parade of Ghouls and Ghosts by Night), as well as with religious ceremonies, such as the Gion Festival 祇園祭, conducted in Kyoto. One of the illustrations in this work contains a quote from another illustrated scroll, namely, *Kobō daishi gyōjō emaki* 弘法大師行狀絵巻 (Illustrated Scroll of the Deeds of Master Kōbō, late 14<sup>th</sup> century), which points perhaps to the author's interest in Master Kōbō, that is, Kūkai 空海 (774–835), a prominent monk and founder of Shingon 真言, a school of Esoteric Buddhism. Aside from its possible affinity with Buddhism, this illustrated scroll provides important insights into details relating to the convergence and transmission of knowledge, as well as ways in which urban spaces, especially city borders, were once conceived.

The oldest extant manuscript of this scroll, dating back to the Muromachi period, was previously stored in Tō-ji 東寺 temple, Kyoto, and is currently stored in Sōfuku-ji 崇福寺 temple, Gifu. There exist also a number of Edo-period imitations which, despite minor differences in the illustrations, contain more-or-less the same content as the Muromachi manuscript.

Regarding content, a summary of this tale is naturally in order: Sometime in the Kōhō 康保 era (964–968), during the year-end spring cleaning, a number of old utensils are ungratefully discarded. In virtue of their intense sense of indignation, these disgruntled utensils become animated, bent on getting revenge on their human owners. An animated rosary by the name of Ichiren 一連 (literally, “one string,” in reference to the string of beads that makes up a rosary) pleads

with his fellows to renounce their vengeful schemes. This proposal the old utensils promptly refuse, knocking down the rosary without further ado. Thus free to do as they please, the utensils take on their new lively forms, eager to wreak havoc. They set up camp in an area known as Nagasaka 長坂, deep within Mount Funaoka 船岡山, Kyoto, from whence they perpetrate all manner of mischief. In springtime they hold a lavish banquet, in which they conduct religious ceremonies in honor of “the Great God of Shape-shifters” (*Henge daimyōjin* 變化大明神) and give themselves over completely to revelry (**Figure 1**). In the midst of their raucous celebrating, the utensils chance to bump into a procession of the chancellor and his retinue. Alarmed at the report of these animated utensils, the court decides to conduct prayers aimed at exorcising the malicious creatures. As their only means of escape, the utensils, reconsidering the advice of Ichiren the rosary, decide to take up the life of Buddhist monks. After entering Tō-ji temple, where they dedicate themselves severally to various religious practices, the utensils are at last able to attain enlightenment.

This story begins in the spring and ends in the winter, comprising exactly one full year. The spring and summer scenes are full of life, while the autumn and winter scenes put one in mind of decay, just as one would expect from a work of traditional Japanese literature. Not only this, but the poetry attributed to each of the utensils is also of a fine quality, conforming to traditional literary conventions. The author of this tale was no doubt among the intellectual class. Support for this supposition is to be found in the fact that the Sinitic poems presented by the creatures at the aforementioned banquet all conform to the strict rules of rhyme prescribed of old by Chinese tradition. Our author could not have provided his characters with such verses unless he had himself attained a high degree of erudition in the art.

Of special note here is the presence of an allusion to a tale regarding the Tang-period emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (Jp. Gensō, 685–762, r. 712–756). Japanese vernacular tales (*setsuwa*) produced throughout the medieval and early-modern period contain numerous references to this romantic story of Emperor Xuanzong and his most beloved concubine Yang Guifei 楊貴妃 (Jp. Yō Kihī). *Tsukumogami emaki* was one of many works that utilized this particular tale. Likewise, Japanese monks of the Five Mountains (Gozan 五山) school produced a number of poetry anthologies, such as *Shinsenshū* 新選集 (Newly Selected Poems) and *Kinshūdan* 錦繡段 (Brocade of Embroidered Verses), both of which include various examples of Song- and Yuan-period poetry, and both of which contain many allusions to this same tale of Emperor Xuanzong. That these poems bear a close resemblance to those found in *Tsukumogami emaki* is concrete evidence that the author of the latter work was familiar with Five Mountains poetry. Furthermore, it should be noted that, at the time of our author, the tale of Emperor Xuanzong had become a common subject for painters, such that scenes from this story could be seen on the painted folding screens decorating aristocratic homes. In short, then, the author of *Tsukumogami emaki* has succeeded in interweaving



**Figure 1.** *Tsukumogami ki* 付喪神記. National Diet Library Manuscript (the original by Tosa Mitsunobu 土佐光信, c.1434–c.1525).

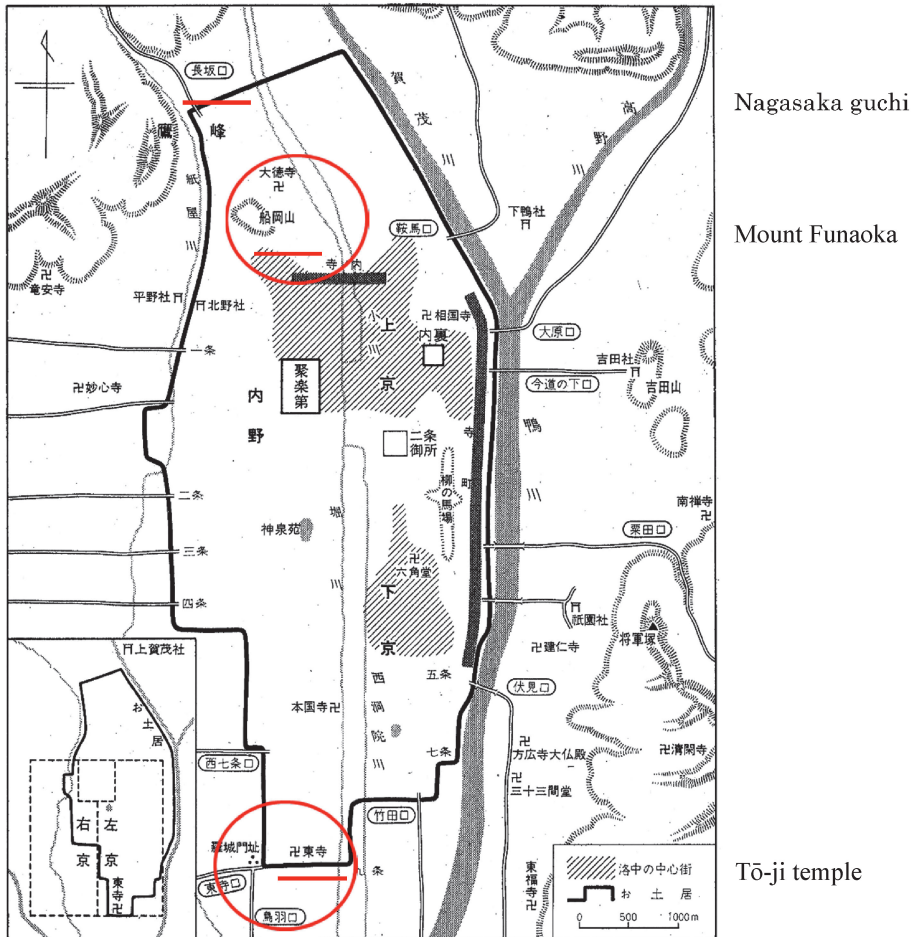
The old utensils are imbued with life. Note the resemblance between the utensils depicted here and the supernatural creatures depicted in the versions of *Hyakki yagyō emaki* 百鬼夜行絵巻 (Illustrated Scroll of the Parade of Ghouls and Ghosts by Night) housed in the Okura Museum of Art.

<https://doi.org/10.11501/2541764>

elements of high culture, both from the world of visual art as well as that of Five Mountains poetry, into a work that represents an intersection between various strains of cultural understanding.

Of equal interest in terms of actual geographical setting, are the locales depicted in this tale: the utensils set up camp at Nagasaka, deep within Mount Funaoka; they achieved enlightenment in virtue of their association with Tō-ji temple. In the urban world of Kyoto, both of these locales were seen as significant liminal spaces. Mount Funaoka, located in the north of Kyoto, was used throughout the Heian period by the nobility as a scenic place wherein to pick fresh herbs come New Year. On the first Day of the Mouse (according to the Chinese astronomical system), nobles would set out for the foothills about Funaoka with the set purpose of plucking up young pine sprouts. This auspicious event was seen as a means of ensuring longevity, one referenced in many *waka* verses—as seen, for example, in *Tsunenobu shū* 経信集 (Collected Poetry of Minamoto no Tsunenobu [1016–1097]) and *Fuboku wakashū* 夫木和歌抄 (The Fuboku Anthology, c.1310). Despite its vibrant history, however, Mount Funaoka was soon transformed, first, into a cremation ground, as attested by *Norinaga shū* 教長集 (Collected Poems of Fujiwara no Norinaga, completed sometime after 1178), and then into a ceremonial site wherein solemn rituals for the quelling of epidemics were conducted, as documented in *Ryōjin hishō kudenshū* 梁塵秘抄口伝集 (Oral Transmissions Pertaining to *Ryōjin hishō*, 1180). In a sense, Mount Funaoka came to embrace both the holy as well as the mundane, both the light as well as the dark aspects of human life.

It must be noted, moreover, that Nagasaka, located as it is behind Mount Funaoka, lies in a more-or-less straight line with Tō-ji temple, which is itself



**Figure 2.** Map of Kyoto. Adapted from *Kyoto no rekishi* 京都の歴史, vol. 4 (Kyoto: Gakugei Shorin, 1969), p. 296.

Reconstruction of Kyoto in the years Tenshō 天正 18–19 (1590–1591), showing the embankment (*odoi* お土居) that once circumscribed the city. Nagasaka, Mount Funaoka, and Tō-ji temple lie along a nearly straight line north to south.

located near the southern extremity of Kyoto. At the beginning of the early modern period, it was customary to speak of the so-called seven doors of Kyoto, gateways leading in and out of the central urban space and the surrounding countryside. Significantly, two of these gateways were known as the Nagasaka Gate (Nagasaka guchi 長坂口), in the north, and the Tō-ji temple Gate (Tō-ji guchi 東寺口), in the south (**Figure 2**). That these animated utensils are depicted as having dwelt in Nagasaka, on the one hand, and having reached their enlightened end in Tō-ji temple, on the other, speaks to a strong sense of liminality in both of these locales. The utensils move from one liminal space to another, from Nagasaka straight down to Tō-ji temple. Incidentally, the imaginary straight

line connecting these two locales passes very close to Shinsen'en 神泉苑, a garden just to the south of the imperial compound, where, according to such works as *Hōbutsushū* 宝物集 (Collected Treasures, 1177–1181), apparent nightly sightings of ghouls and ghosts (*hyakki yagyō* 百鬼夜行) were most frequent. This same line corresponds with what was once, in the very beginning of the Heian period, the main street of the capital, Suzaku Avenue 朱雀大路. This avenue began at Rajōmon Gate 羅城門, the main entrance to the capital, and extended in a straight line to Suzaku Gate 朱雀門, the entrance to the imperial compound. Tō-ji temple was originally erected close by Rajōmon Gate as a means of ensuring the spiritual protection and continual tranquility of the capital. This same Rajōmon Gate is described in various sources, such as *Jikkinsbō* 十訓抄 (A Miscellany of Ten Maxims, preface dated to 1252), as being the haunt of ghouls and ghosts—a truly liminal site.

The capital of Kyoto developed in an uneven manner, such that the east side of the city prospered while the west side fell into general disuse. Consequently, Suzaku Avenue very early on ceased to serve as the central thoroughfare, and came, instead, to mark the western boundary of the city. Once one realizes that Suzaku Avenue, at the time *Tsukumogami emaki* was composed, represented not a bustling avenue, such as, say, Aburakōji 油小路 and others depicted in *Gikeiki* 義経記 (The Chronicles of Yoshitsune, early 14<sup>th</sup> century) and *Yahyōe nezumi* 弥兵衛鼠 (The Adventures of Yahyōe the Mouse, 15–16<sup>th</sup> century), but rather a little-traveled relic of bygone days, its role in the tale as an eerie footpath for animated utensils at last becomes clear. These utensils wend their way through places formerly, but no longer, frequented by men, places where, depending on the time of day, not a soul is to be found. Such locales, representing as they do a two-fold sort of liminality, both in terms of time as well as space, form the perfect dwelling place, or the perfect road for supernatural creatures, including the rollicking utensils. *Tsukumogami emaki* is a Muromachi tale which not only displays a rich interweaving of contemporaneous knowledge, but also makes ample use of the liminality of certain urban spaces.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For more detailed studies of the issues mentioned in this column, see Saitō Maori 齋藤真麻理, “Yōkai tachi no himitsu kichi: tsukumogami no emaki kara,” 妖怪たちの秘密基地：付喪神の絵巻から, in *Ningen bunka* 人間文化 27 (2017), pp. 13–18, available online at <https://www.nihu.jp/ja/publication/ningen/27>; Saitō Maori, “Muromachi monogatari to Gensō kōtei-e: *Tsukumogami emaki* wo kiten to shite,” 室町物語と玄宗皇帝絵：付喪神絵巻を起点として, in *Wakan no kodo to shizūen hyōshō: juroku-nana seiki no Nihon wo chūshin ni* 和漢のコードと自然表象：十六、七世紀の日本を中心に (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2020), pp. 240–251.





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Major Publications:

- ◆ *Iru no utaavase: Muromachi no kichi to gakugei* 異類の歌合：室町の機智と学芸 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2014).
- ◆ “Koji wo asobu: *Giga zukan* to iu bungei” 故事を遊ぶ：「戯画図巻」という文芸, in *Koten no miraigaku* 古典の未来学 (Tokyo: Bungaku Tsūshin, 2020).

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## SUBMISSION GUIDELINES

The National Institute of Japanese Literature (NIJL) is engaged in a number of international collaborative projects, many of which have their origin in the earlier “Project to Build an International Collaborative Research Network for Pre-modern Japanese Texts (NIJL-NW Project).”

As a product born of this initiative, *Studies in Japanese Literature and Culture* is an international, English-language, peer-reviewed journal that welcomes the submission of manuscripts on a broad variety of topics that (1) relate to Japanese literature and (2) make use of pre-modern Japanese texts.

Our next issue (Vol. 5) will also be carrying a Special Feature presenting articles on the topic: “Arising from Words and Images: The Body in Traditional Performing Arts.” This feature represents the findings of a multi-year, international collaborative research project conducted with the support of the NIJL-NW Project, a large-scale Frontier Initiative of the National Institute of Japanese Literature.

Before submitting any written material, please be sure to read carefully over the following submission guidelines:

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ISSN 2434-1606

**SJLC**