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10-3 Midori-chō, Tachikawa City, Tokyo 190-0014, Japan
Telephone: 81-50-5533-2900
Fax: 81-42-526-8606 e-mail: journal@nijl.ac.jp
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Contents

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Weeping, Wailing, and Writhing: Corporeal Mourning in Premodern Japanese Post-Death Scenes

Beth M. Carter
Case Western Reserve University

Introduction

A father weeps and collapses to the ground at the cremation of his only daughter. A mother is so distraught at the death of her child that she nearly falls from her carriage. Of the various descriptions of mourners' behavior in early Japanese prose, it is prostration—crawling, writhing, falling, stumbling—in particular, whether voluntary or not, that conveys their full-bodied response to bereavement. For scholars of the canonical eleventh-century *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語 (The Tale of Genji, c. 1008), scenes that make use of these corporeal responses to grief reveal the depth of a mourner's sorrow: when faced with the finality of a child's death, parents cannot summon the strength to remain standing.[1]

While this specific loss must be incomparable, characters also fall, stumble, and go weak after the passing of other relations. For instance, the protagonist, Genji, involuntarily dismounts his horse after the funeral of his secret lover Yūgao 夕顔; later, during the cremation of his wife Murasaki 紫, he is unable to walk on his own and must be supported in order to remain standing. Other characters react similarly: daughters lie face down, grieving the loss of their parents (Ichijō no Miyasudokoro 一条御息所 and Hachi no Miya 八の宮), and the forlorn suitor Kaoru 薫 stumbles about after the death of his love interest, Ōigimi 大君.

While the lyrical poignance of these depictions is difficult to miss, *Genji*'s post-death scenes often draw upon literary representations of historical mourning ritual. As far back as the eighth century, in the *Kojiki* 古事記 (Records of Ancient Matters, 712) and *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (Chronicles of Japan, 720), readers find elaborate post-death scenes that include descriptions of corporeal mourning. In addition to being personal expressions of grief, these bodily acts of intense weeping and prostration also had a ritual role to play: it was believed that extreme displays of emotion could pacify the spirits of the dead.[2] Hence, descriptions of

[1] Hayashida, "Genji monogatari no sōretsu," pp. 44–45.
[2] Ebersole, *Ritual Poetry*, p. 127.

corporeal mourning in early prose literature not only serve lyrical emotive functions; they also—and importantly—reflect traditional funerary ritual efforts to keep spirits securely outside of the world of the living.

Three post-death scenes in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* lay the basis for imperial funeral ritual: those for Izanami 伊邪那美 (the female god who helped create the world), the god Ame no Wakahiko 天若日子, and the semi-legendary prince Yamato Takeru 倭建 (72–114).[3] Scholars assert that funeral poems (*sōka* 葬歌) composed during these mourning scenes not only express grief but also function to assuage the spirits of the departed.[4] In the discussion below, reading the scenes describing these three deaths against one another, I show that in each case one finds also in the description of corporeal mourning itself a ritual significance just as evident as that detected in the *sōka*.[5]

Weeping and prostration are clearly meaningful elements in literary descriptions of corporeal mourning. One notes, after all, that in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, the inclusion—or exclusion—of descriptions of weeping-while-crawling often corresponds closely with the particular fate of the deceased in question. For example, after weeping-while-crawling in grief, the mourners of Yamato Takeru and Izanami witness their respective loved ones' transitions to an afterworld. In contrast, although Ame no Wakahiko's mourners weep and compose laments, they do not crawl. Their failure, moreover, to engage in this overtly physical gesture of mourning serves as a literary device, one indicating that Ame no Wakahiko can still return to them—just as in the case of the symbolic death and rebirth of the sun goddess Amaterasu 天照, or in the revival of Ōanamuji 大穴牟遅, a god of iron.[6] The distinct circumstances associated, then, with either omitting or including explicit physical enactments of grief, suggest that depictions of corporeal mourning were not merely a means of portraying deep sorrow. Instead, in both the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, the incorporation of

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[3] See Saigō, "Yamato Takeru no monogatari"; Ikoma, "Kyōkai no basho (jō)," p. 21; Inō, "Kojiki ni okeru shisha," p. 77.

[4] Tsuchihashi, "Kodai min'yō kaishaku no hōhō," pp. 18–37; Yoshii, "Yamato Takeru no Mikoto monogatari," pp. 52–62; Kanpori, "Kayō no ten'yō," pp. 1–10; Inada, "Yamato Takeru no Mikoto sōka no seiritsu," pp. 53–56; Agō, "Yamato Takeru no Mikoto mihaburi uta no gengi (1)," pp. 11–26: Ikoma, "Kyōkai no basho (jō)," pp. 19–38; Inō, "Kojiki ni okeru shisha," pp. 74–81; Kumagai, "Sōrei to banka," p. 39. For the precise provenance of the *sōka* alluded to for Ame no Wakahiko, see SNKBZ 1, p. 105; Heldt, *The Kojiki*, p. 44; SNKBZ 2, p. 115; Aston, *The Nihongi*, p. 66. For *sōka* recorded for Yamato Takeru, see SNKBZ 1, pp. 235–237; Heldt, *The Kojiki*, p. 108.

[5] These scenes are found in both texts but often differ. Notably, the *Nihon shoki* episode of Yamato Takeru's death does not include crawling or the composition of *sōka*, although the *Kojiki* does. There is a third scene in the *Kojiki* that contains weeping and writhing, but it is not related to a post-death ritual. In this episode, the god Ōkuninushi 大国主 is lying on the ground, crying in pain "weeping and wailing" after being stripped of his fur robe by the teeth of a sea beast. See Heldt, *The Kojiki*, pp. 28–29. All English translations of the *Kojiki* are those of Gustav Heldt, unless otherwise noted.

[6] Ōanamuji's mines are located at the border of the world of the living and the afterworld.

weeping-while-crawling in post-death scenes is a method used to indicate that the spirit of the deceased will be securely situated in a realm outside the land of the living.

In literary depictions of post-death scenes, corporeal rituals cannot, on their own, pacify spirits. As Ikoma Nagayuki 居駒永幸 and Inō Tomoko 稲生知子 assert, ritualized crawling is not powerful enough in and of itself to send off spirits of the dead.[7] Indeed, in the *Kojiki*, *Nihon shoki*, and also in the later *Genji*, it seems a combination of rituals is required,[8] which accords with our historical understanding of early funerary rites. For example, mourners may also compose lament poetry, sponsor funerals or memorials, and/or engage in corporeal mourning as placatory ritual. Within each of these works, characters might not explicitly express an understanding that their mourning activities will lead to spirits being appeased. Readers, though, would recognize both the lyrical and ritual effects of these combined actions, and be able to translate them unprompted as acts of spirit pacification. While each text creates a spiritual world unto itself, the distinct sustained scenes of mourning foster affective engagement by positioning their readers to detect discrepancies between various post-death scenarios.

Even today, comparing scenes across the *Kojiki*, *Nihon shoki*, and *Genji* is a valuable exercise, despite the passage of roughly three hundred years over the course of their respective compositions.[9] As I argue elsewhere, mourning characters in *Genji* engage in specific rituals meant to both express grief and pacify spirits of the fictional dead within the world of the tale.[10] The myths recorded in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* were well-known to *Genji*'s author, Murasaki Shikibu 紫式部 (c. 978–1014, nicknamed Our Lady of the Chronicles), and she certainly would have been able to draw upon their notable post-death scenes.[11] Indeed, as will be evidenced below, elaborate mourning scenes in *Genji* depict placatory corporeal rituals of prostration similar to those described in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*. By

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[7] Ikoma, "Kyōkai no basho (jō)"; Inō, "Kojiki ni okeru shisha," p. 77.

[8] Tsuchihashi, "Kodai min'yō kaishaku no hōhō"; Yoshii, "Yamato Takeru no Mikoto monogatari"; Kanpori, "Kayō no ten'yō"; Inada, "Yamato Takeru no Mikoto sōka no seiritsu"; Agō, "Yamato Takeru no Mikoto mihaburi uta no gengi (1)"; Ikoma, "Kyōkai no basho (jō)"; Inō, "Kojiki ni okeru shisha."

[9] For an overview of links between the *Nihon shoki*'s scenes referencing *menoto* 乳母 (wet nurses) and tenth-century fictional tales, see Schmidt-Hori, "Symbolic Death and Rebirth," p. 451.

[10] Carter, "The Secret Mourning of an Evening Death," p. 160.

[11] Gatten, "Death and Salvation," p. 17; Mostow, "Mother Tongue and Father Script," pp. 133, 137; Bowring, *Murasaki Shikibu*, pp. 137–139. On the nickname itself see SNKBZ 28, p. 208; Bowring, *The Diary of Lady Murasaki*, p. 57. Post-death scenes involving other lyrical modes, such as poetry (as it is not prose) and *ganmon* 願文, fall outside of this analysis as they were composed for historical personages. In the case of *ganmon*, Bryan Lowe has argued that "it is difficult to decide how much control the author had over the message and how much may have been dictated by the patron." (See Lowe, *Ritualized Writing*, p. 60.) Therefore, *ganmon* cannot be considered in this article, which stresses the intent in including scenes of weeping-while-crawling and prostration in mytho-historical and in fictional tales.

reading post-death scenes in these three works against each other, and by situating them within their respective historical contexts, we can recover crucial details about the contemporary import of corporeal mourning. Such a recovery, moreover, fills in gaps in our knowledge about literary techniques that can be used to foreshadow the fates of deceased characters.

Rituals for Quieting Vengeful Spirits

The belief was common in premodern Japan that spirits required pacification if they were to be secured in death—unable to leave realms beyond the living and hence prevented from returning to haunt their oppressors. Because spirits could act nefariously in the land of the living, anyone interested in protecting the social order considered spirit pacification to be of the upmost importance.[12] For instance, the vengeful spirit of the exiled Prince Sawara 早良 (c. 750–785) made necessary the move of the entire capital from Nagaoka 長岡 to the location of modern Kyoto.[13] Multiple efforts were made to placate his spirit, including posthumously elevating him to the rank of emperor. Famously, a century later the malicious spirit of the wrongfully exiled Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845–903) was blamed for the death of the crown prince. In an attempt to quiet his spirit, Michizane was even incorporated into the imperially sponsored Spirit-Pacifying Ceremony (Goryōe 御霊会). Such cases provide evidence that post-death rituals were thought crucial to ensuring that the dead did not return to meddle in the affairs of the living.

The mourning rituals listed in the *Yōrō ritsuryō* 養老律令 (Yōrō Codes, 718, promulgated 757) do not reference weeping (*naku* 哭く) or crawling (*harabau* 匍匐う, *hofuku* 匍匐), yet records indicate that both were components of a highly structured response to death.[14] An activity's place within a larger, acceptable, customary, and temporal sequence is important to its categorization as ritual, whether regulated or unregulated by legal or religious code. To be classified as ritual, both the order in which an activity is carried out, as well as the particular restrictions (or freedoms) involved in its practice, are crucial; the activity is rendered both meaningful and effective as ritual based upon its "execution of a preexisting script . . . or [its] explicitly unscripted dimensions."[15] Weeping-while-crawling can be said to be ritualized when mourners perform this action at specific times, and according to a preexisting script, within the funerary and mourning period. As Obata Kiichirō 尾畑喜一郎 notes, the earliest textual evidence of ritual crawling as part of post-death ritual is found in the Chinese *Liji* 礼記

[12] Meeks, "Survival and Salvation," pp. 142–165.

[13] Plutschow, "Tragic Victims," p. 1.

[14] Note that in another section, the code indicates penalties for failing to weep over a parent's remains. See *Ritsuryō*, pp. 72–73; Hirai, "Pre-Tokugawa Mourning Laws," p. 22.

[15] Bell, "Performance," pp. 205–206, 208.

(Book of Rites, c. 300 BCE).[16] The exact origin of this crawling in Japan is contested, but sources indicate that it was a standard component of post-death rituals by at least the eighth century.[17] We can thus categorize crawling during the post-death period as ritual, given that it was "set apart from the affairs of mundane existence" through "the extensive use of scripting, repetition, and highly mannered modes of speech and movement" in order to bring about a desired outcome: resuscitation or pacification.[18]

Although as a behavior thus scripted, ritualized crawling (*harabau*, *hofuku*) seems to have had varied modes of performance. The precise posture of this act is unclear, but we can surmise its contours given that the same terms are also employed in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* to describe the movement of insects and reptiles. This association implies crawling with the belly close to the ground. Saigō Nobutsuna 西郷信綱 offers another theory, however, conjecturing that as a ceremonial gesture, *hofuku* involved a hunched-over posture that mimicked the behavior of birds.[19] Additionally, in eighth-century texts, *hofuku* appears in depictions of painful experiences, such as childbirth and severe bodily trauma. In these instances, one can imagine a figure hunched over or prostrated close to the ground, writhing. Further expanding the possibilities, Kumagai Haruki 熊谷春樹 takes a broad approach, applying the term to stumbling.[20] No matter the exact pose, what is clear is that *hofuku* describes an unnatural, abnormal, or uncomfortable posture for the human body; to be in such a position expresses anguish, pain, or disorientation.

Itō Haku 伊藤博 stresses the important link between *hofuku* and pain in post-death scenes, arguing that witnessing survivors' distress aided the deceased spirits.[21] This link lends credence to Obata's theory that funerary crawling was separate from other gestures involving prostration, such as the ritual entrance and exit a person would make when in the presence of the sovereign.[22] Like other scholars, Obata instead attributes a particular ritual efficacy to prostration when it occurs during a funeral.[23] These various thinkers agree, in other words, that the distress signaled by human *hofuku* is both a demonstration of grief and a placatory ritual.

As is the case with the posture itself, the intended result of the *hofuku* ritual is also unclear. Scholars continue to debate whether it was meant to resuscitate the

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[16] Obata, "Takechi ōji mikoto," p. 15.

[17] Saigō, "Yamato Takeru no monogatari," p. 24; Itō, "Banka no sekai," p. 14; Kumagai, "Sōrei to banka," p. 33; Obata, "Takechi ōji mikoto," pp. 15–22; Ebersole, *Ritual Poetry*, p. 44; Ikoma, "Kyōkai no basho (jō)," pp. 20–21.

[18] Sharf, "Ritual," pp. 247–248.

[19] Saigō, "Yamato Takeru no monogatari," p. 25.

[20] Kumagai, "Sōrei to banka," p. 33.

[21] Itō, "Banka no sekai," p. 14.

[22] Obata, "Takechi ōji mikoto," pp. 15–22.

[23] Ibid.

deceased or rather to appease the spirit and discourage it from returning. For example, Saigō, Kumagai, and Itō situate the ritual in the *mogari* 殯 period, when mourners waited to ascertain death and attempted to call back the spirit of the dead.[24] In this setting, *hofuku* would be performed in hopes of resurrection or resuscitation. On the other hand, Obata and Inō postulate that *hofuku* could be a way to quiet the spirit even after death had been confirmed, and hence, as a means of securing the dead in an afterworld.[25]

These differing interpretations need not be mutually exclusive. Kumagai demonstrates that rituals with a compound purpose held a crucial place during the *mogari* period, serving either to revive the deceased by calling back their spirits or, for those who could not be resurrected, to instead "appease" (*chinkon* 鎮魂) their spirits.[26] Akima Toshio 秋間俊夫 and Gary Ebersole support this viewpoint, stating that if the *mogari* ritual was unsuccessful in reviving the deceased, it would transition into being a placatory rite. Crawling "around the temporary enshrinement tomb, singing and weeping . . . constitute[d] a distinctive form of praise of the dead by stressing the extent to which the deceased's absence . . . affected the living" and "is an act of homage."[27] Ritualized *hofuku* thus can be seen as having a double effect: either reviving the dead or securing the spirit in an afterworld.

Similar to *hofuku*, intense crying during post-death rituals was an accepted, scripted, public demonstration of grief and spirit placation. Once death was suspected, women in a household would begin to wail and cry loudly. Subsequently, in addition to these household women, professional ritualists known as "weeping women" (*nakime* 哭女) were employed to supplement their efforts, and the volume of their tears was recorded.[28] The crying of both categories of women was meant as an offering to assuage spirits.[29] Ebersole asserts that these mourning women, both professional ritualists and household members, worked together to call "the absent spirit of the deceased back into the corpse, pacifying it, and getting it to remain in a specific site or object."[30] Although men were not deterred from engaging in this ritualized weeping, Saigō believes that the performance of weeping became an integral part of a woman's responsibility during the mourning period.[31] The designation of wailing as a female obligation also recalls the fact that Emperor Tenji's 天智 (r. 668–671) female consorts stood

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[24] Saigō, "Yamato Takeru no monogatari," p. 25; Kumagai, "Sōrei to banka," p. 33; Itō, "Banka no sekai," p. 13. For a summary of these arguments, see Ikoma, "Kyōkai no basho (jō)," pp. 20–21.

[25] Obata, "Takechi ōji mikoto," pp. 15–22; Inō, "Kojiki ni okeru shisha," p. 76.

[26] Kumagai, "Sōrei to banka," p. 39.

[27] Akima, "The Songs of the Dead," p. 493; Ebersole, *Ritual Poetry*, p. 54.

[28] Gorai, "Koai to nakime," p. 774.

[29] Ibid., p. 773.

[30] Ebersole, *Ritual Poetry*, pp. 127, 171. See also Bargen, *A Woman's Weapon*, p. 11.

[31] Saigō, "Yamato Takeru no monogatari," p. 24.

vigil by his tomb "still shedding tears" even as other mourners dispersed.[32] Indeed, in the mourning scenes under analysis in this article, female mourners are often depicted prostrated in grief, weeping.

As discussed, these corporeal mourning rituals were believed to be efficacious in recalling the dead or securing them in the afterlife. It must be noted, however, that the "afterworld" in premodern Japan was not a single place. Early beliefs about what happened to the spirit after one died varied tremendously, as can be seen in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*.

One concept of an afterworld in these texts is Yomi no Kuni 黄泉国, or the Land of Yomi. Although the specifics of its location and depicted impurity are greatly contested, for the purposes of this article, a key aspect of this afterworld within the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* is that movement to and from the land of the living is not precluded.[33] Yet this is not the only description of posthumous existence within those texts. According to Akima, "we have sufficient reason to believe that the ancient Japanese often took a bird for an incarnation of a dead person's spirit."[34] Some early Japanese believed that spirits resided on the top of a "mountain of death" (*shide no yama* 死出の山) and that white birds carried them to this "heavenly" place inaccessible to humans. In both cases, the divide between life and death requires a journey—be it by traversing the slope of Yomotsu Hirasaka 黄泉比良坂 that provides entrance to Yomi no Kuni or via the flight of a bird.

Later, between the eighth and eleventh centuries, epistemic changes occurred that altered the understanding of a desirable outcome after death, where one could be "secured." By the mid-Heian period (c. 1000), the world of the Japanese aristocracy operated according to a decidedly Buddhist episteme;[35] and as evidenced within *Genji*, constructs of the afterworld were heavily influenced by Buddhist teachings of an afterlife. Textual evidence demonstrates that while various concepts of the afterworld continued to circulate, the desired final resting place among the aristocratic elite was a Buddhist Paradise. Despite, however, the epistemic difference between the mid-Heian period and earlier centuries, in all of these constructs of an afterworld or afterlife, if a spirit had not been secured in that location through ritual means, post-death it would still be able to act within the world of the living.

Literature as *Chinkon* Ritual

Arguments for premodern Japanese prose literature's ability to operate simultaneously within both the lyrical and ritual modes are strong. In the intersecting fields of Japanese literature and religion, there exists the understanding that the

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[32] Collins, "Integrating Lament," p. 59; *Man'yoshu* 2: 155; SNKBZ 3, p. 112.
[33] Ambros, *Women in Japanese Religions,* p. 28.
[34] Akima, "The Songs of the Dead," p. 494.
[35] LaFleur, *The Karma of Words*, pp. 9–14.

"spirit of words," or *kotodama* 言霊, has the power both to express emotions in the lyrical mode and to affect spirits of the dead in the ritual mode. Accordingly, the reutterance of a text's words, which house the spirit of its composer's intentions (such as health, resurrection, or placation), can effectively reawaken their inhering spirit. Seen in this light, literary passages that on first glance appear to be mere encapsulations of a survivor's grief or sense of loss are actually far more complex. The compositions were carefully crafted with the knowledge that the intentions they contained had the power to affect the spirits of the dead for long periods of time. Tropes, then, began to emerge, effectively creating a literary/poetic manual, conditioning and training readers in precisely how to understand scenes meant to express grief, mourn the dead, and calm spirits. In other words, through intentional structuring of post-death scenes, authors and compilers steered readers in their interpretations of what was happening—and furthermore what would happen—to the deceased in a manner similar to foreshadowing.

Some of the earliest examples of these literary representations of mourning straddled the distinction between highly-scripted ritualized sociopolitical measures to protect the living from vengeful spirits and affectively-normative formulations meant to express grief on a lyrical level.[36] Scholars have convincingly demonstrated that funeral lament poems (*banka* 輓歌, "coffin-pulling songs") in the eighth-century poetic anthology the *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 (Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves, c. 759) simultaneously functioned on the ritual and lyrical levels.[37] Additionally, as discussed in the introduction, scholars have demonstrated the ritual efficacy of *sōka* included in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*.[38] In all of these cases, verses that were originally sung to express the survivor's grief and distress also worked to quiet the spirits of the dead.[39]

Yet the power of words to affect deceased spirits was limited neither to poetry nor the eighth century. Some scholars assert that later textual descriptions of mourning activities cannot be considered anything more than historical record, or portrayal of deep emotion in the lyrical mode, a type of literary consciousness that has already shed any "magical metaphor."[40] Others, such as Orikuchi Shinobu 折口信夫, disagree. He stresses that, in later periods, "to maximize the incantatory power, the spells began to manifest a more narratorial case: that was

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[36] Ebersole, *Ritual Poetry*, pp. 47, 129, 181–182.

[37] Ebersole, *Ritual Poetry*; Collins, "Integrating Lament"; Duthie, *Man'yōshū and the Imperial Imagination*, p. 414.

[38] Tsuchihashi, "Kodai min'yō kaishaku no hōhō"; Yoshii, "Yamato Takeru no Mikoto monogatari"; Kanpori, "Kayō no ten'yō"; Inada, "Yamato Takeru no Mikoto sōka no seiritsu"; Kumagai, "Sōrei to banka," p. 39; Agō, "Yamato Takeru no Mikoto mihaburi uta no gengi (1)"; Ikoma, "Kyōkai no basho (jō)"; Inō, "Kojiki ni okeru shisha."

[39] In Japan's early period, poems were inseparable from songs, evidenced by the fact that the word for song (*uta* 歌) also denotes poem. These compositions, now often read silently as poetry, were sung, just as later poems were voiced in a conventional melody called *shigin* 詩吟.

[40] Levy, *Hitomaro*, pp. 57–65.

the *monogatari*."[41] Takeshi Watanabe concurs, arguing that the author of the eleventh-century *Eiga monogatari* 栄花物語 (Tale of Flowering Fortunes), who was "writing after [Fujiwara no] Michinaga's death, may also have been wary of Michinaga's own ghost" and that she thus constructed her tale to appease the spirits of the dead.[42] A similar strategy can be observed in other works up through the medieval period, with the *Heike monogatari* 平家物語 (Tale of the Heike, c. 1371) and specialized *renga* 連歌 creations serving as just a few examples.[43]

One strategy of placating spirits on the page involves depicting the deceased as being irrevocably separated from the world of the living. To ensure this outcome, scholars often point to the efficacy of funeral poems. But post-death scenes also contain episodes of intense crying, bodily contortions, and prostration; and overlooking the multifaceted role played by these in favor of the single aspect of textual production (poetry) obscures the crucial function corporeal rituals served, both in prose and in historical reality. As a placatory component within elaborate post-death scenes, depictions of weeping-while-crawling were employed by compilers and authors as one literary device meant to signal to the reader that the spirit of the deceased would not return to the land of the living.

Weeping-While-Crawling in Eighth-Century Prose

As illustrated in **table 1**, the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* exhibit a clear pattern linking weeping-while-crawling with spirit pacification, such that use of the trope foretells who will be secured in a specific afterworld. In both texts, it is only when these corporeal rituals are present that the deceased enters a named afterworld and does not leave. While weeping-and-crawling may in historical fact have been performed for other figures who appear within the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, it is important to note that such details were not recorded for the sake of readers. This implies that it is precisely the literary depictions of these rituals—

Table 1. Overlapping Post-Death Scenes between the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*

Deceased figure	Corporeal mourning	Afterworld/afterlife	Resurrection
Izanami	Yes	Yomi no Kuni	No
Ame no Wakahiko	No	Unknown	Possible
Amaterasu	No	Heaven's Boulder Cavern	Yes
Yamato Takeru	Yes	Transforms into white bird	No

[41] Orikuchi, "Koten ni arawareta," p. 65. This translation is by Takeshi Watanabe. See Watanabe, *Flowering Tales*, p. 65.

[42] Watanabe, *Flowering Tales*, p. 178.

[43] McCullough, "Appendix C," p. 471; Meeks, "Survival and Salvation"; Horton, "Renga Unbound," pp. 443–512; Kimbrough, "Reading the Miraculous Powers."

the words describing their performance—that indicate whether the deceased will be contained in a *specific* afterworld within the pages of the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*. While a mourner's weeping-while-crawling signals unfathomable grief, when the individual mourning acts of particular characters are read against each other, their use as ritual and their place in a sustained literary technique within post-death scenes becomes apparent.

Izanagi Weeping-While-Crawling for Izanami

In both the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, the first description of a mourner weeping-while-crawling appears after the death of Izanami. After she and her brother/husband Izanagi 伊弉諾 have created the world and its myriad gods, Izanami dies upon giving birth to the god of fire.[44] As soon as Izanagi suspects she has died, he engages in a "calling-out" ritual (*tamayobi* 魂呼び) to revive the deceased, questioning if he has lost her in exchange for a child.[45] Both the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* (at left and right, respectively, in the extracts below and thereafter) record that Izanagi then wept and crawled around her body, as he:

crawled around her mighty head and he crawled around her mighty feet, weeping and wailing all the while	crawled at her head, and crawled at her feet, weeping and lamenting
sunawachi mimakurabe ni harabai *miatobe ni harabaite nakishi toki ni* *minamita ni nareru*	*sunawachi makurabe ni harabai* *atobe ni harabaite* *naki namita o nagashitamau*
乃ち御枕方に匍匐ひ、 御足方に匍匐ひて哭きし時に、 御涙に成れる[46]	即ち頭辺に匍匐ひ、 脚辺に匍匐ひて、 哭泣き流涕したまふ[47]

In this instance, weeping-while-crawling occurs during the *mogari* period, the time ordained for confirming death and for reviving the dead. This period ends only when the person revives, when signs of decomposition appear, or when the corpse is discarded.[48] Therefore, Izanagi's ritualized corporeal mourning was done initially to revive or resurrect Izanami—a demonstration of his longing for her return.[49]

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[44] SNKBZ 1, p. 41; Heldt, *The Kojiki*, p. 13; SNKBZ 2, p. 41; Aston, *The Nihongi*, p. 21. All English translations of the *Nihon shoki* are those of W. G. Aston, unless otherwise noted.

[45] SNKBZ 1, p. 42; Heldt, *The Kojiki*, p. 13; SNKBZ 2, p. 43; Aston, *The Nihongi*, p. 22; Moriya, "Yamato Takeru no Mikoto no sōsō monogatari," p. 18.

[46] SNKBZ 1, pp. 42–43; Heldt, *The Kojiki*, p. 13.

[47] SNKBZ 2, p. 43; Aston, *The Nihongi*, p. 23.

[48] Nakada, "'Mogari' ni okeru minzokugakuteki kōsatsu," p. 120.

[49] Moriya, "Yamato Takeru no Mikoto no sōsō monogatari," p. 18; Inō, "Kojiki ni okeru shisha," p. 76. Although Susano-o 須佐之男 continuously weeps out of a desire to follow Izanami to the land of the dead, this crying is done after the post-death rituals and is not part of the ritualized crying.

Despite the performance of these calling-back rituals, the *Kojiki* indicates that they were not successful; the narrative goes on to describe Izanami's burial and post-death existence. In the *Kojiki*, the reader also learns that "the remains of the spirit Izanami were laid to rest" within a mountain on the border of two lands.[50] While the individual accounts in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* differ somewhat, both texts locate Izanami in Yomi no Kuni after her death. In this land she is able to move her body, stepping "out the door of the hall to greet" Izanagi when he comes to visit her.[51] She is able to hear and to speak, indeed replying to his plea to "come back with [him]."[52] Additionally, both texts note that Izanami ate at the hearth of Yomi no Kuni, indicating her ability to eat and to feel hunger.[53]

Although Izanami is physically located in Yomi no Kuni, Izanagi still has hopes to revive her in the land of the living, and he enters the afterworld to appeal for her return. He is forbidden from laying eyes on Izanami while she asks the gods of that land for permission to leave; but unable to wait, Izanagi looks at Izanami and finds her body in decay.[54] Izanagi flees in terror and blocks passage to the world of the living by placing a giant boulder across the path that leads to Yomi no Kuni.[55] While it cannot be said that Izanami has been thereby placated, given that after her entombment she is driven by anger and shame to have a thousand mortals killed every day, her body at the very least has been successfully trapped in Yomi no Kuni, unable to be reborn in another realm: in other words, she has been secured in death.

Although it is apparently the boulder that traps Izanami in the afterworld in this story, other accounts within the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* indicate that barriers and entombments do not preclude a return to the land of the living (see the discussions of Amaterasu and Ōanamuji below). Izanami's physical isolation in Yomi no Kuni has been achieved rather by various post-death rituals, including weeping-while-crawling. Comparing this post-death scene with that of Yamato Takeru, for example, who also goes to a particular afterworld, we find a single similarity between the two scenes: the involvement of weeping-while-crawling. Therefore, we can conclude that it is the inclusion of the corporeal ritual in the text that signals Izanami will be secured in death.

Consorts and Children Weeping-While-Crawling for Yamato Takeru

In the other shared mourning scene in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* that features weeping-while-crawling, we learn of the posthumous fate of Yamato Takeru,

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[50] SNKBZ 1, p. 43; Heldt, *The Kojiki*, p. 14.

[51] SNKBZ 1, p. 45; Heldt, *The Kojiki*, p. 14.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Ibid.; SNKBZ 2, p. 45; Aston, *The Nihongi*, p. 24.

[54] Matsumura Takeo associates Izanagi's confirmation of Izanami's decay with *mogari* rites of praying for the rebirth of the dead. See Matsumura, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, vol. 2, pp. 456–457.

[55] SNKBZ 1, p. 49; Heldt, *The Kojiki*, p. 16; SNKBZ 2, pp. 47–49; Aston, *The Nihongi*, pp. 25–26.

who dies after being cursed with a grave illness. Yet although this character's story is found in both texts, the specifics related of his post-death observances differ between the two. In the *Kojiki*, Yamato Takeru's consorts and children constructed a barrow for his corpse and

> started crawling around the bordering paddies while they wept and sang.
>
> *ta o harabai megurite naki, utayomi shite*
>
> 田を匍匐ひ廻りて哭き、歌為て[56]

Scholars debate the precise post-death period during which this ceremony would have taken place. Both Ono Asami 小野諒巳 and Inō assert that this kind of ritualized weeping-while-crawling is enacted not during *mogari*, but rather in the course of the mourning period following the certain determination of death.[57] For these scholars, such prostration is not part of a desire for "resurrection" (*yomigaeri* 蘇り) of the dead (as in the case of Izanami) but is instead most likely performed with the aim of pacifying the spirit of the deceased.[58] Others, such as Saigō, Itō, and Moriya Toshihiko 守屋俊彦, argue that the corporeal mourning for Yamato Takeru links back to Izanami's post-death scene, and is accordingly likewise performed as part of the "calling back" (*shōkon* 招魂, *fukkatsu* 復活) of the spirit that takes place during the *mogari* period.[59] It is worth noting that, just as Kumagai and Ebersole were reluctant to exclude rites of pacification from the *mogari* period, Itō does assert that over time the original idea of *shōkon* faded in favor of a greater emphasis being placed on *chinkon*.[60] For Itō, however, the tragedy of the Yamato Takeru story cannot be fully understood unless one reads it under the assumption that the funeral songs, performed while weeping-while-crawling, have the power to bring back the souls of the dead.[61] Unfortunately, as was the case for Izanami, the rituals in the *Kojiki* do not succeed in resurrecting the dead in the land of the living. Yamato Takeru's spirit does not return, but transforms into a "giant white bird that soared into the heavens," eventually rising to "[fly] away."[62] Setting aside the debate over the *intended* effect of corporeal performance, readers of the *Kojiki* are clearly able to see that the inclusion of mourners' prostrations coincides with a definitive positioning of the deceased in the afterworld.

In addition to weeping-while-crawling as a demonstration of pain and grief,

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[56] SNKBZ 1, p. 235; Heldt, *The Kojiki*, p. 108.

[57] Ono, "'Kojiki' ni okeru Yamato Takeru no Mikoto," pp. 78–79; Inō, "Kojiki ni okeru shisha," p. 76.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Saigō, "Yamato Takeru no monogatari," p. 25; Itō, "Banka no sekai," p. 13; Moriya, "Yamato Takeru no Mikoto no sōsō monogatari," p. 18.

[60] Itō, "Banka no sekai," p. 13.

[61] Ibid.

[62] SNKBZ 1, p. 235; Heldt, *The Kojiki*, p. 108.

Agō Toranoshin 吾郷寅之進 and Itō point to another detail in the account of Yamato Takeru's funeral in the *Kojiki*: the mourners' lacerated feet.[63] While singing funeral songs, Yamato Takeru's consort and children run after the white bird, and

> weeping . . . in their grief forgetting the pain they felt in feet lacerated by cut stalks of dwarf bamboo.
>
> *sono shino no karikoi ni, ashi o kiriyaburedomo, sono itami o wasurete, nakioiki*
>
> 其の小竹の刈杙に、足をきり破れども、其の痛みを忘れて、哭き追ひき[64]

Itō concludes that this display of bodily pain is the crucial element that identifies these songs as placatory.[65] When comparing the funerary rites performed for Yamato Takeru in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, it is important to consider how the category of corporeal mourning has been expanded so that painful acts are also able to mollify spirits of the dead.

The *Nihon shoki* account of Yamato Takeru's death differs in many ways from the one found in the *Kojiki*. In this version, upon learning of Yamato Takeru's death, the emperor "beat[s] his breast"—and there is no mention of the actions taken by Yamato Takeru's consort and children.[66] Instead, it is the painful gesture of beating one's breast, and the weeping accompanying it, that serve as the corporeal rituals intended to placate the spirit of the deceased. The emperor's effort is successful: the account relates that after being interred in a *misasagi* 陵 (imperial tomb), Yamato Takeru, "taking the shape of a white bird, came forth from the *misasagi*, and flew towards the Land of Yamato."[67] The text makes clear that the spirit has completed its transit from the land of the living: immediately after the bird flies away, "the ministers accordingly opened the coffin, and looking in, saw that only the empty clothing remained, and that there was no corpse."[68] In this account, it is the performance of painful corporal mourning ritual while weeping that assuages the spirit of the deceased. The result thereby effected is the spirit's successful transition to a particular afterworld.

The Ambiguous Case of Ame no Wakahiko

The rituals undertaken to mourn Ame no Wakahiko are likewise portrayed differently in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*. In both texts, news of the god's death is received when his wife cries so loudly that the sound reaches the heavens—ritual crying that would have been considered an accepted act of spirit calling. Next, Ame no Wakahiko's father joins in the mourning (in the *Kojiki* he goes down to

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[63] Itō, "Banka no sekai," p. 14.
[64] SNKBZ 1, p. 235; Heldt, *The Kojiki*, p. 108.
[65] Itō, "Banka no sekai," p. 14.
[66] SNKBZ 2, p. 385; Aston, *The Nihongi*, p. 210.
[67] SNKBZ 2, p. 386; Aston, *The Nihongi*, p. 210.
[68] SNKBZ 2, pp. 385–386; Aston, *The Nihongi*, pp. 210–211.

earth to assist in post-death rituals, whereas in the *Nihon shoki* the corpse is brought to heaven). In both accounts, too, the mourners then assign various birds to carry out subsequent ritual tasks, such as carrying funeral offerings, sweeping the hut, preparing food, grinding grain, and other mourning rites. The mourners then offer songs (unrecorded though assumed to be funeral poems) for eight days in hopes of resurrecting the dead or calming his spirit.[69] These descriptions are similar to those found in the post-death scenes for Izanami and Yamato Takeru, which feature ritualized crying, calling of the spirit, and attempts at pacification. Neither text, however, includes the performance of weeping-while-crawling where Ame no Wakahiko is concerned.

The immediate result of these rituals is the mourners' belief that Ame no Wakahiko has been brought back to life. Misidentifying the god Ajisukitakahikone 阿遅鉏高日子根 as her departed son, Ame no Wakahiko's mother calls out, exclaiming that he "did not die" after all.[70] Ame no Wakahiko's wife concurs, declaring that the man in front of her is indeed her husband. Yet Ame no Wakahiko has in fact perished, and the women's conviction represents a simple case of mistaken identity. It is nonetheless significant, however, that the *mourners* do in this case believe that—despite the performance of all the varied rituals listed above (weeping, carrying funeral offerings, sweeping the hut, preparing food, grinding grain, composing songs, etc.)—*the dead could still return*. In other words, they understood that the rituals they had performed for Ame no Wakahiko would not have irrevocably secured him in a land beyond the living.

Although scholars stress the connections between the post-death scenes for Izanami, Yamato Takeru, and Ame no Wakahiko, it should be noted that in the final of these cases the long list of post-death rituals conducted does *not* include the painful corporeal act of weeping-while-crawling. Kumagai contends that a prostration ritual is in fact performed for Ame no Wakahiko, albeit for a surrogate (his doppelgänger, Ajisukitakahikone).[71] In this reading, the gestures of Ame no Wakahiko's wife qualify as prostration when she

clung to his hands and feet and wept with grief	clung to his garments and to his girdle, partly rejoiced and partly distracted
teashi ni torikakarite *nakikanashibiki*	*obi ni yojikakari* *katsu yorokobi katsu madou*
手足に取り懸て 哭き悲しびき[72]	衣帯に攀係り 且喜び且働ふ[73]

[69] Kumagai, "Sōrei to banka," p. 39.

[70] SNKBZ 1, p. 105; Heldt, *The Kojiki*, p. 44. A similar scene is recorded in the *Nihon shoki*, see SNKBZ 2, p. 115; Aston, *The Nihongi*, p. 67.

[71] Kumagai, "Sōrei to banka," p. 33.

[72] SNKBZ 1, p. 105; Heldt, *The Kojiki*, p. 44.

[73] SNKBZ 2, p. 115; Aston, *The Nihongi*, p. 67.

This portrayal differs significantly, however, from other depictions of corporeal acts meant to pacify the dead or prompt their return. First there is its use of distinct terminology. In the *Kojiki*, the "prostration" shown here is not *hofuku*, but rather a type of "clinging" (*torikakarite* 取り懸て), focused moreover on an object so situated that it requires the mourner to bend or crouch. In the *Nihon shoki*, the text suggests that the mourners had previously been in a prostrated position, since they then proceed to "climb up" (*yojikakawari* 攀係り) in order to reach Ajisukitakahikone's clothing. In a second and third difference, this clinging is not performed while weeping; nor is it performed when mourners, believing Ame no Wakahiko to be dead, long for his resuscitation. Indeed, it is only after the women assume that the resurrection has occurred that they prostrate themselves by thus clinging to the body. Finally, this gesture is enacted at a moment of elation from which physical pain is absent. Hence, this type of prostration cannot be considered a placatory ritual; instead, it represents a pure expression of joy.

Just as the texts omit any depiction of prostration during the *mogari* period, it also gives no indication of where Ame no Wakahiko's spirit has found its final resting place. Readers are informed that he has been buried on "Mt. Mourning," or Moyama 喪山, but are given no further details about the afterworld he inhabits. Although Ame no Wakahiko does not return to the pages of the *Kojiki* or the *Nihon shoki*, with readers kept ignorant of the name or location of the particular afterworld in which Ame no Wakahiko's spirit dwells, uncertainty remains about whether or not he can, or will, ever return.

The Absence of Painful Corporeal Post-Death Ritual: Amaterasu and Ōanamuji

The significance of corporeal mourning is, of course, indicated by descriptions of its practice in the wake of a figure's death. But its import can also be discerned within the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* by its *absence* from post-death scenes. In another overlapping "death" scene that lacks such a ritual, Amaterasu is not secured in a realm beyond the living. While here too the accounts in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* differ, in both texts, Amaterasu enters Ame no Iwaya 閇天石 (Heaven's Boulder Cavern) and casts the world of the living into darkness. After this "burial" in the cave, which Alan Miller equates to a symbolic death, the gods gather to determine how to call Amaterasu back into the world of the living.[74] Rites performed for this purpose include setting cockerels to crowing; performing divinations; singing prayers; and making and hanging a mirror, jeweled strands, and paper strips. When none of these methods succeeds, a goddess performs a shamanic dance that finally tempts Amaterasu to open her cavern.

Although Amaterasu's "post-death" scene features numerous and varied calling-out rituals (which are effective at "reviving" the deceased), it includes neither any

[74] Miller, "'Ame No Miso-Ori Me,'" p. 32.

depiction of weeping-while-crawling, nor any physical experience of pain. Indeed, the corporeal ritual that does succeed in bringing Amaterasu back (the dance) is met with loud laughter. Here, as in the case of Ame no Wakahiko's family rejoicing at his return, far from being preoccupied with demonstrations of total bodily pain and grief, Amaterasu's "mourners" are instead focused on festivity. Rather than securing the god in death, as Fuminobu Murakami argues, the corporeal ritual of the dance results in Amaterasu being "reborn by entering and leaving the cave, as symbolized in the *chinkonsai*" dance.[75] In the end, Amaterasu is brought back to life.

A similar structure appears in the *Kojiki*'s post-death scene for Ōanamuji. One day, after catching a large flaming boulder, he is "immediately burned to death."[76] His mother then weeps and pleads with the gods for her son's resuscitation. Two goddesses descend, scrape him off the stone, and smear him with mother's milk. As the result of this bodily ritual he is then "transformed into a handsome youth."[77] After undergoing this resurrection, however, Ōanamuji is subsequently "crushed to death" between two halves of a split tree.[78] His mother again weeps, finds him, releases him from the tree, "and [brings] him back to life."[79] In these passages, we see that corporeal rituals performed by women result in resurrection, even though no prostration and no physical pain are involved in these various reviving acts. While there is certainly great debate over the substance used first to revive Ōanamuji, in no analysis does the production of the "milk" seem to involve bodily anguish.[80] Much as with the case of Amaterasu, the twice-deceased Ōanamuji is revived without the performance of any painful corporeal ritual.

In these two sequences, therefore, as expressed in **table 2**, there is no depiction of painful corporeal ritual and also no prostration. In the end, Amaterasu and Ōanamuji are revived, reborn, and not secured in death. In both the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, then, when painful corporeal ritual is not incorporated into literary depictions of post-death ceremonies, the foreshadowed expectation is essentially inverted, and the reader is prepared instead for the return of the deceased. Whether or not the mourning scenes for Izanami, Ame no Wakahiko, and Yamato Takeru are reflective of historical reality cannot be empirically validated, since accounts of their deaths were recorded only centuries after the eras with which they were ostensibly associated. All the same, the fact that the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* even included these scenes of weeping-while-crawling within their texts does point to how crucial their compilers felt it was to definitively place their characters in lands beyond that of the living.

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[75] Murakami, "Incest and Rebirth," p. 457.
[76] SNKBZ 1, p. 79; Heldt, *The Kojiki*, pp. 29–30.
[77] SNKBZ 1, pp. 79–80; Heldt, *The Kojiki*, p. 30.
[78] Ibid.
[79] SNKBZ 1, p. 80; Heldt, *The Kojiki*, p. 30.
[80] Oikawa, "Kojiki jōkan ni noru Ōanamuji," p. 3.

Table 2. *Kojiki* Post-Death Scenes without Painful Corporeal Mourning

Deceased figure	Painful corporeal mourning	Burial place	Resurrection
Amaterasu	No	Heaven's Boulder Cavern	Yes
Ōanamuji	No	Inside a tree	Yes
Ame no Wakahiko	No	Mt. Mourning	Possible

Corporeal Mourning in *The Tale of Genji*

In the fictional world of *Genji*, the mere fact that spirits return after death indicates that the dead are not inanimate objects, exquisite corpses that require no further investigation. As spirits, the dead can exert power over the living—and in unpredictable ways, for no matter the positive attributes they possessed while still living, they have the potential to turn destructive. The validity of this conclusion is demonstrated by all the work the mourning characters undertake to perform on behalf of these spirits. The post-death rituals *Genji* characters engage in not only express grief, but also help to placate deceased spirits within the world of the tale.[81] Since spirits in *Genji* are known to be able to see the actions of the living, negligence could enrage a spirit and cause it to return. While fictional spirits might not be able to materialize in the real world, they could return to harass the living in the fictional world.

As Ebersole documents, premodern Japanese literary depictions of post-death rituals "were at once part of an intellectual discourse and a social practice . . . [created] not only for aesthetic pleasure but as a means of ordering and controlling potentially dangerous aspects of the world."[82] The aim of these passages was "to get [the spirit] to stop wandering and to rest in a stable location" in the afterworld.[83] As I will detail through close readings below, we find in the portrayals of particular *Genji* characters' post-death scenes echoes of the placatory weeping-while-crawling ritual seen in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*. Their mourners' corporeal reactions to such deaths, accordingly, should be read thus as placatory rituals even though they do not foreshadow the placement of a character's spirit in a specific afterlife.

Of the characters who die in *Genji*, only a handful are granted narrations of post-death scenes that include descriptions of mourning rituals. Yet although space does not permit a thorough analysis of such scenes for all characters who are in fact granted them, it is notable that among these a number do feature

[81] Carter, "The Secret Mourning of an Evening Death," p. 160.
[82] Ebersole, *Ritual Poetry*, pp. 17, 19.
[83] Ebersole, *Ritual Poetry*, p. 127.

portrayals of weeping and prostration, the latter of which, as defined above, incorporates instances of writhing, falling, and stumbling. While these acts do not entail physical pain, they do convey the mourner's emotional distress (similar to the case of Izanagi). Post-death scenes in *Genji* of this sort, in other words, can reasonably be said to include ritual weeping and prostration.

First, there is the scene at Aoi's 葵 cremation grounds: her father, the Minister of the Left, "could not rise" (*tachiagaritamawazu* 立ち上がりたまはず), was "weeping in shame" (*hajinakitamau* 恥ぢ泣きたまふ), and "writhe[d] upon the ground" (*mogoyō* もごよふ).[84] Here, despite the fact that a different term is used to indicate writhing, the minister's demonstration of emotional pain, as well as his prostration on the ground while weeping, mirror earlier representations of mourners as examined above. In another scene following the death of her mother, Ichijō no Miyasudokoro, we see how the Second Princess "lay close beside her [corpse]" (*tsuto soifushitamaeri* つと添ひ臥したまへり), and how she was later blinded by tears and "lay prostrate with vain misery" (*fushimarobitamae* 臥しまろびたまへ).[85] Here, although the daughter's weeping and her prostration are not concurrent, both actions are presented as extreme responses to death, her grief bringing her literally to the ground. In her mother's post-death scene, then, the Second Princess too can be said to express emotional pain through weeping and prostration—again following our precedents of placatory ritual. A near mirror image of Ichijō no Miyasudokoro's post-death scene is seen when the daughters of Hachi no Miya at Uji 宇治 come to learn of his death. They are shocked by this news, which "deprived them of their senses, leaving them unable—for even their tears had vanished—to do anything but lie prostrate on the ground."[86] It initially appears that the daughters do not cry in this scene. In fact, however, though at first they do cry (there must first be tears in order for them to "vanish"), because their anguish is so extreme, they are soon no longer able even to produce tears, and can only lie prostrate (*tada utsubushi fushitamaeri* ただうつぶし臥したまへり).[87] Here again, the components that qualify corporeal mourning as placatory ritual—pain, weeping, and prostration—are found to be present. While *Genji* does not reveal the final resting place for Aoi, Ichijō no Miyasudokoro, or Hachi no Miya, their mourners' corporeal acts must be read nonetheless as placatory rituals.

If, as Kumagai suggests, the definition of writhing can be extended beyond full-bodied prostration to include stumbling, the act can also encompass near-falling. In *Genji*, after the death of Kiritsubo no Kōi 桐壺更衣, her mother is overwhelmed by a sharp pang of grief that causes her to "nearly [fall] from the

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[84] SNKBZ 21, p. 47; Tyler, *The Tale of Genji*, p. 177. All English translations of *The Tale of Genji* are those of Royall Tyler, unless otherwise noted.

[85] SNKBZ 23, pp. 438, 443; Tyler, *The Tale of Genji*, pp. 734, 736.

[86] SNKBZ 24, p. 189; Tyler, *The Tale of Genji*, p. 856.

[87] Ibid.

carriage" (*kuruma yori mo ochinubyō madoitamaeba* 車よりも落ちぬべうまろびたまへば).[88] While not accompanied by weeping, the mother's near prostration is certainly caused by painful anguish. Similarly, an extremely distressed Genji involuntarily falls from his horse (*uma yori suberiorite* 馬よりすべり下りて), after intense bouts of crying, while returning from Yūgao's funeral.[89] He will later come close to falling again during the cremation of his wife Murasaki. Indeed, in this later scene, he is forced to "lean on others as though he thought he trod on empty air" (*sora o ayumu kokochi shite* 空を歩む心地して), while her surviving ladies-in-waiting "writhed about, [as] they might even fall from their carriages" (*kuruma yori mo marobiochinu beki o zo* 車よりもまろび落ちぬべきをぞ).[90] Their stumbling and writhing is not explicitly here accompanied by tears; but these characters are elsewhere described as weeping, and to say that they do so copiously is an understatement. Genji's grandson, Kaoru, later mimics Genji's mourning response after the death of Hachi no Miya's daughter Ōigimi, when he "wavered as though walking on air" (*sora o ayumu yō ni tadayoitsutsu* 空を歩むやうに漂ひつつ).[91] In each case, like Izanagi himself, mourners for Kiritsubo no Kōi, Yūgao, Murasaki, and Ōigimi are prostrated by the emotional pain of deep loss. These expressions are part of the placatory endeavor of post-death scenes.

In *Genji*, descriptions of weeping and writhing do not, it is true, foreshadow spirits' appeasement or rebirth in a specific realm. Many characters, including Genji, do not even receive post-death scenes, though their spirits also do not return to the tale, presumably secure in a positive rebirth. Other characters have elaborately described post-death scenes, indicating that their spirits benefit from other types of mourning ritual, and their presumptive positive rebirth cannot, as such, be traced solely to literary depictions of corporeal mourning.

The differing results of mourners' prostrations can be traced to several deviations between the constructs featured in the *Kojiki*, *Nihon shoki*, and *Genji*. Notably, the terminology has changed. In the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, *harabau* and *hofuku* are almost exclusively employed—but neither of these terms appears in *Genji*. In the latter text, the mourning body performs a different yet related form of prostration: near-falling, stumbling, or lying on the ground. In none of these cases, moreover, is the prostration coupled with corporeal pain. Finally, compared with the two earlier texts, scenes of corporeal mourning in *Genji* do not serve as foreshadowing devices, though these scenes yet retain their placatory function. In other words, although descriptions of prostration in *Genji* do not, on their own, indicate that a spirit will be secured in death, these various gestures they do involve must still be regarded as placatory rituals, and not as mere expressions of grief in the lyrical mode.

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[88] SNKBZ 20, p. 25; Tyler, *The Tale of Genji*, p. 6.
[89] SNKBZ 20, p. 180; Tyler, *The Tale of Genji*, p. 73.
[90] SNKBZ 23, pp. 510–511; Tyler, *The Tale of Genji*, p. 761.
[91] SNKBZ 24, p. 330; Tyler, *The Tale of Genji*, p. 909.

Conclusion

As the *Kojiki*, *Nihon shoki*, and *Genji* demonstrate, until at least the mid-Heian period, bodily displays of extreme distress, such as weeping, wailing, and writhing, were crucial components of an array of efforts found within literary texts to appease spirits, mirroring the actions of real mourners. In extended prose descriptions of post-death scenes, corporeal mourning marks not only the grief of surviving loved ones, but also the presence of placatory ritual. Historically, such physical expressions were not powerful enough on their own to anchor a spirit in an afterworld or afterlife—but their inclusion as a literary device in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* serves to signal that a character will in fact be secured in a specific afterworld. In contrast, even though the earlier texts' end results are not mirrored in *Genji*'s own post-death scenes, in the latter tale, mourners' physical gestures are revealed to be not only indications of personal grief, but also placatory rituals of prostration.

Through this investigation we can see that although textual depictions of corporeal mourning certainly do function on the lyrical level, we must also not overlook the profound literary and religious meaning inherent on the ritual level. This knowledge not only gives us better insight into eighth-century post-death ritual and prose literature, but also allows us to approach instances of bodily responses to death in later premodern texts with a more nuanced eye.

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Studies in Japanese Literature and Culture 8 (March 2025) 25–50

The Shogunate vs. the People: Gallants and Thieves in Kyokutei Bakin's *Lives of the Gallants: Read Them and Wonder*

Shan Ren
University of Oregon

Until the sage is dead, great thieves will never cease to appear.
—*Zhuangzi*, "Rifling Trunks"

1. Introduction

Among the many character types that enliven early modern Japanese fiction, the *kyōkaku* 俠客 (Ch. *xiake*, gallant) was one of the most popular, particularly in the mid- to late nineteenth century. These anti-hierarchical and at times lawbreaking figures often embody moral ambiguity, but they consistently also honor their commitments, and are willing to sacrifice their lives to protect the vulnerable. Their marginalized status empowers them to challenge the prevailing social hierarchy, their focus on the welfare of common people allowing them to contest top-down political ideologies. Even today, the bravery and righteousness associated with *kyōkaku* continue to influence popular culture, as amply manifested in a variety of genres, especially boys' manga, historical dramas, and action movies.

Among the numerous Edo-period (1603–1868) works addressing the theme of *kyōkaku*, Kyokutei Bakin's 曲亭馬琴 (1767–1848) *Kaikan kyōki kyōkakuden* 開巻驚奇俠客伝 (Lives of the Gallants: Read Them and Wonder, 1832–1835; hereafter abbreviated as *Gallants*) stands out, both for its distinctive interpretation of the *kyōkaku* spirit and for its enduring influence on subsequent literary works. This article analyzes the meaning and portrayal of the *kyōkaku* in *Gallants,* particularly in contrast to that figure's negative counterpart, the *tōzoku* 盗賊 (thief or bandit). Through close reading, contextualization, and comparison, I argue that the characterization of *kyōkaku* in *Gallants* reflects both a societal anxiety over disorder and a collective yearning for justice, while simultaneously questioning the practical efficacy of the inherently fictional *kyōkaku* spirit in bringing about real-world change. Furthermore, I argue that, through his portrayal of the Ashikaga 足利 shogunate as a kind of metaphoric *tōzoku*, Bakin critiques the moral corruption of those in power as the root cause of such societal disorder, thereby conveying his pessimism on the possibility of restoring the grand peace.

2. Brief Introduction to *Gallants* and Survey of Previous Scholarship

The story of *Gallants* is set temporally in the aftermath of the Nanbokuchō 南北朝 period (Southern and Northern Courts period, 1336–1392). Historically, this period saw the coexistence of two imperial courts, namely the Northern Court (the Jimyōin 持明院 line) backed by the Ashikaga shogunate, and the rival Southern court governed directly by the emperors of the Daikakuji 大覚寺 line. After decades of conflict, the Southern Court at length capitulated to the Northern Court in 1392. *Gallants* follows the descendants of families that supported the erstwhile Southern Court, who prior to any open fight against the shogunate in defense of the Daikakuji line, must for long years navigate a path of endurance and conceal their identities. Yet the fate of these protagonists was ultimately left hanging in the air, after Bakin stopped writing partway through the story. Despite the anticipation for a sequel, *Gallants* remained unfinished, leaving Bakin's intended conclusion unknown.[1] Nevertheless, the work's incomplete status did not impede its popularity, which proved enduring both in Bakin's own era and long after his death.

The initial four volumes of *Gallants*, written by Bakin himself, were serialized from 1832 to 1835. The publisher was Kawachiya Mohei 河内屋茂兵衛 in Osaka, and different illustrators were used for each installment.[2] The suspension of the project was the result of several factors. Correspondence from Bakin to the publisher indicates that he was displeased by the publisher's unjust accusations that he was delaying the whole publishing process.[3] Moreover, health issues in 1833 with Bakin's son, Sōhaku 宗伯, and the latter's subsequent death in 1834, deeply disheartened Bakin, ultimately dissuading him from continuing the project.[4] Yet even as Bakin himself ceased working on the project, its popularity continued. One year after Bakin's demise in 1848, a fifth volume was published, this time written by Hagiwara Hiromichi 萩原広道 (1815–1863). And in 1865, amid the transition from the Edo period to the modern Meiji period (1868–1912), *Gallants* found its way onto the kabuki stage.[5] Indeed, the work continued to enjoy popularity well into the Meiji period, influencing subsequent writers and scholars such as Tsubouchi Shōyō 坪内逍遥 (1859–1935),[6] Kōda Rohan 幸田露伴 (1867–1947), and Kitamura Tōkoku 北村透谷 (1868–1894).[7]

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[1] Tokuda, "Gonanchō hiwa," p. 53.

[2] The first installment was illustrated by Keisai Eisen 渓斎英泉 (1791–1848); the second was illustrated by Yanagawa Shigenobu 柳川重信 I (1787–1832); Utagawa Kunisada 歌川国貞 (1786–1865) was responsible for the third installment; and Yanagawa Shigenobu 柳川重信 II (n.d.) illustrated the fourth. See Hattori, "*Kaikan kyōki kyōkakuden* no kuchie, sashie," p. 795.

[3] Kyokutei Bakin, *Bakin shokan shūsei*, vol. 4, p. 34.

[4] Kyokutei Bakin, *Bakin shokan shūsei*, vol. 3, p. 118–119.

[5] Hattori, "*Kaikan kyōki kyōkakuden* no kuchie, sashie: Keijō," p. 124.

[6] Tokuda, "Gonanchō hiwa," pp. 72–73.

[7] Maeda, "Bakin to Tōkoku," pp. 134–135.

Figure 1. Front and back covers. *Kaikan kyōki kyōkakuden* 開巻驚奇俠客伝, part 1 (pub. 1832), vol. 1. Hiroshima University Library. https://doi.org/10.20730/100302090 (images 2 and 35).

Neither has modern scholarship neglected *Gallants*. For instance, Tokuda Takeshi 徳田武 has discussed its political implications, Hattori Hitoshi 服部仁 has analyzed its illustrations, and Mizuno Minoru 水野稔 and Miyake Hiroyuki 三宅宏幸 have explored Bakin's Chinese sources. Three scholars moreover in particular—Asō Isoji 麻生磯次, Maeda Ai 前田愛, and Uchida Yasuhiro 内田保廣—have specifically discussed the meaning of *kyōkaku* in the work.

Asō, one of the earliest scholars to analyze *Gallants*, utilizes it as a prime example to showcase the substantial influence of Chinese vernacular novels on Bakin; and in *Edo bungaku to Shina bungaku* 江戸文学と支那文学 (Edo Literature and Chinese Literature, 1946), he highlights Bakin's advanced compositional skill in integrating such Chinese antecedents in a way that expressed his own ideas.[8] He

[8] Asō, *Edo bungaku to Shina bungaku*, pp. 144–174. Asō's book was later retitled *Edo bungaku to Chūgoku bungaku* in 1972. Asō points out that Bakin utilized a variety of Chinese vernacular novels as sources when composing *Gallants*. These include *Nüxian waishi* 女仙外史 (J. *Josen gaishi*, Unofficial History of the Female Transcendent, 1704), *Pingyaozhuan* 平妖伝 (J. *Heiyōden*, The Three Sui Quash the Demons' Revolt, late sixteenth century), *Haoqiuzhuan* 好逑伝 (J. *Kōkyūden*, The Fortunate Union, seventeenth century), *Kuaixinbain chuanqi* 快心編伝奇 (J. *Kaishinhen denki*, Tales to Delight the Heart, seventeenth to eighteenth century), *Chuke pai'an jingqi* 初刻拍案驚奇 (J. *Shokoku hakuan kyōki*, Slapping the Table in Amazement, seventeenth century), and *Shuihuzhuan* 水滸伝 (J. *Suikoden*, The Water Margin, mid-fourteenth century).

also suggests that Bakin's obsession with Sima Qian's 司馬遷 (J. Shiba Sen, 145?–89? BCE) anti-Confucian interpretation of *kyōkaku* casts doubt on the common perception of Bakin as a supporter of Confucianism. However, as Asō's primary objective in analyzing *Gallants* is to support his broader argument regarding the connection between Edo literature and Chinese literature, his discussion of *Gallants* is largely confined to identifying those Chinese sources, particularly in popular fiction, that Bakin drew upon. A comprehensive analysis of the significance of the *kyōkaku* spirit in Bakin's works would not emerge until the late 1970s.

In 1977, Uchida Yasuhiro published "Bakin no kyō: *Kaikan kyōki kyōkakuden* izen" 馬琴の俠：「開巻驚奇俠客伝」以前 (Bakin's Gallantry: Before *Lives of the Gallants: Read Them and Wonder*), in which he traces the development of *kyōkaku* figures in works by Bakin predating *Gallants*. Uchida's study highlights how Bakin strove gradually to remove those traits of immorality and outlawry traditionally associated with *kyōkaku*, ultimately redefining the concept in a way that shaped its influence on subsequent writers and literati.[9] However, as his title suggests, Uchida limits this analysis to works predating *Gallants* and does not engage directly with the latter text itself. While I concur with Uchida's argument that Bakin sought indeed to redefine *kyōkaku* as a group of righteous people, I would argue that in *Gallants*, Bakin nonetheless simultaneously acknowledges the moral ambiguity of *kyōkaku* when measured against Confucian ethical standards. Moreover, Bakin also consciously juxtaposes *kyōkaku* with *tōzoku*, intentionally blurring the line between the two categories.

In contrast to Uchida's interest in *kyōkaku* before *Gallants*, Maeda Ai is more intrigued by the reinterpretation of *kyōkaku* in the context of Japan's modernization. In "Bakin to Tōkoku: 'Kyō' o megutte" 馬琴と透谷：「俠」をめぐって (Bakin and Tōkoku: About "Gallantry", 1976), he explores this idea through an analysis of writings by Kitamura Tōkoku. He shows that in Tōkoku's view, the *kyōkaku* embodied ordinary people's hopes for freedom and justice, noting that Tōkoku even compared the surviving supporters of the Southern court in *Gallants* to his own comrades after the failure of the Freedom and People's Rights Movement in the 1880s.[10] Although Maeda's analysis has little to do with Bakin's work itself, such a connection between the *kyōkaku* spirit and the desire of the marginalized for voice and for justice is indeed in accord with the main theme of *Gallants*.

In short, while the research conducted by these three scholars is certainly groundbreaking, none of them focuses on *Gallants* exclusively, or on the specific meaning of *kyōkaku* within that text. Given Bakin's significant status in early modern Japanese literature and the profound influence of *Gallants* on subsequent literary works exploring similar themes, however, a thorough analysis of the *kyōkaku* spirit in *Gallants* is both essential and long overdue. This article seeks

[9] Uchida, "Bakin no kyō," pp. 182–183.
[10] Maeda, "Bakin to Tōkoku," pp. 134–136.

to address this gap, hoping thereby to contribute to a deeper understanding of this remarkable work of fiction and its enduring cultural impact.

In the sections that follow, I begin by first examining Bakin's theoretical articulation of *kyōkaku* through a close reading of his preface to the initial volume of *Gallants*. Drawing inspiration from Sima Qian, in this piece Bakin carefully positions *kyōkaku* on the side of good by emphasizing their people-centered intentions, even while also acknowledging their moral limitations. After this, I proceed to examine in detail Bakin's depiction of an ideal *kyōkaku* character within the narrative, with a focus on such a figure's intrinsic fictionality: although he represents a source of hope for the oppressed, the possibility of true salvation seems to exist only in the realm of fiction. The pessimism of this view is also reflected in Bakin's portrayal of *tōzoku*, the evil counterpart to *kyōkaku*. Inspired by the discussion of the "great thief" in *Zhuangzi* 莊子 (c. 369–286 BCE), Bakin highlights the difficulty of distinguishing between *kyōkaku* and *tōzoku*, and critiques the shogunate as itself the great thief, exposing its hypocrisy.

3. The Definition of *Kyōkaku*

The historical roots of the term *kyōkaku* can be traced back to ancient China.[11] In *Shiji* 史記 (J. *Shiki*, Records of the Grand Historian, late second century BCE to early first century BCE; hereafter referred to as *Records*), Sima Qian highlights *kyōkaku* as a group of outlaw heroes who were largely ignored in earlier, ruling-class-centered historical records.[12] Their role as protectors of the people makes these figures a popular subject in Chinese literature, notably influencing the vernacular novel *Shuihuzhuan* 水滸伝 (J. *Suikoden*, The Water Margin, mid-fourteenth century). The protagonists in *The Water Margin* are portrayed in a positive light as marginalized outlaw heroes or, conversely, as a violent gang of bandits who

[11] The term *kyōkaku* lends itself to various English translations. Burton Watson often translated it as "knight" because of shared qualities such as bravery, righteousness, and compassion. However, the term "knight" evokes images of a loyal horseman of high social status in medieval Europe, which may not accurately encapsulate the essence of *kyōkaku*, a term that does not necessarily imply loyalty to a given lord or any high social rank (or indeed the use of a horse). Another possible translation is "chivalry." Nitobe Inazō offered an early analysis of the similarities between the concept of chivalry and *bushidō* 武士道 ("the way of the samurai"), a term sometimes associated with *kyōkaku*. See Nitobe, *Bushido*, pp. 5–9. Although it is difficult to summarize the concept of chivalry, which has a long and complicated history, its origin as a medieval ethical code of conduct for elite, noble, and Christian knights makes it a possible translation for *bushidō*, which is also rooted in elite culture, noble class status, and religion. However, *kyōkaku* differs significantly from both chivalry and *bushidō* by virtue of its iconoclastic nature. Rather than being followers of the elite and nobility, or the guardians of dominant religious and political ideologies, *kyōkaku* adhere to their own moral codes, which sometimes run counter to those of authorities. Hence, Glynne Walley's translation of *kyōkaku* as "gallant," emphasizing courageous and heroic attributes, seems more fitting. See Walley, *Good Dogs*, p. 8. Thus, while here I predominantly utilize the Japanese term *kyōkaku*, I occasionally employ "gallant" when contextually appropriate.

[12] Chiba, "Kyōkaku oyobi kyōkaku shisō," pp. 31–32.

morally diverge from dominant Confucian ideology. Even still, the novel's suggestion that the societal margins can become centers of influence contributed to its widespread popularity in both imperial China and early modern Japan.[13]

In Japan, *kyōkaku* were closely associated with popular culture, in which they were represented as figures that were powerful yet rebellious, attractive yet dangerous. Although the term could be applied to different groups of people, all were generally perceived as socially disruptive forces that straddled the line between justice and lawlessness. Unlike many other popular warrior figures, *kyōkaku* were distinct for their lack of interest in serving the upper class. For example, the loyal retainers of *Chūshingura* 忠臣蔵 (The Treasury of Loyal Retainers) are not *kyōkaku* because they are celebrated for their willingness to sacrifice themselves to avenge the death of their lord; and the dog warriors in Bakin's own renowned *Nansō Satomi hakkenden* 南総里見八犬伝 (The Lives of the Eight Dogs of the Satomi of Southern Kazusa, 1814–1842; hereafter referred to as *Eight Dogs*) should strictly speaking not be counted as *kyōkaku* either, because they are spiritual descendants of the Satomi clan and the story ends with their becoming loyal retainers of Lord Satomi Yoshinari 里見義成. In contrast, *kyōkaku* figures were admired not for their loyalty to a lord but for their anti-hierarchical nature and their willingness to fight the ruling class to protect the weak.

Takasu Yoshijirō 高須芳次郎 traces the origins of *kyōkaku* back to the *gekokujō* 下克上 (inferiors overthrowing their superiors) practices and the *tsuchi ikki* 土一揆 (peasant uprisings) phenomenon of the late Muromachi period (1336–1573).[14] During this time of political instability, as the central authority collapsed and social order unraveled, mid-/low-ranking samurai sought to replace their superiors, while peasants rose up to resist oppressive rule. The shared resistance against the ruling class by these groups laid the foundation for the eventual appearance of *kyōkaku*.

Takasu further argues that the *hatamotoyakko* 旗本奴 ("young samurai who served high-ranking *hatamoto*, or shogunal vassals") of the early Edo period should be regarded as precursors of *kyōkaku* because their emphasis on cultivating mental endurance and physical sturdiness sharply contrasted with the luxurious and decadent lifestyles of the increasingly bureaucratized *hatamoto* class as a whole, and because their distinctive appearance and behavior embodied a form of resistance to the progressively class-solidified social customs of the time. Their rebellious spirit gradually spread to the commoner class, eventually giving rise to their commoner counterpart, the *machiyakko* 町奴 ("young townsmen").[15] *Machiyakko* generally indeed hailed from commoner families, and they actively resisted the oppression of the ruling class. However, as Takasu points out, both *hatamotoyakko* and *machiyakko* tended to overemphasize spirit and the importance

[13] Hedberg, *The Japanese Discovery of Chinese Fiction*, pp. 3–4.
[14] Takasu, "Kyōkaku no hassei oyobi hattatsu," pp. 8–9.
[15] Ibid., pp. 12–16.

of accepting challenges without hesitation, which sometimes led them to recklessly charge forward without regard for right or wrong.

Bakin holds a critical view of both *hatamotoyakko* and *machiyakko*, however, considering them unworthy of the title of true *kyōkaku*. In the preface to the first installment of *Gallants*, he asserts that these "gallants of the towns" (*ryokō no shi* 閭巷之士) are inferior to the "virtuous warriors of old" (*inishie dōtoku no shi* 古者道徳之士). In his portrayal, "gallants of the towns" includes figures from both groups, such as Ōtori Ippei 大鳥逸平 (1588–1612),[16] a pioneering *hatamotoyakko*, and Banzuiin Chōbei 幡随院長兵衛 (1622–1650),[17]a renowned *machiyakko*. Both are historical figures from the early Edo period who were later mythologized in popular culture. For instance, Banzuiin Chōbei became a celebrated character in kabuki theater, first appearing on stage in 1744. His popularity endured throughout the Edo period and continues even into modern times.[18]

Yet despite the iconic status of these two men, Bakin's portrayal remains critical, suggesting that their actions and behaviors fell short of the virtues he associates with true *kyōkaku*. His negative evaluation reads:

> 而其所為、或未必合於義。啻立気斉作威福、結私交以立疆於世者也。[19]
>
> Some of their behavior cannot unreservedly be called righteous. They were impetuous, sometimes bullying others and sometimes aiding them. They formed their own groups and made a living through their brute strength.

In other words, Bakin disapproves of how such people exploit their power to oppress those weaker than themselves. In Bakin's conception, true *kyōkaku* are brave and skilled in the martial arts, uphold their promises, and defend the vulnerable. While their sense of righteousness may diverge from the Confucian definition, they maintain humility and refrain from boasting about their deeds. Because of these traits, they are perceived as formidable threats by the government, as they adhere to their own moral code rather than serving authority. They harbor disdain for those who abuse power and are willing to sacrifice their lives to combat such tyranny. Moreover, their ability to evade detection complicates governmental efforts to control or regulate them. And while authorities may view them as more dangerous than ordinary thieves and bandits, the general public worships them as their protectors and saviors.

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[16] Ōtori Ippei formed his *hatamotoyakko* group around 1610, and its members were renowned for wearing strange clothes and conducting villainous deeds. This group was composed primarily of low-ranking samurai, and aimed to both restrain the high-ranking samurai elite's tyranny as well as to protect low-ranking samurai's rights. Inui, *Nihon denki densetsu daijiten*, pp. 185–186.

[17] Banzuiin Chōbei was from the *chōnin* 町人 (townsmen) class. He eventually rose to become the head of the *machiyakko* and competed with local *hatamotoyakko* groups. His life came to an end when he was killed by Mizuno Nariyuki 水野成之 (1630–1664) and members of the latter's own gang. For more details, see ibid., p. 729.

[18] Kawatake and Furuido, *Kabuki tōjō jinbutsu jiten*, pp. 659–661.

[19] Kyokutei Bakin, *Kaikan kyōki kyōkakuden*, p. 6.

Figure 2. Inside front cover and the author's preface. *Kaikan kyōki kyōkakuden*, part 1 (pub. 1832), vol. 1. Hiroshima University Library. https://doi.org/10.20730/100302090 (image 4).

In this preface to the first installment of *Gallants*, Bakin meticulously outlines his definition of *kyōkaku*, drawing heavily from Chapter 124, "Youxia liezhuan" 遊俠列伝 (J. "Yūkyō retsuden"; The Biographies of the Wandering Knights), in Sima Qian's *Records*, as well as from the corresponding chapter in its Ming commentary *Shiji pinglin* 史記評林 (J. *Shiki hyōrin*, Annotated Records of the Grand Historian, sixteenth century; hereafter *Annotated Records*).[20] Nishimura Hideto 西村秀人 has observed that over half of the preface is comprised of excerpts from *Records* and this commentary, with Bakin contributing only some transitional sentences and the concluding portion. Nishimura interprets these excerpts as indicative of Bakin's complete reliance on *Records* and his use of that text as a mere "justification" for having composed such a narrative so centered on *kyōkaku*.[21] However, as mentioned previously, Bakin's comparison between the

[20] Nishimura, "Chūgoku bungaku yori mita Bakin," pp. 790–791.
[21] Ibid., p. 791.

"inferior" *hatamotoyakko* and *machiyakko* and the virtuous *kyōkaku* of old indicates that he has a more nuanced definition in mind. In Bakin's view, true *kyōkaku* are characterized by their willingness to protect the weak, an understanding that diverges from their conventional popular image as gangsters who impose their power on others. For Bakin, the essence of *kyōkaku* lies in their ethical commitment to defend the vulnerable, marking a stark contrast to the lawless behavior of some *hatamotoyakko* and *machiyakko*. His conceptualization in these terms is moreover deeply rooted in the classical texts he cites, rather than in the prevailing popular interpretations of the time. Consequently, a careful analysis of this preface is essential to understanding the theoretical foundations of Bakin's strategy in constructing the morality of *kyōkaku*.

4. Moral Degradation and the Appearance of *kyōkaku* and *tōzoku*

In the preface to the first installment of *Gallants* (**Figure 2**), Bakin establishes a worldview centered on societal decline. He contends that the deterioration of moral standards in society has contributed to the blurred ethical boundaries associated with *kyōkaku* figures. Furthermore, by considering *kyōkaku* alongside *tōzoku*, Bakin is able to distinguish the two, effectively setting aside the more "evil" elements traditionally attributed to *kyōkaku*. In doing so, he redefines *kyōkaku* as representatives of righteousness, positioning them as figures who embody the virtue of protecting the weak, and thus elevating them as symbols of good in contrast to their more nefarious counterparts.

The preface begins with a citation from the Chinese Daoist classic *Dao de jing* 道徳経 (J. *Dō toku kyō*, fourth century BCE): "Laozi says, 'When the Great Way declined, the words for benevolence and righteousness came in."[22] This opening line sets the thematic tone for the entire narrative and establishes the context for *kyōkaku*: they emerge when the *Way*—the Daoist principle of natural order and harmony—is lost and society falls into disorder. (This idea also resonates with Takasu's discussion of the *gekokujō* and *tsuchi ikki* practices during chaotic periods of war.) The whole relevant stanza in *Dao de jing* is as follows:

> 大道廃、有仁義。智慧出、有大偽。六親不和、有孝慈。国家昏乱、有忠臣。[23]
>
> And when the olden way of rule declined,
> The words for love [benevolence] and serve [righteousness] came in.
> Next came knowledge and keen thought,
> Advent of lying, sham, and fraud.
> When kinsmen lost their kind concord,
> They honored child and parent love.
> In dark disorder ruling houses
> Turned to loyal devoted vassals.[24]

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[22] Kyokutei Bakin, *Kaikan kyōki kyōkakuden*, p. 5.
[23] Laozi, *Rōshi Kensai kōgi*, vol. 1 (*Jō*), fol. 22v.
[24] Laozi, *Dao de Jing*, p. 68.

This stanza describes the decline of the Great Way, a natural state of order in which words for virtues are not needed. It is only after the decline of such a state that virtues like benevolence and righteousness are conceived. Therefore, benevolence and righteousness mark the decline of the Way rather than any reflection of the Way. In general, Daoism espouses a critical stance towards such Confucian virtues. For example, *Zhuangzi* has a similar or even more critical attitude: "That the Way and its Virtue were destroyed in order to create benevolence and righteousness—this was the fault of the sage."[25]

By citing Laozi's teachings, Bakin highlights the degeneration of society and the inherently unreliable nature of Confucian virtues in such a context. He then extends this argument by stating that even virtues such as benevolence and righteousness have become corrupted: "'There are fake people who pretend to be true, and that is why Han Fei criticizes them by comparing them to 'Confucians and gallants,'"[26] a direct citation from *Records*. In other words, once the Way is lost, secondary virtues such as benevolence and righteousness emerge to fill the void; but when these virtues are tainted, distinguishing between good and evil becomes increasingly difficult. Through this reasoning, Bakin establishes a moral hierarchy that reflects the disordered nature of society. Although *kyōkaku* may also possess negative qualities like recklessness and deceptiveness, making them imperfect according to the Confucian moral standard, this is owing to the degradation of a disordered society. In this way, Bakin justifies the ambiguous morality of *kyōkaku* and aligns them with the good.

Next, Bakin proceeds to define the qualities of *kyōkaku*, citing Chen Renzi's 陳仁子 (J. Chin Jinshi, Song dynasty) comments in *Annotated Records* and Sima Qian's *Records*:

> 夫俠之為言、彊也持也。軽生高気、排難解紛。孔子所謂殺身成仁者是已。司馬遷及伝游俠、其序援韓子。且曰、季次原憲閭巷人也。読書懐独行君子之徳、不苟合当世。当世亦笑之。又曰、今游俠、其行雖不軌於正義、然其言必信。其行必果。已諾必誠。不愛其軀、赴士之阨困。既已存亡死生矣。而不矜其能、羞伐其徳。蓋亦有足多者。[27]

> Gallants are powerful and they protect people. With high moral integrity, they are not afraid of death. They help people in trouble and solve disputes. This is what Confucius meant when he remarked, "to die to achieve virtue." When Sima Qian composed *Records*, he cited Han Fei in the preface. He also wrote, "Ji Ci and Yuan Xian were simple commoners living in the village lanes. They studied books and cherished independence of action and the virtues of the superior man; in their righteousness they refused to compromise with their age, and their age in turn merely laughed at them." Furthermore, he wrote, "as for the wandering

[25] Zhuangzi, *The Complete Works of Zhuangzi*, pp. 66–67. 毀道徳以為仁義、聖人之過也。Zhuangzi, *Sōji Kensai kōgi*, vol. 3, fol. 54r.

[26] Kyokutei Bakin, *Kaikan kyōki kyōkakuden*, p. 5. 而有似而非者。故韓非比儒俠擯斥之。

[27] Ibid., p. 5.

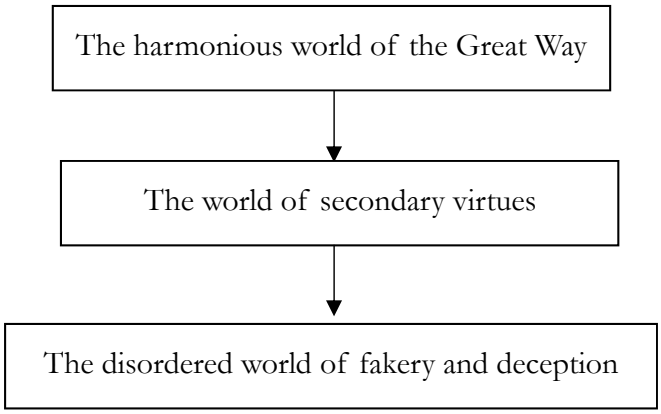

Figure 3. The three phases of the world's degradation, according to Bakin.

> gallants, though their actions may not conform to perfect righteousness, yet they are always true to their word. What they undertake they invariably fulfil; what they have promised they invariably carry out. Without thinking of themselves they hasten to the side of those who are in trouble, whether it means survival or destruction, life or death. Yet they never boast of their accomplishments but rather consider it a disgrace to brag of what they have done for others. So there is much about them which is worthy of admiration."[28]

The opening sentence of this passage underscores two pivotal attributes of *kyōkaku*—bravery and righteousness.[29] The following citation of the stories of Ji Ci 季次 (J. Ki Ji) and Yuan Xian 原憲 (J. Gen Ken) from *Records* elucidates three further qualities of *kyōkaku*: they are not confined to noble lineage; they diligently study texts and cultivate virtues; and they may face misunderstanding or ridicule from contemporary society.[30] The text continues to emphasize their unwavering commitment to their words and their readiness to sacrifice themselves for others in distress; it states furthermore that they refrain from boasting of their deeds, and that and their righteousness may not always align perfectly with societal norms.

Yet because of the marginalized status of *kyōkaku* and the falsity of society, it is extremely difficult to identify them. *Records* continues to explore in more detail those people who pretend to be *kyōkaku*—thieves and bandits, or *tōzoku*:

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[28] I rely on Watson's translation for the citations from *Records*. See Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian*, vol. 2, pp. 409–410.

[29] Sima, *Shiki hyōrin*, vol. 124, fol. 1r. Bakin cites part of Chen Renzi's comment with slight revisions. The original reads: 陳仁子曰、〔中略〕夫游者、行也。俠者、持也。軽生高気、排難解紛。(Chen Renzi says, "… *You* 游 means 'to travel' and *xia* 俠 means 'to guard.' With high moral integrity, [gallants] are not afraid of death. They help people in trouble and solve disputes.")

[30] Ji Ci and Yuan Xian are Confucian scholars rather than *kyōkaku*, but Sima Qian discusses them to highlight the qualities they share with *kyōkaku*.

> 鄙人有言曰、何知仁義。已嚮其利者為有徳。故伯夷醜周、餓死首陽山、而文武不以其故貶王。跖蹻暴戻、其徒誦義無窮。由此観之、窃鉤者誅、窃国者侯、侯之門仁義存。非虚言也。[31]
>
> Ignorant people have a saying, "Why bother to understand benevolence and righteousness? Whoever does you some good must be a virtuous man!" Bo Yi hated the Zhou dynasty and chose to starve on Shouyang Mountain rather than serve under it, but Kings Wen and Wu did not give up their thrones on that account. Zhi and Qiao were cruel and lawless bandits, yet their own followers never tired of singing their praises. From this we can see that "he who steals a fishhook gets his head chopped off, but he who steals a state becomes a great lord, and when one is a great lord, he automatically acquires benevolence and righteousness." These are no empty words![32]

Sima Qian cites instances where ignorance leads people to equate real benevolence and righteousness with actions only consequentially beneficent, regardless of the actor's true character. For instance, the Confucian saint Bo Yi 伯夷 (J. Haku I), critical of King Wu's 武 lack of loyalty and filial piety, starved himself in protest but failed to dissuade the king from assuming the throne. Similarly, despite Zhi 跖 (J. Seki) and Qiao's 蹻 (J. Kyō) notoriety as ruthless bandits, their followers lauded them. Sima Qian further draws from *Zhuangzi* to challenge conventional notions of right and wrong, positing that a great thief, if benevolent toward his subjects after usurping power, can be transformed into a virtuous ruler. Sima Qian delineates a crucial distinction between *kyōkaku* and *tōzoku*: whereas *kyōkaku* uphold their principles and commitments steadfastly, even if it necessitates solitude, *tōzoku* employ deception and adapt their principles opportunistically to amass fame, power, and wealth. The motif of the *tōzoku* serves as another thematic axis in *Gallants*, to be examined further in section 6.

In summary, drawing upon Chinese classics, Bakin divides the moral degradation of the world into three phases: the harmonious world of the Great Way, the secondarily good world of virtues, and further beyond that the disordered chaotic world, as shown in **Figure 3**. *Kyōkaku* are situated within the third phase, where their imperfect morality can still be considered good, albeit inferior to the first two phases. Furthermore, the moral superiority of the *kyōkaku* is confirmed by their foil, the *tōzoku*, who are defined as possessing evil characteristics. In the following sections, I will explore how Bakin puts these theoretically defined images of *kyōkaku* and *tōzoku* into practice in *Gallants*.

5. The *Kyōkaku* Ideal and the People's Hopes for Justice

The quintessential *kyōkaku* character crafted by Bakin in *Gallants* is Nogami no Fuhito Akinobu 野上史著演, a *gōshi* 郷士 (country samurai) whose detailed

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[31] Sima, *Shiki hyōrin*, vol. 124, fol. 2v.

[32] Sima, *Records of the Grand Historian*, vol. 2, p. 410.

Figure 4. Frontispiece. *Kaikan kyōki kyōkakuden*, part 1 (pub. 1832), vol. 1. Hiroshima University Library. https://doi.org/10.20730/100302090 (image 8). The character on the far right, holding a scroll, is Nogami no Fuhito Akinobu.

introduction marks the beginning of Chapter 1.[33] Akinobu's lineage extends back to the Kamakura shogunate. During the Nanbokuchō period, his grandfather had allied with the Southern Court and transported rations for General Nitta Yoshisada's 新田義貞 (1301–1338) army; but upon learning of Yoshisada's demise, he withdrew from political affairs. Akinobu's own father, incapacitated by illness, followed scholarly pursuits instead of serving a lord. Heir to such a family legacy, Akinobu strives himself to hone his skills in both literature and the martial arts. His principles prioritize loyalty and filial piety, as manifested in his refusal to pledge allegiance to the contemporary Ashikaga shogunate due to his familial ties to the Southern Court.

Akinobu's family history and educational background shape his unique *kyōkaku* nature, making him willing to diverge from the norms of his society. He

[33] Kyokutei Bakin, *Kaikan Kyōki Kyōkakuden*, p. 715. Bakin often used the term *gōshi* to refer to characters born into samurai families but currently living in the countryside while keeping their samurai titles.

sympathizes with the defunct imperial line and refuses to serve the incumbent ruling authority, challenging prevailing notions of loyalty and righteousness. Despite his reluctance to perform obeisance to the rulers, he exhibits remarkable compassion toward the common people. Akinobu extends aid to all who seek it, dispensing resources without inquiry into their identities. Exceptionally, his empathy extends also to anonymous casualties of war: he purchases the skulls of the nameless dead scattered along the roadside, symbolizing his reverence even for the souls of those forgotten.[34]

Akinobu's interpretation of filial piety similarly deviates from societal expectations. Despite his age, he and his wife remain childless, a situation traditionally viewed in Confucian doctrine as a failure to perpetuate the family line. Yet whereas his wife suggests taking a concubine to ensure lineage continuity, Akinobu attributes their childlessness to Heaven's will. He challenges the Confucian teaching of *shichikyo* 七去 (Ch. *qiqü*, seven reasons to divorce a wife), which allows a husband to put the blame of infertility entirely on the wife.[35] He argues that both men and women can be infertile and that perhaps his and his wife's lack of children is his own fault rather than hers.

In the largely government-oriented and hierarchical system of Confucianism, moral virtues such as benevolence, loyalty, and filial piety are keys to sustaining social stability on a grand scale. Consequently, groups of people who cannot, or who can no longer, contribute to this system, such as the anonymous dead in wars and infertile women, are often silenced and marginalized. Akinobu's allegiance and filial piety challenge such conventional definitions by prioritizing the welfare of the vulnerable over deference to authority. He aligns himself with the downtrodden populace, thereby underscoring Bakin's commitment to representing the voice of the common people.

At the same time, even as Bakin portrays Akinobu as an exemplary *kyōkaku* character, he subtly exposes the fictional nature of this depiction. Although Akinobu and his peers serve as beacons of hope for readers, the narrative effectively suggests that it is only through the lens of fiction that the grievances of the oppressed can be heard and addressed. Notably, his name, Nogami no Fuhito Akinobu 野上史著演, can be rearranged to signify "to write unofficial history and historical romance" (*yashi engi o arawasu* 野史演義を著す). Tonomura

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[34] It was a common practice in war for samurai to gather the heads of famous enemy generals as proof of their military achievements, for which their lords would reward them accordingly. Akinobu is not motivated by utilitarian purposes, however. Rather, he chooses to collect the skulls of the nameless. This again shows his unique understanding of loyalty and righteousness.

[35] The seven reasons to divorce a wife are given as follows: "If the wife is not filial to her parents in law, she should leave; if the wife is childless, she should leave; if the wife is not chaste, she should leave; if the wife is jealous, she should leave; if the wife has an incurable disease, she should leave; if the wife is too talkative, she should leave; and, if the wife steals things, she should leave." This was a common Confucian practice in both premodern China and Japan. Gao, *Dadai Liji jinzhu jinyi*, p. 469.

Jōsai 殿村篠斎 (1779–1847), a friend of Bakin's, highlighted this linguistic play, noting: "Needless to say, this [Akinobu's] name means unofficial history and historical romance. How interesting!"[36] In the Edo period, "unofficial history and historical romance" often denoted fictional works in general, imbuing Akinobu with metaphorical significance as a representative of fiction within *Gallants*.

One particular episode involving an empty letter further underscores this fictionality. Dairoku Hidenao 大六英直 falls gravely ill en route to Sagami 相模 and entrusts his wife, Omoya 母屋, and son, Koroku 小六, to Akinobu through a letter. Akinobu receives the letter, only to find it empty upon opening. He thinks to himself,

> 英直　俺と一面の、交りあるにあらねども、俺行状を伝聞て、妻子を託せんと欲するに、書記すべきよしのなければ、標書にのみ姓名を、写して白紙を封ぜしは、いはぬはいふに優るといふ、苦しき意中を示せしならん。[37]
>
> Hidenao and I have never met before. He heard about my conduct and wanted to entrust his wife and son to me. There is little he can mention, so he only wrote his name on the envelope and put a piece of white paper in it. [The empty letter] conveyed his painful intent: "silence is better than words."

Akinobu interprets the empty letter as a silent testament to Hidenao's character, attributing significance to the absence of words. This portrayal suggests that moral individuals like Akinobu possess an innate ability to recognize others' virtues, even through unreliable means such as hearsay or silence.

However, the episode also underscores the ambiguity and unreliability of words. Akinobu's trust in the empty letter reveals his acceptance of such ambiguity as well as his own fictional nature. Thus, while Akinobu, as an ideal *kyōkaku*, symbolizes moral integrity and virtue within the narrative, his encounters and interpretations simultaneously highlight the inherent limitations and uncertainties of human communication and narrative representation.

Another manifestation of Akinobu's fictionality is the episode of the brush tomb. After assisting Hidenao's son Koroku in retrieving the head of Wakiya Yoshitaka 脇屋義隆 (?–1404), a high-ranking samurai from the Nitta clan serving the Southern Court, and those of his retainers, Akinobu places the heads into six urns and inters them alongside Hidenao's body in a temple he frequents. He thereupon delivers a speech to the villagers:

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[36] Kyokutei Bakin, *Kaikan kyōki kyōkakuden*, p. 715. 野史演義ノ意ヲ以テノ名ナルコトハイフマデモナク、オモシロシ。 Another hypothesis is that Akinobu's name hints at Bakin's pen name Chosakudō 著作堂, which can be interpreted as "the hall where the writer composes works." In this case, the character of Akinobu would represent the author's own fictional persona, an equation perhaps highlighting for the readers his fictional, created nature.

[37] Ibid., p. 36.

這瓶に斂めしは、俺年八才ばかりなりし春の比、初て手習せし日より、五十に近かる昨今まで、年来用敗したる、禿筆にて候也。これ等が資を得たればこそ、曲做にも文字をば写せ、掻遣棄べきものにはあらず、と思ひにければ蔵め置しを、廼今宵の便宜に任して、こゝに瘞めて筆塚を、遺さんとての所為になん。[38]

These vases contain the worn-out brushes I used from the spring of [my life] at the age of eight, when I started to learn calligraphy, up until yesterday and today, when I am almost fifty years old. Thanks to these brushes, I learned how to write, though my writing is not perfect, so I think I ought not to break them and throw them away. I have kept them till now, and because tonight [is my sworn brother's funeral], I decided to bury them here and make a brush tomb for them.

It goes without saying that this brush tomb enables Akinobu to conceal the fact that he clandestinely reclaimed the heads of Yoshitaka and his retainers, who were killed by the shogun's follower, Fujishiro Yasutomo 藤白安同. Yoshitaka, a supporter of the Southern Court, was perceived as a traitor by the Ashikaga shogunate, which put his head on display as a deterrent to potential dissidents. From Akinobu's perspective, however, Yoshitaka was a loyal samurai who remained steadfast in his allegiance until the end, motivating Akinobu to retrieve his head and properly bury it alongside his body. All the same, Akinobu's actions are illegal, necessitating the fabrication of the brush tomb pretext to conceal what he has done.

Both the empty letter and brush tomb episodes serve symbolic purposes.[39] Paper and brush, essential tools of fictional composition, hold significance for Akinobu, whose name implies a connection to fictional narratives. Akinobu himself, however, after first acknowledging the symbolic power of empty paper, subsequently then buries his own brushes, suggesting rather a skepticism toward the authenticity and efficacy of writing. The inability to convey reality through written words underscores the government-centric nature of official history, which often suppresses dissenting voices. Fiction, therefore, emerges as a unique realm—albeit an imaginary one—where such voices can in fact persist.

This section has examined the characterization of Akinobu as an ideal *kyōkaku*. By exercising virtues such as loyalty and filial piety in the service of protecting the marginalized and challenging governmental authority, Akinobu adopts a bottom-up approach to morality that departs from a conventional Confucian

[38] Ibid., p. 48.

[39] The brush tomb in *Gallants* may remind readers of the brush tomb that Bakin built for himself in 1809, which still exists today on the grounds of the Seiunji 青雲寺 Temple in Tokyo. In this sense, the character Akinobu might even symbolize the fiction's author, Bakin himself (as also discussed in footnote 36), and the emphasis on the deception of writing in these two episodes reminds readers of the fictional nature of *Gallants*, a work written by Bakin.

perspective. However, Akinobu ultimately remains a fictional construct within the narrative of *Gallants*. This harsh reality implies that the solace sought by the marginalized may be found only within the realm of fictionality.

6. *Tōzoku*: The Evil Counterpart of *kyōkaku*

The negative counterpart of *kyōkaku* in *Gallants* is *tōzoku*. Yet in many early modern narratives, the two groups are not always depicted as contradictory, as Uchida points out. In some cases, *kyōkaku* were even portrayed as morally corrupted *tōzoku*. Against this, Uchida argues, Bakin's conception of *kyōkaku* is distinct precisely because he seeks to strip *tōzoku* elements from *kyōkaku*.[40] I agree with this insofar as Bakin does indeed attempt to establish the category of *kyōkaku* as morally good and *tōzoku* as evil, yet a careful examination of two *tōzoku* characters from *Gallants* reveals Bakin's intentional blurring of the two categories. Although according to his proposed framework, *kyōkaku* and *tōzoku* are theoretically different in nature, in the narrative itself they are extensively misrecognized and prove to be indistinguishable.

While *kyōkaku* and *tōzoku* share many similarities, such as maintaining low profiles and adhering to their own codes rather than the laws of society, their motivations differ significantly. *Kyōkaku* employ their power and occasionally transgress laws for the betterment of others, whereas *tōzoku* typically act in pursuit of personal gain. However, discerning an actor's true intentions is challenging, making it in practice difficult to distinguish between *kyōkaku* and *tōzoku*. Even the *kyōkaku* exemplar Akinobu is often labeled as *tōzoku* by corrupt government officials. In Chapter 3, Fujishiro Yasutomo refers to Akinobu as "the head thief" (*kubinusubito* 首級盗人) and "the person who stole the heads of the traitors" (*gyakuto no kubi o nusumishi mono* 逆徒の首を窃みしもの).[41]

Conversely, skillful *tōzoku* often masquerade as benevolent and righteous individuals. An illustrative example is Ikazuchi Denji Takateru 五十槌電次隆光, a former samurai who turned to a life of crime after his lord's demise. By day, Takateru assumes the guise of a respectable *gōshi*, teaching martial arts in the Ishikawa 石川 area of Kawachi 河内 (a province in the eastern part of modern Osaka Prefecture). However, under the cover of night, he and his cohort engage in thievery elsewhere. Cunningly, Takateru refrains from plundering the local populace and even safeguards them from other thieves and criminals, fostering an atmosphere of tranquility in the Ishikawa area itself. As a result, the region thrives as a veritable haven of happiness, where "nobody picks up articles dropped on the street or locks their door at night"[42]—a reference to the ideal world of the Great Way, though in an ironic sense. Even the local authorities

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[40] Uchida, "Bakin no kyō," p. 173.

[41] Kyokutei Bakin, *Kaikan kyōki kyōkakuden*, p. 51.

[42] Ibid., p. 396. 路(みち)に遺(おち)たるを拾(ひら)ふことなく、夜鎖(よるとざ)でも患(うれ)ひなき、

remain oblivious to Takateru's true nature, regarding him as a dependable guardian of the community.

Clearly, Akinobu and Takateru form a juxtaposed pair of *kyōkaku* and *tōzoku*. Both are esteemed as *gōshi* by the populace, and both utilize their prowess to protect the locals. However, while Akinobu selflessly bestows his wealth upon those in need, Takateru's actions stem from self-interest in his own long-term survival. As readers, we possess an omniscient perspective, allowing us to discern the true character of the two individuals. Yet within the narrative, the inhabitants struggle to differentiate them. Ironically, it is Akinobu the government denounces as disloyal while lauding Takateru as an honorable gentleman.

Another similarity shared between these two characters is that both receive "abnormal" letters asking for assistance. In Chapter 31, another *tōzoku*, Yūbari Nijirō 木綿張荷二郎, escapes from prison with a beautiful widow from a high-ranking samurai family and seeks refuge with Takateru. Nijirō expresses his desire to join Takateru's gang, but Takateru stipulates that he must present a *tōmeijō* 投名状 (letter of recommendation) within seven days.[43] Puzzled, Nijirō queries how he can produce such a letter. One of Takateru's students clarifies that a *tōmeijō* need not be a written missive but may instead be a valuable commodity such as gold, silver, or a beautiful woman, demonstrating one's worth as a thief. Returning home, Nijirō persuades the widow to assume the role of *tōmeijō*. Impressed by what he takes to be an alluring "gift," Takateru welcomes Nijirō into the gang. He praises Nijirō by pointing out how the initiate possesses the eight Confucian virtues (although he actually lists only seven):

> 思ふに優たる人の才幹。その身獄舎に繋れしを、脱去たるは即智也。その罪ならぬを憐みて、婦人を拯ひしは仁也。その折に那恨ある、姦夫淫婦を殺せしは勇也。又美しき婦人を獲ながら、そを遊女に售もせず、みづから犯さゞりけるは、是則信也義也。況件の美婦人を、遥杳我に贈んとて、将て来にけるは礼也忠也。是等の仁義八行を、一箇也とも行ふもの、我党に誰かあらん。[44]
>
> Your talent surpasses my expectations. Although you were captured in a prison, you found a way to escape. This is "wisdom." You pitied a framed woman and saved her. This is "benevolence." After that, you killed that adulterous couple who you had a grudge with. This is "bravery." Also, although you obtained a beautiful woman, you did not sell her to the pleasure quarters or rape her yourself. This is "fidelity." This is "righteousness." Furthermore, you brought the woman all the way here to present her to me as a gift. This is "propriety." This is "loyalty." There is no one in my team who can even follow one of the eight virtuous codes.

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[43] Asō, *Edo bungaku to Shina bungaku*, p. 170. The model here for *tōmeijō* is Chapter 11 of *The Water Margin*. When Lin Chong 林冲 wants to join the gang, he is asked to provide a *tōmeijō*. Zhu Gui 朱貴 tells him that he needs to kill a person and bring his head back in three days to prove his loyalty to the gang.

[44] Kyokutei Bakin, *Kaikan kyōki kyōkakuden*, p. 452.

The cynical invocation of the eight Confucian virtues in the narrative echoes Bakin's renowned work *Eight Dogs*, in which each protagonist embodies one of these virtues. However, unlike the earnest portrayal in *Eight Dogs*, the depiction here is laced with satire and irony. Moreover, Takateru was actually himself deceived by Nijirō, and in fact, none of the actions he ascribes to Nijirō when praising his supposed virtues turns out to be true.

First, while it is accurate that Nijirō cleverly escapes from prison, he does so by deceiving and brutally slaughtering the jailer who aided him; therefore, his cunning should not be lauded. Second, Taketeru praises him for kindly saving an innocent woman, but he is unaware that Nijirō was himself the thief who deceived and stole all her money in the first place. Third, Nijirō does not engage bravely with the couple against whom he has a grudge, but instead tricks them into opening the door for him by pretending to be the village head's errand boy, whereupon he launches a surprise nighttime attack. As for his fidelity and righteousness, the fourth and fifth virtues, although Nijirō claims to be treating the woman properly, he actually forces her into a sexual relationship immediately following their escape. Finally, regarding the sixth and seventh virtues, while Nijirō appears to be demonstrating his propriety and loyalty by presenting the woman as a recommendation letter, his true intention is to ultimately usurp the gang's headship himself and eliminate Takateru. In this regard, Nijirō emerges as an even more cunning *tōzoku* than Takateru: his intentions and actions are fundamentally malevolent, yet he artfully portrays himself as a virtuous individual.

The author intentionally frames both Takateru and Nijirō through the lens of the *kyōkaku* spirit: Takateru is recognized by the local people and the government as a noble gentleman, while Nijirō is applauded by Takateru as a man embodying the eight Confucian virtues. However, both characters ultimately harbor selfish, profit-oriented intentions, suggesting that their feigned virtues only exacerbate the chaos within an already disordered society. Nevertheless, they are not the root cause of societal degradation. By referring to *Zhuangzi*'s discussion of the great thief, Bakin implies that it is in fact the hypocritical Ashikaga shogunate that bears responsibility for pervasive disorder in the realm.

7. The Ashikaga Shogunate and the Great Thief Metaphor

The usage of *tōzoku* in *Gallants* extends beyond its literal meaning of thief or bandit to encompass the concept of usurpation, particularly in the context of the Ashikaga shogun, who sets up a puppet emperor in the Northern Court while effectively himself becoming the actual ruler of Japan. Such disorder at the highest levels of authority catalyzes systematic social unrest, creating an environment in which *tōzoku* can thrive. Although *kyōkaku* emerge to confront them, the persistence of disorder at the level of governance ensures, per the narrative, that *tōzoku* will continue to appear.

Bakin's interest in exploring the connection between *tōzoku* and usurpation is

evidenced by his extensive incorporation of episodes featuring the legendary thief, Zhi. Indeed, Takateru's speech praising Nijirō's eight virtues as discussed above can also be seen as deriving in part from discourse on this Zhi, at least in a rhetorical sense. It is closely akin to a dialogue on Confucian morality between two *tōzoku* found in *Zhuangzi*'s "Quqie" 胠篋 (J. "Kyokyō," Rifling Trunks) section. There the text reads:

> 故跖之徒問於跖曰、盗亦有道乎。跖曰、何適而無有道邪。夫妄意室中之蔵、聖也。入先、勇也。出後、義也。知可否、知也。分均、仁也。五者不備而能成大盗者、天下未之有也。[45]
>
> One of the Robber Zhi's followers once asked Zhi, "Does the thief, too, have a Way?" Zhi replied, "How could he get anywhere if he didn't have a Way? Making shrewd guesses as to how much booty is stashed away in the room is sageliness; being the first one in is bravery; being the last one out is righteousness; knowing whether or not the job can be pulled off is wisdom; dividing up the loot fairly is benevolence. No one in the world ever succeeded in becoming a great thief if he didn't have all five!"[46]

In "Rifling Trunks," Zhi humorously delineates the virtues inherent in thievery, equating aspects of the criminal enterprise with Confucian virtues such as sageliness, bravery, righteousness, wisdom, and benevolence. In *Gallants*, Takateru's similar enumeration of Nijirō's virtues seems to parallel this humorous exploration, emphasizing the fusion of criminality and moral conduct. Although Bakin suggests that there are eight virtues, in listing these he also divides them into five groups. Furthermore, the eight virtues in *Eight Dogs*, which were long established and were well-known to readers, do not include *yū* 勇 (Ch. *yong*, bravery); nor does the common understanding of the "five eternal verities" in Confucianism include *yū*.[47] However, both Takateru in *Gallants* and Zhi in *Zhuangzi* consider *yū* to be one of the canonical Confucian virtues, again confirming the connection between the two passages.[48]

The legend of Zhi is also referenced in *Records*, in which Sima Qian questions the meaning of good and evil through his pairing of the infamous Zhi, who was celebrated by his admirers, and the saintly Bo Yi, who spent his life attempting

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[45] Zhuangzi, *Sōji Kensai kōgi*, vol. 4, fol. 2r.

[46] Zhuangzi, *The Complete Works of Zhuangzi*, p. 69.

[47] The eight virtues in *Eight Dogs* are *jin* 仁 (benevolence), *gi* 義 (righteousness), *rei* 礼 (propriety), *chi* 智 (wisdom), *shin* 信 (fidelity), *chū* 忠 (loyalty), *kō* 孝 (filial piety), and *tei* 悌 (fraternity). Walley points out that these virtues are not necessarily a canonical grouping. Bakin's eight virtues might be inspired by the traditional Confucian "five eternal verities (*Jin*, *gi*, *rei*, *chi*, and *shin*)," "four principles (*jin*, *gi*, *rei*, and *chi*)," and "eight forgettings (*kō*, *tei*, *chū*, *shin*, *rei*, *gi*, *ren* 廉, and *chi* 恥, the latter two meaning "frugality" and "shame")." They might also be influenced by the Eightfold Path of Buddhism. See Walley, *Good Dogs*, pp. 190–193.

[48] The inclusion of bravery here might be related to the nature of *kyōkaku*. As discussed earlier, one of the most important qualities defining the *kyōkaku* figure is the evidence of a special bravery.

to dissuade King Wu from taking the throne but failed. Considering the fact that *Records* was one of the main sources Bakin referred to in composing *Gallants*, it is quite likely that Bakin drew inspiration from this particular juxtaposition, leveraging the Zhi episode to explore the concept of *tōzoku*.

Moreover, Bakin's earlier writings indicate his long-standing interest in the story of Zhi and the treacherous nature of *tōzoku*. For example, in the last paragraph of *Geppyō kien* 月氷奇縁 (The Miraculous Destiny of Moon and Ice, 1803), he wrote, "Thief Zhi makes jokes of Confucius; Wang Mang 王莽 is compared to the Duke of Zhou 周."[49] The first half of the sentence refers to another section of *Zhuangzi*, in which Confucius himself attempts to confront Zhi in argument but fails. There Confucius suggests that Zhi might become a great man if he were to quit thievery, but Zhi refutes him, pointing out that lords are no different from *tōzoku,* killing people at will as they do in the name of benevolence and righteousness. The second half highlights the similarity between the Duke of Zhou, a paradigmatic loyal minister in Chinese history who suffered from baseless gossip, and the usurper figure of Wang Mang, who only pretended to be humble and kind until he was able to carry out his planned treason. This comparison underscores Bakin's exploration of the blurred lines between good and evil in a world of moral decline, as well as the connections between *tōzoku* and usurper. Elsewhere in "Rifling Trunks," *Zhuangzi* offers a similar view:

> 彼窃鉤者誅。窃国者為諸侯。諸侯之門而仁義存焉。則是非窃仁義聖知耶。〔中略〕此重利盗跖而使不可禁者、是乃聖人之過也。[50]

> He who steals a belt buckle pays with his life; he who steals a state gets to be a feudal lord—and we all know that benevolence and righteousness are to be found at the gates of the feudal lords. Is this not a case of stealing benevolence and righteousness and the wisdom of the sage? . . . This piling up of profits for Robber Zhi to the point where nothing can deter him—this is all the fault of the sage![51]

Zhuangzi critiques the moral ambiguity inherent in governance and the appropriation of moral codes by usurpers. By equating the actions of usurpers with those of thieves, Zhuangzi highlights the perversion of morality and the complicity of sages in enabling such usurpations.

The use of *tōzoku* as a metaphor for usurper is explicit in *Gallants*, too, particularly in the context of the Ashikaga shoguns. In the third installment of *Gallants*, Kurohime 九六媛, a Daoist immortal character who assists the protagonists, presents a discourse on the history of the Nanbokuchō period that highlights this metaphorical interpretation, depicting the first three Ashikaga

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[49] Kyokutei Bakin, "Geppyō kien," p. 104. 盗跖、孔子に戯れ、王莽、周公に比す。

[50] Zhuangzi, *Sōji Kensai kōgi*, vol. 4, fol. 4r. Sima Qian also cited this section in "The Biographies of the Wandering Knights" in *Records*.

[51] Zhuangzi, *The Complete Works of Zhuangzi*, p. 70.

shoguns as usurpers who seized power like thieves. In particular, she points out how Ashikaga Takauji 足利尊氏 (1305–1358), the first Ashikaga shogun, along with his son and successor Ashikaga Yoshinari 足利義詮 (1330–1367),[52] simply pretended to be loyal to the emperor because they did not want to be called *kokuzoku* 国賊 (state thieves).[53] Similarly, she criticizes Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義満 (1358–1408), the third shogun, for his interest in taking the Three Sacred Treasures from the emperor like "a thief sneaking into people's houses" (*sen'yu no nusubito* 穿窬の盗).[54] The Three Sacred Treasures being unambiguous symbols of imperial power, Yoshimitsu's desire for them signifies his transition from mere thief to full-fledged usurper.

The examples above clearly establish a connection in Bakin's eyes between the great thief metaphor and the Ashikaga shoguns. His narrative further explores this connection through the female protagonist Komahime 姑摩姫, also a *kyōkaku* character, and her quest for revenge against Yoshimitsu and Yoshimochi 義持, respectively the third and fourth Ashikaga shoguns. Ultimately Komahime succeeds in assassinating Yoshimitsu, but her attempt to kill Yoshimochi is thwarted. Yoshimochi, moreover, though allowing her to escape, takes the precaution of assigning a retainer to secretly watch her movements: should she show any sign of rebellion, she is to be immediately captured and put to death. In other words, confined to her residence and under surveillance, Komahime is given no further chance to kill Yoshimochi.

Furthermore, the story is set in the 1400s and 1410s, meaning that if Yoshimochi were to be killed at this point in the narrative, it would contradict his actual death in 1428, and thereby immediately betray the fictional nature of the story. Bakin, who cited a large number of historical sources to construct a sense of veracity, would have found such an obvious mistake intolerable. If, however, Yoshimochi himself is to remain out of reach, how can Komahime enact her revenge? Bakin ingeniously navigates this narrative challenge by introducing in Takateru a surrogate for the shogun, providing the lady *kyōkaku* with another opportunity to pursue her vengeance.

Takateru leads his gang members to break into Komahime's residence and steal the gold she had received from Emperor Gokameyama 後亀山. The significance

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[52] The most common pronunciation of 義詮 is Yoshiakira, but in *Gallants*, Bakin glosses it as Yoshinari. In volume two, Bakin leaves a note explaining why he chooses Yoshinari: 義詮の和訓(ワクン)太平記にハヨシノリ(ヨシノリ)とす。又一説(イツセツ)にヨシアキ(ヨシアキ)ラとす。義教・義昭(ヨシアキ)この子孫にあれバ、同訓(ドウクン)いぶかしきこと也。詮(セン)に就(シユ)の義(ギ)あれば、実(ジツ)ハヨシナリなるべし。(義詮 is glossed as Yoshinori in *Taiheiki* (Chronicle of Great Peace). Another possibility is Yoshiakira. Since one finds [the names] 義教 (Yoshinori) and 義昭 (Yoshiaki) in later generations [of the Ashikaga clan], it seems questionable [for his name] to have the same reading. Given that 詮 has 就 as one of its meanings, then, the actual pronunciation ought to be "Yoshinari"). See Kyokutei Bakin, *Kaikan kyōki kyōkakuden*, p. 200.

[53] Kyokutei Bakin, *Kaikan kyōki kyōkakuden*, p. 307.

of the gold is similar to that of the Three Sacred Treasures, representing imperial power threatened by the Ashikaga shogunate, here embodied by Takateru. Komahime's residence thus serves as a metaphorical stronghold of imperial authority, containing and defending the imperial power against external threats. Keith McMahon uses the term "containment" to describe "the ideology of the control of desire, and more concretely, [for] the containing aspects of physical things such as walls."[55] The imperial power should by all rights be securely contained in the residence, but as "cracks" spread in the walls of said container various "doors" and "windows" open up, allowing those on the outside to have their peek within. And when the treasure once concealed inside is thus exposed, desire is aroused.

The confrontation between Komahime and Takateru serves as a symbolic battle between the emperor and the shogun for the legitimacy of rulership over Japan. Although most of the gang members are killed in the battle, Takateru manages to escape, and the text says, "Though like a bird wounded by an arrow, only Takateru escaped—an example of slipping through the loophole in the heavenly net."[56] This outcome underscores the precariousness of imperial power and the persistence of danger. There is, moreover, the following episode to consider, which implies that Komahime in actual fact failed to protect the residence.

When Takateru returns home, he meets Nijirō, who had not been harmed in the previous night's fight. Nijirō tells Takateru that he had managed to sneak into Komahime's living room and steal a black treasure box with the *kikusui* 菊水 pattern, the family crest of the Kusunoki clan. Thereafter he escaped secretly through a dog door. Inside the treasure box, Nijirō found several clan flags, various imperial rescripts from the emperor of the Southern Court, and some documents and letters written by Komahime's own ancestors. Nijirō intends to use one of these letters in forging a letter of rebellion, in order to frame Komahime for treason.

Nijirō, the man praised by Takateru for possessing the eight virtues, thus emerges as another great *tōzoku* within the narrative, showcasing his cunning and resilience in outsmarting both Komahime and Takateru. As it turns out, his scheme goes on to be exposed, and the schemer is punished by having his face tattooed. Nonetheless, he finds some way into the service of a high-ranking samurai, and at the end of the work's fourth installment, he is still on the run and with plans to kill more people. Because Bakin failed to finish the *Gallants* series, we can never know what he intended to happen to Nijirō later in the story.[57]

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[54] Ibid., p. 313.

[55] McMahon, *Causality and Containment*, p. 2.

[56] Kyokutei Bakin, *Kaikan kyōki kyōkakuden*, p. 474. 只五十槌隆光のみ、天羅〔左訓：○アミ〕を漏れしに似たれども、他も亦是矢傷の鳥也。

[57] In the fifth volume, Nijirō has a change of heart and decides to help Komahime before his death. However, because this volume was written by Hiromichi, Nijirō's intervention in this di-

However, the unfinished text as it stands allows this great *tōzoku* seemingly to escape forever, a conclusion well in line with the famous saying from *Zhuangzi*: "Until the sage is dead, great thieves will never cease to appear."[58]

This great *tōzoku* metaphor serves as a critique of the Ashikaga shogunate's usurpation of imperial authority, as represented by Komahime's struggle against Takateru and Nijirō. Despite Komahime's victories over both Yoshimitsu and Takateru, her failure in the case of Yoshimochi and Nijirō underscores Bakin's pessimistic assessment of the *kyōkaku*'s ability to restore peace for the populace, or to rectify the disordered hierarchy of governance. While Bakin's narrative universe may appear ostensibly to offer its readers something of a utopian allure, in other words, subtle undertones within his work serve to expose the underlying dystopian realities that pervade his fictional construct.[59] The ideal *kyōkaku*, who as agent of good represents the people's hopes for justice, is thus ironically proven to be merely fictional, while the great *tōzoku* figure, symbolizing the oppressive and hypocritical nature of the shogunate, seems perpetually to elude capture.

8. Conclusion

This article explores the construction of the *kyōkaku* and *tōzoku* archetypes within Bakin's *Lives of the Gallants*. In a chaotic world where virtues such as benevolence and righteousness have become obsolete, the Ashikaga shogunate usurps the emperor's ruling power, positioning itself as the actual, though illegitimate, ruler of Japan. The emergence of such a great thief at the pinnacle of society gives rise to numerous petty thieves, further exacerbating societal confusion. In this context, the *kyōkaku* emerge as symbols of hope for the oppressed, bravely protecting the general public and confronting both ordinary *tōzoku* and the Ashikaga shogunate itself. Within the narrative, however, *kyōkaku* are often misrecognized as *tōzoku* because of the need to conceal their true identities, and from an extra-narrative standpoint, they are revealed to be every bit as fictional as the genre to which they belong. Thus, even as *Gallants* offers readers a mirage of hope, it hints subtly at the underlying realities that cruelly undermine this hope.

Bakin's work stands as a pivotal example of early modern Japanese popular literature's ability to engage with complex moral and ethical questions. His portrayal of the *kyōkaku* figure highlights the anti-tyranny impulse latent among the oppressed, illustrating the potential to repurpose Confucianism—originally endorsed by the ruling class to maintain social hierarchy—as an effective means for

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rection should not be taken as representing Bakin's original plan.

[58] Zhuangzi, *The Complete Works of Zhuangzi*, p. 70. 聖人不死、大盜不止。Zhuangzi, *Sōji Kensai kōgi*, vol. 4, fol. 3v.

[59] Bakin's other works such as *Eight Dogs* also provide readers with a fictional utopia and a historical reality. See Walley, *Good Dogs*, pp. 344–346.

challenging that very structure. The enduring popularity of *Gallants*, evidenced by its influence on modern writers and literati, underscores the timeless appeal of its themes and the *kyōkaku* spirit. The work's impact extends moreover beyond literature, influencing cultural expressions in genres such as manga, historical dramas, and yakuza films, demonstrating the versatility and lasting significance of the *kyōkaku* concept. As *Gallants* continues to inspire reinterpretations and adaptations, I hope further research will be conducted to deepen our understanding of its development and cultural significance.

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Book Reviews

Hon—katachi to bunka: kotenseki, kindai bunken no mikata, tanoshimikata
本 かたちと文化：古典籍・近代文献の見方・楽しみ方

Edited by the National Institute of Japanese Literature, Benseisha, 2024

Peter Kornicki
Robinson College, Cambridge University

This exceptionally useful and informative book has its origins in a series of annual workshops held at the National Institute of Japanese Literature (Kokubungaku Kenkyū Shiryōkan 国文学研究資料館; hereafter Kokubunken 国文研) in cooperation with the National Diet Library. Those origins are clearly visible to readers, for not only are the chapters described as 'lectures' but also the language is that of oral exposition, with honorifics used to address listeners/readers. Why adopt this kind of approach? A cynical reader might suppose that the various contributors found it less trouble simply to recycle their oral presentations, but, in the absence of an explanation from the editors, my guess is that this was rather a deliberate choice, an attempt to make the book more accessible to a wider range of readers by avoiding an academic expository style and eschewing the format of a manual. That would be a worthy goal in keeping with the Kokubunken's mission as a national institution with a commitment to engage not only with the scholarly community within Japan and elsewhere but also with the Japanese public. It was doubtless with that goal in mind that this is published as a soft-covered book with an attractive cover which includes pictorial and textual references to the subject matter of the various lectures=chapters.

The title might be translated 'Books: form and culture – ways of looking at and enjoying old and modern books'. In other words, although it is exclusively concerned with Japanese books, the title does not say so. Perhaps this, too, may be a deliberate choice of words. As Kansaku Ken'ichi 神作研一makes clear in the initial lecture, there are an embarrassing number of overlapping terms in general use, including *kotenseki* 古典籍, *wahon* 和本, *washo* 和書, *wakosho* 和古書, and *kokusho* 国書. Using the common word *hon* 本 neatly avoids the limitations of these terms, but it does rather leave an important question hanging in the air: what IS a Japanese book?

Language is obviously an unsatisfactory criterion for defining what is a Japanese book, for in past centuries many Japanese wrote in literary Chinese, or something akin to it: to exclude their writings in Chinese would be like excluding books written in Latin from the history of the book in Britain. For similar reasons, it would be unreasonable to define Japanese books as those books written by Japanese people, for the many Buddhist texts copied or printed in Heian Japan were of course not of Japanese authorship, and the same goes for the famous edition of the Confucian Analects printed in Sakai 堺 and the Japanese editions of works of the Korean Confucian scholar Yi T'oegye 李退溪 printed in the early Edo period. Nobody would surely deny that the Latin Bible printed by Gutenberg in the middle of the fifteenth century marks an epochal moment in the history of the book in Germany, even though the Bible he printed was not in German and was not written by a German. The problem is, of course, that books do not fit neatly into national straightjackets. They do not need passports to travel beyond state boundaries and some of them are subsequently reprinted or translated. This is surely true of all book cultures, Japan included. Although this question is not explicitly addressed in this book, the examples and illustrations show that the editors take a liberal approach, including books written in Chinese by Japanese authors and books written in Chinese but copied or printed in Japan.

The eight 'lectures' or chapters forming the backbone of this book cover the following topics: first encounters with old books; *kuzushiji* くずし字(handwritten abbreviated forms of characters and *kana* 仮名); manuscripts; printed books; binding and paper; covers; seals of ownership; the publishing culture of the Edo period; and the world of the Meiji book. These are easy to read and often highly informative, but they are not uniformly written with beginners in mind. The first chapter, for example, goes into the compilation of catalogues of old books at some length, though that is probably not a major concern of beginners. Similarly, the third chapter goes into fascinating detail about the information contained in colophons (*okugaki* 奥書) and inscriptions (*shikigo* 識語) found in manuscripts, but the focus is on pre-Edo manuscripts, whereas most 'beginners' are much more likely to encounter manuscripts written or copied in the Edo period, which exist in profusion and can be easily and cheaply acquired.

The eighth chapter, which is ostensibly concerned with the publishing culture of the Edo period, in fact focuses on the typographic editions (*kokatsujiban* 古活字版) of the early Edo period. These have attracted a lot of attention from bibliographers and book historians, partly because Japan was, in the 1590s, in the unique position of being simultaneously exposed to the quite different European and Korean traditions of printing with moveable type (typography), and partly because the sponsorship of typographic printing by emperors Go-Yōzei 後陽成 and Go-Mizunoo 後水尾 and by Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 seems to have marked the end of medieval printing in Japan. From the late Heian period up to the end of the Muromachi period, almost all printing was undertaken by

Buddhist temples and most printed books were Buddhist sutras or doctrinal works, although a very small number of other works were printed as well, including Confucian texts, medical texts and dictionaries. Again, almost all these works were in Chinese, and only two were in Japanese using the *kana* syllabaries. By contrast, the typographic editions of the early Edo period were mostly not printed by temples and they were mostly not Buddhist texts. It is widely considered that these developments gave a kick start to the publishing boom of the Edo period, in which secular works in Japanese were printed in profusion. There is, however, a fly in the ointment, and that is the fact that typography went into a decline in the 1630s with the result that the publishing boom of the Edo period was sustained by woodblock printing, not by typography. Consequently, it is a matter of debate just how representative of the publishing culture of the Edo period the typographic editions of the early decades of the 17th century really were.

In addition to the eight 'lectures', there are a number of 'columns', which presumably did not form part of the original workshops on which this book is based. These are detailed explorations of topics that do not fit into the lectures/chapters, and most of them are fascinating. One covers the practice of cutting up old manuscripts as samples of ancient calligraphy (*kohitsugire* 古筆切). Another explains how to compare side by side two digital images of the same title to see if they were printed from identical woodblocks and then shows, through examination of different copies of *Saiga shokunin burui* 彩画職人部類, how useful this facility is. Others explore the use of discarded printed pages as backing for covers and the information conveyed by the ownership seals of book rental merchants (*kashihon'ya* 貸本屋). Another, by Iriguchi Atsushi 入口敦志, addresses the 'puzzles' that with our present knowledge we are unable to solve. One of these is why the Korean tradition of typography was not transmitted to Japan much earlier, given that Japanese were frequent visitors to Korea in the Kamakura and Muromachi periods. Another is the question why no works of Heian literature were printed before the Edo period, for the technology was available. These really are questions to which no clear answer can be given. Another puzzle, which he does not address, is why typography was abandoned in Japan by 1650. In this case the advantages of woodblock printing must have been telling: woodblocks were far more flexible, for they could include illustrations, different kinds of text and even *furigana* 振り仮名 and *kunten* 訓点 with ease, and what is more they could be stored for frequent reprinting.

No book can satisfy everybody. Let me now draw attention to a few points that occurred to me when reading it. Firstly, in the midst of an informative passage on the seals of publishers and the significance of impressions of those seals on the colophons of printed books there is an illustration (no. 6 on p. 194) which shows the colophon of the Kokubunken copy of Kagawa Kageki's 香川景樹 *utaawase* 歌合 book *Usugoori* 薄ごほり, which was published in 1835. According to the caption, this illustration shows the impression of a publisher's seal but the

quality of the reproduction is so poor that the seal is almost invisible. I consulted the image of the NIJL copy of this work available on the Kokusho Dētabēsu 国書データベース and found that there is indeed a seal under the name of the second publisher from the right, Kawachiya Tasuke 河内屋太助 of Osaka. On looking at the illustration again I could just about make it out, but that was only because I knew where to look for it. It is a pity that the illustration does not fulfil the purpose it was intended to serve.

Secondly, although Unno Keisuke 海野圭介 gives a good account of Japanese manuscripts, he primarily concerns himself with manuscripts from the centuries before the Edo period. Consequently, there is very little sense in this book of the sheer profusion of ordinary manuscripts that were produced and circulated from the beginning of the Edo period right up to the mid Meiji period. In the first lecture Kansaku draws attention to the ways in which manuscripts differ from printed books and argues that one of the differences is that manuscripts have fewer readers (17-18). That may seem obvious, but is it really true? What about a manuscript like *Keian Taiheiki* 慶安太平記, which is a fictionalized version of the rebellion of Yui Shōsetsu 由井正雪 in 1657? I have traced around 300 extant copies of this manuscript, and use of the Kokusho Dētabēsu shows that there are many other manuscripts extant in more than 100 copies. By contrast, there are many printed books which survive in very few copies. It seems to me that, in the context of the Edo period, it is not necessarily true that manuscripts reached fewer readers than printed books, although in many cases it is undoubtedly true.

Thirdly, there is not much sense in this book of Japanese books as part of a global phenomenon. Imported books from China and Korea have played a very important part in the history of the book in Japan from before the Nara period, and in the Edo period imports from Qing China and Joseon Korea were often reprinted in Japan. And that is to say nothing of the small numbers of Dutch books which were also reaching Japan in the Edo period. As Fukuzawa Yukichi 福沢諭吉 recalled, students of Dutch could make good money at the end of the Edo period by making manuscript copies of rare Dutch books for daimyo. These imported books often contain the ownership seals of Japanese collectors. Conversely, from the Heian period onwards Japanese books have been leaving Japanese shores. Up to the end of the Muromachi period they were reaching only China and Korea, but from the beginning of the Edo period they were reaching Europe. The clearest sign of this is the donation of three printed *utaibon* 謡本 (chanting texts of No plays) to the Bodleian Library in Oxford in 1629.

All the same, there is much to be grateful for in this book. I particularly appreciated the emphasis by Kansaku on the need for cataloguers to take proper responsibility for assigning rough dates to undated MSS and printed books (25). It is of no help to users when a catalogue uses notation such a [..]刊or [..]写, making no distinction between the Heian period and the late Edo period. Cataloguers ought to have sufficient skills to assign a tentative dating period and, in my view,

should instead use notation such as [室町]刊, [江戸後期]刊, [江戸初期]写 or [幕末]写. The inclusion in this book of bibliographies and internet links for all the topics covered is hugely helpful. It is worth remembering, though, that not all relevant academic work is easily available. As Kansaku points out (31), Kaken hōkokusho 科研報告書 get little circulation and this has always seemed to me bizarre: research undertaken using public funds should surely as a matter of principle be made available to the public that has provided the funds.

In short, this book can be highly recommended, not only to 'beginners' but also to bibliographers and book historians. There will be very few people who will gain nothing from reading it carefully.

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Book Reviews

Kohaikai kenkyū
古俳諧研究

By Kawamura Eiko 河村瑛子
Izumi Shoin, 2023

Kai Xie
Kenyon College

Haikai 俳諧, short for *haikai no renga* 俳諧之連歌, has long been recognized as a major poetic form of the Edo period and has received considerable scholarly attention. However, most existing research predominately focuses on compositions from Bashō's 芭蕉 school, which are widely regarded as the pinnacle of the genre. In contrast, earlier *haikai* compositions, collectively known as *kohaikai* 古俳諧 (literally, old *haikai*), have been largely overlooked. These earlier works, primarily produced by the Teimon 貞門 and Danrin 談林 schools from the 1600s to the 1680s, are often dismissed as immature and confined to mere wordplay, and thus deemed unworthy of serious study. This long-standing literary bias has left research on *kohaikai* stagnant, and much fundamental work remains to be done: many *kohaikai* works have yet to be transcribed, and there was not even a complete catalog of *kohaikai* works.

Kawamura's monograph entitled *Kohaikai Research* is a groundbreaking contribution that addresses this gap and challenges the Bashō-centric view prevalent in *haikai* scholarship. As the first systematic book-length study of *kohaikai*, it establishes a solid foundation for *kohaikai* research by offering important information about the history, authors, and works within the genre. Furthermore, it provides methodologies for conducting *kohaikai* research and compellingly argues for the broader significance of *kohaikai*—not only for *haikai* scholars but for anyone interested in Japan studies.

In the introduction, Kawamura gives two reasons why *kohaikai* is a valuable cultural and historical resource. First, *kohaikai* serves as a rich repository of colloquial expressions. Unlike Bashō's *haikai*, *kohaikai* requires the inclusion of *haikai* words, referring to colloquial words and Sinitic words not typically found in *waka* 和歌 or *renga* 連歌. As a result, *kohaikai* contains a wealth of colloquial words that rarely appear in earlier literary works, making it a key resource for

understanding the daily experiences of Japanese people in the early modern period and beyond.

Second, while *kohaikai*'s reliance on *kotobazuke* 詞付 (word association) is generally considered a major reason for its perceived inferiority to Bashō's *haikai*, which is characterized by *nioizuke* 匂付 (linking by atmosphere), Kawamura presents a compelling argument that these word associations reflect the collective consciousness of the time. Therefore, *kohaikai* offers a unique lens through which to explore people's everyday lives as well as their worldviews and thought processes.

The body of *Kohaikai research* is organized into four parts, and I would like to begin with Part Four, as it serves as an excellent starting point for those interested in pursuing *kohaikai* studies. This part presents a catalog of existing *kohaikai* works, arranged in chronological order. In addition to providing detailed information about each work—such as compiler(s), participant(s), background, content, available manuscripts, and typeset versions—the catalog also offers broader insights that connect different works, illuminating the historical development of the genre. With 889 entries across 224 pages, this comprehensive catalog is an impressive achievement, especially considering it was compiled by a single researcher. It lays a firm groundwork for further *kohaikai* research and is a crucial step toward compiling a complete collection of *kohaikai* works, the absence of which continues to hinder progress in this field. For those wishing to explore or utilize *kohaikai* materials, this catalog serves as a valuable tool, offering both an overview of the genre and a practical reference.

The first three parts of the book examine *kohaikai* from various perspectives, providing models for effective research along with methodologies for future investigations. I found Part One to be the most fascinating, as it effectively demonstrates the potential of *kohaikai* materials as invaluable resources—not only for *haikai* research, but also for applications in diverse fields beyond *haikai*. This section comprises four chapters based on annotative studies of the *Haikai ruisenshū* 俳諧類船集, the most extensive dictionary and guide for word associations used in *kohaikai*. Each entry in the *Haikai ruisenshū* includes a list of words associated with the headword and brief explanatory notes. By analyzing these word associations and making extensive references to *kohaikai* examples, literary precedents, and reference books, Kawamura uncovers the common awareness of the time and elucidates the precise meanings of words that are key to understanding various literary works.

The first three chapters of Part One each present a case study. Chapter One focuses on *monoiu* ものいふ, a headword in the *Haikai ruisenshū*, which at first glance may seem too common for an in-depth exploration. However, Kawamura acutely identifies a discrepancy between the associative words listed for *monoiu*, most of which are unrelated to human beings, and the definitions of *monoiu* found in modern dictionaries, which primarily refer to utterances by humans. Through a detailed examination of the meanings and usages of *monoiu* and its

associative words, Kawamura concludes that *monoiu* "mainly refers to non-human beings one-sidedly uttering words unprompted by the listener, with the nuance that these utterances have the potential to influence people or situations" (p. 40). This fundamental meaning of *monoiu* not only applies to Edo period texts, but also allows Kawamura to reinterpret a passage in the *Tosa Diary* (*Tosa nikki* 土佐日記*,* ca. 935), offering new insights that challenge previous readings. This chapter is a perfect example to show how *kohaikai* materials can illuminate the subtle meanings of words, deepening our understanding of various texts across different periods, extending beyond Edo-period literature.

Chapter Two investigates how Japanese people perceived the West in the seventeenth century by closely analyzing Western-related words and their word associations in *kohaikai* materials. During this period of isolation, Japan had limited interactions with the West, and few other sources offer detailed insights into this topic, making Kawamura's analysis particularly valuable. She shows that terms such as *Nanban* 南蛮 (referring to Spain and Portugal) and *kurofune* 黒船 (black ships) evoked a blend of fear and admiration. Additionally, the term *Igirisu* いぎりす (England) often signified "pirate," symbolizing a mysterious and threatening foreign presence. The usage of *Oranda* (Holland) is particularly intriguing, as it differs greatly between the Teimon and Danrin schools, reflecting their contrasting perceptions of Holland. The Teimon poets rarely used the term, and when they did, it often conveyed negative nuances. In contrast, the Danrin poets frequently employed it as a reference to the West with positive connotations. Kawamura further uses this analysis to explain an interesting phenomenon in *haikai* history: the term *Orandaryū* 阿蘭陀流 (Holland-style), initially coined by Teimon poets to mock the eccentric style of Danrin *haikai*, was later reclaimed by the Danrin school as a badge of their innovation and distinctiveness.

Chapter Three focuses on another common word, *yasashi* やさし, which encompasses a wide range of meanings. Drawing on *kohaikai* materials, Kawamura reveals that the core of these meanings revolves around the emotion of being moved, accompanied by surprise when something or someone differs from what is naturally expected. She further illustrates how this nuanced understanding of *yasashi* enriches interpretations of the works of Saikaku 西鶴 and Bashō, providing deeper insights into their literary expressions.

Through these three chapters, Kawamura convincingly demonstrates the value of exploring the word associations in *Haikai ruisenshū*. The analyses of *monoiu* and *yasashi* lead to more nuanced readings and reinterpretations of well-studied texts. Considering that even these two entries have yielded significant insights, one can only imagine the substantial discoveries that may emerge once the annotative studies of the entire work are completed. Additionally, investigating the word associations surrounding a headword sheds light on how it was perceived, providing a window into the mental world of people from that era. While the examples Kawamura provides are all related to the West, there are many other topics and themes that could be explored. For instance, I am particularly interested

in Sino-Japanese interactions, and an analysis of entries related to China would greatly enhance my understanding. Given that the headwords in *Haikai ruisenshū* cover a broad array of topics reflecting various aspects of society and culture, scholars across disciplines should find valuable information relevant to their interests.

However, fully comprehending the word associations in *Haikai ruisenshū* poses challenges. In the final chapter of Part One, Kawamura outlines the basic information and key characteristics of the collection while addressing the challenges and issues for further investigation. As she observes, the word associations derive from diverse sources spanning various time periods, including texts in both Sinitic and Japanese languages, as well as written and oral materials. While this breadth makes *Haikai ruisenshū* a comprehensive and rich resource, it also complicates the process of decoding and annotating it. Furthermore, to fully understand and leverage these word associations, it is necessary to analyze the *kohaikai* verses that utilize them. It would be ideal to have a searchable full-text database for all existing *kohaikai* verses and *Haikai ruisenshū*. Such a resource would provide easy access to these materials, facilitating more targeted inquiries and discoveries. However, there are a vast number of *kohaikai* verses, most of which remain untranscribed. Kawamura notes in the introduction that she has been working on transcriptions and compiling full-text data, and I admire her ambition in this meaningful yet challenging endeavor. I hope this book inspires more researchers to engage in these efforts. The completion and publication of the database and annotative studies will significantly enhance the accessibility and utilization of these *kohaikai* materials. Until then, *kohaikai* resources will remain largely inaccessible to most people, and their considerable potential cannot be fully unlocked, despite their high relevance.

Part Two addresses how *kohaikai* research can contribute to a deeper understanding of Bashō's *haikai*. The first two chapters adopt a similar methodology to Part One, combining the annotative study of *Haikai ruisenshū* with the analysis of *kohaikai* examples to decode the connotations of certain headwords. The first chapter centers on the term *seto* 背戸, which literally means "back door" and has been interpreted as such in various annotations of Bashō's verses. Kawamura points out that in *kohaikai*, *seto* signifies more than just a physical back door; it also implies a private space, with the plants grown near the back door often symbolizing the owner's true character. Applying this insight to the interpretation of Bashō's verses, she contends that the "chestnuts at the back door" and the "chrysanthemum at the back door" in Bashō's verses represent the owners' pursuit of seclusion, thereby serving as Bashō's praise for them.

The second chapter scrutinizes *katachi* かたち, a term that may seem overly familiar. Kawamura reveals its deeper implication—even though the actual object does not exist in reality, it evokes the feeling that it is right in front of you. She then illustrates how understanding this nuance is crucial for grasping Bashō's poetics and enhancing our comprehension of his works. The third chapter

employs an analysis of mimetic words in *kohaikai* to illuminate Bashō's usage of such terms, reinforcing the idea that *kohaikai* materials can offer fresh perspectives on Bashō's *haikai*.

Part Three takes a more traditional approach, including the transcription and introduction of three *kohaikai* materials, which respectively involve Matsunaga Teitoku 松永貞徳, Nonoguchi Ryūho 野々口立圃, and Shimosato Chisoku 下里知足—all significant figures in *haikai* history. It also presents findings from bibliographic research on these three works. This section not only provides valuable materials but also sheds light on important issues within *haikai* history. For example, by comparing different manuscript versions of a solo sequence by Matsunaga Teitoku in 1643, it reveals the complicated revision process of this sequence, showing that *haikai* had already evolved into an art form worthy of contemplation and presentation at the time.

Overall, *Kohaikai Research* is a landmark study, offering the first comprehensive and in-depth exploration of *kohaikai* through rigorous research grounded in years of solid foundational work, including archival and bibliographic research, transcription, close reading, and annotation. Kawamura's work exemplifies exceptional scholarship, with her meticulous textual analyses and diverse source materials spanning multiple time periods and genres, highlighting her erudition and profound knowledge extending well beyond Edo literature. The transcription, introduction, and analysis of previously unstudied *kohaikai* materials significantly advance our grasp of *haikai* history, bringing these overlooked texts to scholarly attention. The complete catalog of existing *kohaikai* works included at the end builds a solid foundation for further research and serves as a valuable reference. Additionally, Kawamura's exploration of *kohaikai* materials uncovers new dimensions in the nuanced meanings of seemingly straightforward words, leading to fresh interpretations of well-studied texts such as Bashō's *haikai* and *Tosa Diary*. Most importantly, her work underscores the immense value of *kohaikai* materials and the critical role *kohaikai* research plays in understanding broader literary and cultural phenomena while offering methodologies both for the effective study of *kohaikai* itself and for applying its findings to various fields beyond *haikai* and Edo literature. This book is a significant contribution to Japanese studies with the potential for long-lasting, far-reaching impact. Not only will it serve as a foundational text for the field of *kohaikai*, but it will also be an insightful and stimulating read for anyone interested in the Japanese language, literature, and culture.

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Book Reviews

Yomigaeru Yosano Akiko no Genji monogatari
よみがえる与謝野晶子の源氏物語

By Kannotō Akio 神野藤昭夫
Kachōsha, 2022

G. G. Rowley
Waseda University

Kannotō Akio (born 1943) trained as a scholar of Heian and Kamakura period literature at Waseda University. In 1999, for his monumental study of lost monogatari *San'itsu shita monogatari sekai to monogatarishi* 散逸した物語世界と物語史 (Wakakusa Shobō, 1998), he was awarded both his doctorate and the prestigious Kadokawa Genyoshi 角川源義 Prize. Then in 2001, Kannotō was asked to provide an essay to accompany the reprinting of Yosano Akiko's 与謝野晶子 (1878–1942) epoch-making first translation of *The Tale of Genji* into modern Japanese, her *Shin'yaku Genji monogatari* 新訳源氏物語, originally published 1912–1913.[1] That essay was the earliest of more than two dozen long and short research articles and keynote lectures on the subject of Akiko and *The Tale of Genji* that Kannotō presented and published in a variety of fora between 2001 and 2021. (They are listed in the "Author's previous publications" section at the end of the present volume, pp. 447–449.) *Yomigaeru Yosano Akiko no Genji monogatari* is, therefore, not only the culmination of two decades of research, writing, and speaking on Akiko; the author also brings a lifetime of scholarship on the *monogatari* tradition to bear on Akiko's translations of *Genji*.

By no means is the book a mere collection of the author's previously published articles, lightly revised. Kannotō has completely reenvisaged his scholarly work as a coherent, readable narrative. The detail he has mastered and mustered is phenomenal, even overwhelming at times, but the whole is written in a lively style, interspersed with numerous photographs, maps, and charts. Kannotō also makes skillful use of a dozen "columns" (コラム)—longish notes set off from the main text—that provide further detail about a variety of subjects: people

[1] Kannotō Akio, "Kaisetsu: *Shin'yaku Genji monogatari* to maboroshi no *Genji monogatari* kōgi," in *Yosano Akiko no Shin'yaku Genji monogatari*, 2 vols. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 2001, 2: 509–21.

(Akiko's elder brother Hō Hidetarō 鳳秀太郎, 1872–1931; her French teacher Furuoya Tetsutarō 古尾谷鐵太郎); the texts of *Genji* that Akiko owned; the publication history of the 1912–13 *Shin'yaku* translation; and an excursus into the history and rediscovery of the Kawachi 河内 manuscript of *Genji*. What gives rise to this last column is Kannotō's careful working out of the text of *Genji* on which Akiko based her second translation, the *Shin-Shin'yaku Genji monogatari* 新新訳源氏物語 published 1938–39. It was, he argues, most likely the three volume *Teihon Genji monogatari shinkai* 底本源氏物語新解, edited by Kaneko Motoomi 金子元臣 (1869–1944) and published 1925–30. Kaneko used a text in the Aobyōshi 青表紙 lineage as his base text but also incorporated numerous emendations from a copy of the Kawachi text in his possession, and this influence of the Kawachi text can clearly be seen in Akiko's second translation (pp. 351–357).

Yomigaeru Yosano Akiko no Genji monogatari is organized as follows:

> Introduction: The start of my journey in search of Akiko's translation of *The Tale of Genji*
> Chapter 1: Recreating Akiko's lost Lectures on *The Tale of Genji*
> Chapter 2: The foundations of Akiko's knowledge of *The Tale of Genji*
> Chapter 3: Readers captured by *Shin'yaku Genji monogatari* and Akiko in Paris
> Chapter 4: Akiko's lifework: the creation and circulation of *Shin-shin'yaku Genji monogatari*
> Conclusion: The end of the journey

There is also an extensive chronology of Akiko's life, a full list of the sources of the dozens of photographs that illustrate the volume, and a thoughtfully compiled, truly usable index.

The meticulous attention to primary sources that is characteristic of Japanese literary scholarship is everywhere in evidence. Errors of attribution and identification are corrected from the very beginning of the book. One example: the Tōhakutei 冬柏亭 pavilion that now stands on the grounds of Kuramadera 鞍馬寺 in the mountains outside Kyoto was not in fact Akiko's study but rather her tearoom (pp. 3–4). Quotations are carefully identified. The work of other scholars who have written (in Japanese) about Akiko and *Genji*—Shinma Shin'ichi 新間進一, Ichikawa Chihiro 市川千尋, Itsumi Kumi 逸見久美, myself—is cited solely as the source of material the author has not uncovered or been able to find himself. Kannotō does not summarize the findings or views of previous scholars; there is no "state of the field" chapter setting out where we are now and what the author proposes to do differently, and this approach is perhaps the greatest difference from scholarship by those trained in the Euro-American scholarly tradition.

Instead, Kannotō charts his own course. It is well known, for example, that Akiko's *Shin'yaku Genji monogatari* was an abridged version of the original, and Kannotō sets out the evidence in two revealing charts, pp. 182–83. But in what ways was that abridgement effected? In *Yosano Akiko and The Tale of Genji*, I

noted her dispensing with honorifics that position the narrator within the text and her use instead of an omniscient narrator; as well as her extensive cuts and use of summary.[2] Kannotō's approach to answering this question is to look at Akiko's treatment of poetry. He first compares complete texts of the "Sekiya" 関屋 chapter of the *Shin'yaku* with the versions of "Sekiya" in a representative selection of *Genji* digests (*kōgaisho* 梗概書): *Genji ōkagami* 源氏大鏡 (early Muromachi); *Genji kokagami* 源氏小鏡 (early Muromachi, printed 1651); Nonoguchi Ryūho's 野々口立圃 *Jūjō Genji* 十帖源氏 (mid-17th century); and Kitamura Koshun's 北村湖春 *Genji monogatari shinobugusa* 源氏物語忍草 (1688). Kannotō concludes:

> It is fair to say that until the appearance of modern vernacular translations, the rule was that poems (*uta* 歌)—though they may have been glossed or translated—were provided in their original form. And that was because digests began life as a means of sharing general knowledge about how to understand the poetry in *Genji*. Poetry is the very life of *Genji*, its sacred space. Even as digests developed from high level *renga* 連歌 how-to manuals into easy introductions to the world of *Genji*, the unspoken understanding—that translating the narrative served to aid comprehension of the poetry—lived on like a magic spell. In the *Shin'yaku*, however, Akiko broke the spell and stepped into that sacred space (p. 200).

There are three poems in "Sekiya": Kannotō shows how Akiko translates one as a five-line poem of seven plus five syllables and the other two poems as prose in letters exchanged by Genji and Utsusemi. Of the 795 poems in *Genji*, Akiko translates just 137 (p. 204). Kannotō's attention to just how Akiko dealt with the poetry of *Genji* is a major contribution not only to our understanding of Akiko's methods but also to the history of the popularization of *The Tale of Genji* itself.

Another of the fascinations of *Yomigaeru Yosano Akiko no Genji monogatari* is Kannotō's considered account of the impact on Akiko and her translation of *Genji* of France. (And here he does criticize "the field" for so neglecting the subject.)[3] Kannotō has spent many months in France, successfully following the trail of Parisian hotels and pensions in which Akiko and her husband Yosano Hiroshi 与謝野寛 (1873–1935) stayed during her visit to Europe between May through September 1912; and uncovering several little-known appearances Akiko made in the French media: in *Le Miroir* (25 August 1912); *Le Temps* (12 September 1912); and *Les Annales* (29 September 1912). Kannotō concludes that

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[2] G. G. Rowley, *Yosano Akiko and The Tale of Genji* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2000; revised open access edition, 2022), chapters 5 and 6.

[3] In English, see several articles by Janine Beichman: "Akiko Goes to Paris: The European Poems," *Journal of the Association of Teachers of Japanese* 25.1 (1991): 123–145; "1911: Yosano Hiroshi Ships Out for Paris," *The Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, fifth series, vol. 7 (2015): 81–102; and "Portrait of a Marriage: The How and Why of Yosano Akiko's Paris Foray," *The Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, fifth series, vol. 8 (2016): 135–155; as well as Scott Mehl, "Yosano Akiko in *Belle Époque* Paris," *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal* 60 (2021): 1–30.

it was Akiko's contact with French intellectuals and burgeoning sense of the importance of *The Tale of Genji* as representative text of Japan that encouraged her to retranslate *Genji* during the 1930s (pp. 256–257, 410–412).

There is much more work to be done on Akiko's oeuvre as a whole, of course, especially her fiction and work on other texts in the Japanese literary tradition, but with the publication of Kannotō's magnum opus, scholars will not need to revisit the subject of Akiko's translations of *Genji* anytime soon.

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