From Translation to Adaptation: Chinese Language Texts and Early Modern Japanese Literature

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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation examines the reception of Chinese language and literature during Tokugawa period Japan, highlighting the importation of vernacular Chinese, the transformation of literary styles, and the translation of narrative fiction. By analyzing the social and linguistic influences of the reception and adaptation of Chinese vernacular fiction, I hope to improve our understanding of genre development and linguistic diversification in early modern Japanese literature. This dissertation historically and linguistically contextualizes the vernacularization movements and adaptations of Chinese texts in the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries, showing how literary importation and localization were essential stimulants and also a paradigmatic shift that generated new platforms for Japanese literature.

Chapter 1 places the early introduction of vernacular Chinese language in its social and cultural contexts, focusing on its route of propagation from the Nagasaki translator community to literati and scholars in Edo, and its elevation from a utilitarian language to an object of literary and political interest. Central figures include Okajima Kazan (1674-1728) and Ogyû Sorai (1666-1728). Chapter 2 continues the discussion of the popularization of vernacular Chinese among elite intellectuals, represented by the Ken'en School of scholars and their Chinese study group, "the Translation Society." This chapter discusses the methodology of the study of Chinese by surveying a number of primers and dictionaries compiled for reading vernacular Chinese and comparing such material with methodologies for reading classical Chinese. The contrast indicates the identification of vernacular Chinese as a new register that significantly

departed from *kanbun*. Chapter 3 provides a broader view of the reception of Chinese texts in Japan in the same time period, discussing Hattori Nankaku (1683-1759), a *kanshi* poet and Ogyû Sorai's successor in literary criticism. Nankaku's contributions include a translation and annotation of the *Tang shi xuan* (J. *Tôshi sen*), an anthology of Tang poetry compiled by Ming poet Li Panlong (1514-1570). Such commentaries in accessible Japanese prose reflected the changing readership of Chinese texts, as well as the colloquialization of literary Japanese.

Chapters 4 and 5 focus on literary translations and adaptations of Chinese narrative texts in different language styles. Chapter 4 analyzes *kanazôshi* ("kana booklet") stories by Asai Ryôi (1612?-1691) in comparison to their source text, the Ming Chinese anthology of supernatural stories *New Tales Under the Lamplight* (*Jian deng xin hua*). For a comparative perspective on translation style, this chapter also addresses adaptations of the same source story by Korean and Vietnamese authors. Chapter 5 looks into the literati genre of *yomihon* ("reading books") and focuses on Tsuga Teishô's (1718?-1794?) adaptations of Ming vernacular fiction by Feng Menglong. Teishô, a prolific author considered to be the inventor of this important genre, has been grossly understudied due to the linguistic complexity of his works. His adaptations of Chinese vernacular stories bridged different narrative traditions and synthesized various language styles. This chapter aims to demonstrate Teishô's innovative prose style and the close connections between vernacular Chinese and the development of early *yomihon* as a sophisticated, experimental genre of popular literature.

This dissertation illustrates the inextricable relationships between language transformation and genre development, between vernacularization and narrative literature. It departs from the long-standing paradigm of Sino-Japanese (*wakan*) literary study, which treats Sinitic writing as an integral part of Japanese literary discourse, emphasizing rather a

comparative linguistic approach that addresses Chinese and Japanese linguistic and literary movements in parallel. Within this framework, this project is intended as a platform for further explorations of issues of cultural interaction and translation literature.

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Introduction

This dissertation examines the reception of Chinese language and literature during the Tokugawa period Japan. By analyzing the localization of Chinese texts of different genres and language registers with particular attention to the process of translation, adaptation, and language transformation, I hope to further understanding of the diversification of early modern Japanese language and literature, and to demonstrate that importation and localization of foreign literature was an indispensible external catalyst that brought about a paradigmatic shift, generating new models for Japanese literature. Furthermore, in social-linguistic terms, the changing reception of Chinese texts signifies an updated conceptualization of China as a foreign counterpart and no longer as an cultural precedent, which indicates a rising awareness of cultural independency in the Tokugawa period.

One of the objectives in this dissertation is to analyze the process of localization of a foreign literature, together with its repercussions and ramifications. By localization I mean the process of foreign texts entering local circulation, then being fully assimilated into the target language and acquiring a new readership, subsequently inspiring works of imitation and adaptation. The localization of a Chinese literary text in Japan generally underwent four stages: importation, domestic reproduction, translation, and adaptation. Importation marks the first appearance of a text in Japan, usually through the trading route via Nagasaki. *Tôhon* 唐本, printed texts from China, had always been in demand in Japan. The Tokugawa period saw a growing interest in categories of books outside of the canonized genres. Supernatural tales, short vernacular stories, and long historical narratives were among some of the most popular genres of Chinese literary texts in Japan. With the advancement of printing techniques and the prospering of publishing houses in Japan, the growing interest for such books was met in timely fashion by

domestic reprints. Reprints were produced usually soon after an imported book became available and was assessed to be valuable. The reprinting process was called *honkoku* 翻刻, literally to recarve the printing blocks based on an existing printed page, and the locally produced Chinese books were called *wakoku* 和刻, "Japanese reprints." At this phase the texts remained untranslated and the main difference between an imported Chinese text and a locally reprinted copy was the *kunten* 訓点 marks conventionally appended to the text. Since the distinctive character of vernacular Chinese was not familiar at first, all imported Chinese texts were initially treated as classical Chinese and appended with *kundoku* 訓読 marks.

The relationship between translation and vernacularization is another focus of this dissertation. As Chinese language diversified and shifted towards the vernacular Chinese, the incompatibility of vernacular Chinese and the *kundoku* system, which had been developed based on the structure of classical Chinese, became increasingly apparent. In contrast to nativized *kanbun*, vernacular Chinese, with more fluid word order, longer sentences and new vocabulary, was by and large incomprehensible to Japanese. This necessitated a colloquial Japanese translation, *honyaku* 翻訳, which in itself was a novel concept for hitherto no texts imported from China had required such translation.[1] Different translators chose different registers of the target language, and new Japanese prose styles were created under the influence of these imported Chinese texts. The exercise of translating Chinese to Japanese also inspired literary creations such as with reverse translation (from vernacular Japanese to vernacular Chinese) and

[1] I emphasizes here a *colloquial* Japanese translation since in many senses *kundoku* can be considered a translation. Yet the colloquial Japanese translation in this context is defined as a new text in the target language that replaces the original text altogether, and approximates the style of the source language which is vernacular Chinese. Chapter two discusses the debate of *kundoku* readings in the Edo period. For a detailed discussion on the historical context of *kundoku* system see Lurie *Realms of Literacy*, pp. 173-180.

genre variation (such as colloquial Japanese commentary on Tang poetry). This kind of translation literature is surveyed in the following chapters to demonstrate the intrinsic and interactive relationship between translation and language transformation.

The final stage of the localization process, adaptation *hon'an* 翻案, refers to the creation of new literary works based on Chinese source texts. An adaptation often overlapped with translation, with varying degrees of linguistic transformation in relation to the target language and culture. The authors discussed in the following chapters demonstrate different phrases of this process. Some adaptation stories remained close to their source texts and can be considered free translations, while others incorporated considerable changes and surpass the source story in terms of stylistic and literary sophistication. *Yomihon* 読本 ("reading books") is an example of a new genre of narrative literature created based on adaptation of Chinese sources. Analyzing the adaptation process, particularly what alterations were made in order to transform the original Chinese text into a seamlessly Japanese story, reveals differences in the respective literary traditions and world views.

This dissertation addresses the importation of Chinese texts as a linguistic and/or literary movement and social phenomenon. The first chapter locates the early introduction of vernacular Chinese in its social and ideological contexts, tracing its route of propagation from the Nagasaki Chinese translators' community (通事会 *tsûji-kai*) to literati and statesmen in Edo. Vernacular Chinese was recognized in Japan as a contemporary foreign language since the early Tokugawa period. In contrast to *kanbun*, a register existing solely in writing, vernacular Chinese was introduced in Japan as a spoken language with emphasis on its pronunciation. During the Tokugawa *bakufu*'s Isolation Policy, which lasted for more than two centuries, Nagasaki was the

only officially open port where trading with ships from China and Holland took place under *bakufu* surveillance. Intermediation by translators was indispensible for levying tariff and conducting transactions with sailors and entrepreneurs from overseas. The Nagasaki Port Magistrate employed official translators (通事 *tsûji*) who spoke Chinese and Dutch. Since the primary mission of the *tsûji* translators was to orally communicate with foreigners, conversational Chinese, preferably in more than one regional dialect, was their most prized skill. While the early translators were mostly Chinese immigrants, as the *tsûji* positions became officially established with stable social status, more Japanese engaged in learning spoken Chinese and joined the profession. Accommodating the growing demand for and interest in spoken Chinese, the community of *tsûji* translators produced a number of primers and glossaries for learning the language. Focusing on vernacular vocabulary and pronunciation transcribed in *kana*, these primers yield unique insights into some of the earliest instances of foreign language acquisition methods, translation theory, and multilingual lexicography in Japan. They also became the medium by which vernacular Chinese eventually propagated well beyond Nagasaki and ceased to be limited to use in commercial trading. As the point of contact with contemporary foreign cultures, Nagasaki attracted Japanese scholars from other parts of the country who sought exposure to the most up-to-date foreign knowledge. They would spend a period of time studying and collecting materials in Nagasaki before returning to their hometowns. The Neo-Confucian scholar Hayashi Razan (1583-1657) went to Nagasaki in 1607 and purchased imported Chinese books that he later presented to the first Edo *shogun*, Tokugawa Ieyasu. Amenomori Hôshû (1668-1775), a scholar, linguist, and later a Japanese envoy to Chôsen, studied vernacular Chinese at Nagasaki.

A central figure, Okajima Kazan (岡島冠山 1674-1728), played a key role, bringing his knowledge of vernacular Chinese and his keen enthusiasm for Chinese literature to Kyoto and later Edo. A former *tsûji* translator from Nagasaki, Kazan left that position to pursue a career in literary circles and became a lecturer on vernacular Chinese in Edo. He also compiled and published a number of glossaries and primers for learning this newly imported language. Besides lexicographical works, Kanzan also produced translations of literary texts. His early translation of the great Chinese vernacular novel *Water Margin* became a foundation for later full translation of this text which had significant impact on Japanese literature. This chapter also examines Kanzan's translation of *Taiheiki*, a fourteenth century military narrative, into vernacular Chinese. The Nagasaki Chinese interpreters community and the works of Kanzan both emphasize phonological aspects of Chinese language. This indicates a turning point in the long history of Japanese reception of Chinese, in which knowledge of Chinese was no longer limited to reading and composition in formulated style but also expanded to all other functions and registers of the language.

The second chapter examines how Chinese language and texts were studied among elite scholars in Edo, namely the Ken'en School, founded by prominent Confucian scholar Ogyû Sorai (荻生徂徠 1666-1728), with Okajima as a collaborator and a Chinese language instructor. The popularization of vernacular Chinese was largely initiated in Nagasaki, but it certainly was not limited to this area. At the same time, some *tsûji* translators from Nagasaki also travelled to Kyoto and Edo in order to promote their linguistic expertise to a broader audience. After arriving at Edo, Kanzan's expertise in vernacular Chinese was recognized by Ogyû Sorai who invited him to give lectures. Sorai identified with the Ming Revivalism represented by Li Panlong (1514-1570) and Wang Shizhen (1526-1590). Paralleling their advocacy of reinstating

the pre-Qin classical canon, Sorai and the Ken'en scholars argued for refocusing on early Chinese texts instead of the Song Neo-Confucian commentaries. Sorai also published treatises claiming that Chinese texts should be read directly as a language different from Japanese and denounced the *kundoku* method as an obstacle, rather than aid, in comprehending the true nuances of the original texts. Sorai and Kanzan, together with other members of the Ken'en School, founded the Translation Society (訳社 *yakusha*), a salon that met regularly to study vernacular Chinese. Statesmen from the Shogun Tokugawa Tsunayoshi to the grand chamberlain Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu (1568-1714) to the lord of Mito Tokugawa Mitsukuni attended lectures given in Chinese or commissioned projects involving translation of Chinese texts. These powerful participants, with particular political agendas, recruited scholars with expertise in Chinese, both classical and vernacular, as personal consultants. This promoted the study of vernacular Chinese, and in return gave the ruling elite access to the most up-to-date information on China.

Parallel to communications between Nagasaki and Edo, another route for the study of Chinese language, with particular attention to conversational vocabulary, was Buddhist priests who travelled to Japan. As an exception to the regulation of foreigners limiting them to Nagasaki, Chinese Buddhist priests were permitted to visit and reside in other parts of Japan. There is a detailed conversation log recounting a meeting between a Chinese priest and Japanese intellectuals in Edo, and it is documented that they communicated in vernacular Chinese. The Ôbaku school of Zen Buddhism, originating in China and introduced to Japan in the late seventeenth century by Chinese priest Yinyuan longqi (Jp: Ingen Ryûki), obtained powerful patrons such as Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu, Tokugawa Ietsuna, and Emperor Go-Mizuno'o. Chinese priests who traveled to Japan also kept in close contact with Confucian scholars and held

meetings with them, often conducted in Chinese language. Records of these meetings, one of which discussed here in the second chapter, gives insights to the level of fluency of Japanese scholars and their curiosity about contemporary China. The Ôbaku Sect in Japan retains linguistic traits from Ming China to this day, such as recitation in Chinese pronunciation of that period and preserving vernacular Chinese expressions in ceremonies. Through these various channels of communication, vernacular Chinese language and books written in that register attracted the attention of Japanese scholars and writers who had been trained in *kanbun*. The study of vernacular Chinese became a popular subject among intellectuals and statesmen. Accompanying such growing interest, imported Chinese vernacular fictions took on two functions: as textbooks for studying vernacular Chinese; and as models from which Japanese authors created new literary genres and prose styles.

The third chapter discusses Ogyû Sorai's successor in Chinese literature, Hattori Nankaku (服部南郭 1683-1759), focusing on his commentary on a Tang poetry collection and his prose narratives written in classical Chinese. Nankaku and Dazai Shundai were the two most accomplished scholars of the Ken'en School after Sorai. While Shundai published mostly in philosophy and political theory, Nankaku concentrated on Chinese poetry and essays. He translated a Tang poetry collection *Tang shi xuan* (唐詩選 Selection of Tang Poetry, Jp: *Tôshisen*) selected and annotated by Li Panlong. In addition to Li's commentary, Nankaku added his own commentaries and interpretations of some of the poems in colloquial Japanese. His commentaries included references to contemporary and popular culture and restyled this poetry anthology from the high Tang more accessible to Japanese including those who were not familiar with classical Chinese. Nankaku's edition of *Tôshisen* became a lasting staple for

kanshi poetry, which continued to thrive through the Edo to early Meiji period as an elite literary genre.

Consistent with his Sorai school pedigree, Nankaku's outlook on poetry resonated with the Ming Revivalists. However, in contrast to the Ken'en School's enthusiasm for vernacular Chinese, Nankaku was not as invested in this newly imported language. Instead he theorized classical Chinese and vernacular dichotomously as elegant (雅 *ga*) versus vulgar (俗 *zoku*) languages fulfilling fundamentally different functions. This framework of *ga* and *zoku* was widely embraced by Edo literati as a social and aesthetic divide. Comparison of Nankaku and other figures discussed previously reveals that, from the perspective of narrative genre and language, the elegant and the vulgar began to be integrated during this period, creating new possibilities for literature that was labeled as popular yet composed in sophisticated language and intended for a well-lettered readership. Nankaku's widely popular *Tôshisen* was in itself a mixture of the most elite literary genre with commentary in colloquial Japanese prose.

This chapter also examines another important aspect of Nankaku's intellectual lineage and linguistic versatility, evident in his lesser known work, *Daitô seigo* (大東世語 Stories of the East, 1750), a collection of anecdotes written in classical Chinese. Nankaku stated in the preface that this collection was intended as an imitation of *Shishuo xinyu* (A New Account of Tales of the World, Jp: *Sesetsu shingo*), a fifth century Chinese anthology of anecdotes about the lives of idiosyncratic aristocrats and scholars that had been widely influential in Japan since the Heian period. *Shishuo xinyu* depicted the idealized and liberated life style of intellectuals in the Six Dynasties, and was applauded by the Ming Revivalists who advocated returning to an earlier social atmosphere with less rigidity, in reaction to the dominant school of Zhu Xi's Neo-

Confucianism. Anecdotes in *Daitô seigo* draw on a wide range of earlier Japanese historical and literary texts such as *The Great Mirror* and *Honchô monzui*. Nankaku selected biographical accounts and grouped them in the same categories as in *Shishuo xinyu*, and reverse-translated the narratives into polished classical Chinese prose. Thus, this anthology emulates its Chinese precedent both in terms of content and style. It also denotes that, while vernacular Chinese was regarded with great importance among the Sorai school, classical Chinese still held the highest status as a literati register. Publications in different registers of Chinese during this period also indicated a diversified reception of Chinese literature among Tokugawa scholars.

The fourth and fifth chapters analyze adaptation, focusing on genre development, cultural transfiguration, and the linguistic evolution of prose fiction. Chapter four takes up an early work of adaptation by Asai Ryôi (浅井了意 1612?-1691) whose collection of supernatural tales *Otogi bôko* (御伽婢子 Hand Puppets, 1666) is the most representative work for the *kanazôshi* (*kana* booklets) genre. Most stories in this collection are adaptations from a Ming Chinese anthology, *Jian deng xin hua* (剪灯新話 New Tales Under the Lamplight, Jp: *Sentô shinwa*) by Qu You (1347-1433). This anthology, written in classical Chinese prose, attracted little scholarly attention in China until recent years, but since its first publication it was one the most popular source texts overseas, translated and adapted by Korean, Vietnamese, European, and several Japanese writers. Asai Ryôi's adaptations faithfully translated the source texts, while transforming the classical Chinese into lucid Japanese prose. To give a comparative overview of different styles of adaptation and the relationship between translation and adaptation, a Korean and a Vietnamese version of this story, both written in classical Chinese, are also compared in this chapter.

The last chapter moves into a chronologically later period and looks into the literati fiction genre of *yomihon*. Tsuga Teishô (都賀庭鐘 1718-1794), credited as the founder of this genre, was a monumental and prolific figure of Edo literature. While his contribution is widely recognized by contemporary scholars, there is little existing research on his works. Many of Teishô's narratives were based on Chinese vernacular stories from Feng Menglong's (1547-1645) three well-known anthologies collectively called the *San yan* (Three Words, Jp: *Sangen*). As a Japanese writer with expertise of the Chinese language, both classical and vernacular, Teishô incorporated a number of linguistic registers and Chinese expressions in his stories, as well as abundant essences from classical Japanese, resulting in a unique, experimental prose style that combines archaic Japanese colloquial prose with vernacular Chinese expressions. This hybrid and erudite style, *ganbun* (雅文, "neoclassical elegant style"), departed from the less sophisticated prose of other Edo popular literature genres. This chapter focuses on early *yomihon*'s relationship with Ming vernacular stories, exploring the linguistic and rhetorical aspects of translation literature and literati novels.

By historically and linguistically contextualizing the reception of Chinese texts and works of adaptation from the seventeenth to eighteenth century, I demonstrate that this period was a turning point in the history of Sino-Japanese relations. Recognition of spoken Chinese as a foreign language and popularization of Chinese vernacular fiction were manifestations of a deeper ideological paradigm shift. Japanese intellectuals began to question Song Neo-Confucianists' authority in interpreting the cultural heritage. Scholars in Japan had uncritically inherited and absorbed commentaries and hermeneutics from China, extending such knowledge with their own notes on and interpretation of the commentaries, but rather than continuing this

tradition of creating derivatives of a derivative, a number of intellectuals in the Tokugawa period actively disputed their Chinese contemporaries.

Ogyû Sorai famously stated that *kundoku* "is a translation rather than annotation," which is the first known attempt to define *kundoku* in this sense. The choice of the word "translation" here unambiguously implied recognition of Chinese as a foreign language. The questions that this dissertation explores are the connotation of *foreign* in Tokugawa Japan, and what it means to adopt a form of translation beyond the *kundoku* mechanism of transcribing the source language to a target language. The re-conceptualization of China as a parallel and foreign existence in this period marked an ideological transition in Japan's cultural self-identification.

Although a considerable amount of research had been conducted on the Sino-Japanese literary history, not much scholarship focuses on the reception of Chinese during the Edo period from perspectives such as those of comparative literature, translation history, and linguistic transformation. This study draws on a few groundbreaking works such as Ishizaki Matazô's *Kinsei Nihon ni okeru Shina zokugo bungakushi* (A Literary History of Vernacular Chinese in Early Modern Japan, 1940), an ambitious study that is still a standard resource today for anyone interested in the subject in spite of its age. A more recent scholar, Tokuda Takeshi, has made significant contributions in the past two decades. His numerous articles innovatively synthesize the study of early modern Japanese literature and Sinology with particular attention to Chinese vernacular fiction. For scholarship in English, a 2011 book by Emanuel Pastreich, *The Observable Mundane*, addresses many of the important issues including the influence of vernacular Chinese language on Japanese popular literature, and covers several of the authors discussed in this dissertation. Pastreich's comparative analysis establishes connections between vernacular Chinese literature and what he sees as its Japanese counterpart, the popular literature

of Edo period (*gesaku*). But he omits discussion of *yomihon*, which is the most relevant literary genre in this literary and linguistic importation. This dissertation addresses Chinese and Japanese vernacularization and its impact on literature based on the fluidity of genre and language style through the process of translation and adaptation. Vernacular Chinese, identified by Japanese literati as a new literary style differentiated from classical prose, transcended linguistic hierarchies and instigated the elite narrative genre of *yomihon*. This dissertation also considers subjects such as the development of translation literature, and the relation between translation and cultural identification.

Chapter One The Vernacular Chinese Movement in The Early Edo Period: A Historical Overview

During the two centuries of the Edo *bakufu*'s Isolation Policy (*sakoku*), Nagasaki, a city located in southwestern Japan some 168 miles south of Pusan and approximately 500 miles east of Shanghai, functioned as the only official contact point between Japan and the outside world.[1] Nagasaki was established as an open trading port in the late sixteenth century. In March 1603, Ogasawara Ichi'an began his tenure as the first port magistrate, with the title of Nagasaki *bugyô* 長崎奉行. In 1616, the second Tokugawa shogun, Hidetada (1578-1632), issued a decree that ordered all foreign commercial ships arriving in Japan to dock only at the ports of Nagasaki and Hirado, a coastal city in the northern part of modern day Nagasaki prefecture. Hidetada's successor Tokugawa Iemitsu (1604-1651) furthered reinforced the Isolation Policy (*sakoku rei* 鎖国令) and restricted foreign trading partners to the two countries of China and Holland.[2] Residential areas for Dutch and Chinese seamen and merchants were built on allotted land in Nagasaki and their activities were closely monitored by the port officials. For more than two hundred years, from this time until the mid nineteenth century, when Perry forced the entry of his fleet at Edo, Nagasaki was the only official channel for importation of foreign goods and cultural communication. Frequent arrivals of Chinese and Dutch ships were a source of cultural and technological stimulation for Japan.

[1] There were other regions such as Kagoshima where unauthorized trading between Japan and Korea took place, while the majority of trading with China and Holland was limited to Nagasaki.
[2] Ishizaki Matazô, *Kinsei Nihon ni okeru Shina zokugo bungaku*, 1940, pp. 11-21.

1. *Tôtsûji*: Vernacular Chinese Translators in Nagasaki

A list of foreign ships docked at Nagasaki from this time period indicates the density and origins of traffic:

> Portuguese: 172 (1544-1647)
> Spanish: 6 (1588-1615)
> English: 58 (1604-1860)
> Dutch: 928 (1601-1860)
> Chinese: 6,006 (1636-1867)[3]

It is evident that China and Holland had overwhelmingly more access to Japan compared to other countries during this period. Consequently, there was growing interest in Japan in colloquial Chinese and Dutch languages and demand for translators. Foreign merchants and sailors who arrived at Nagasaki needed to communicate with the port authorities to submit inventory, clear customs, and conduct transactions. Educated Japanese of the time were trained in classical Chinese and could communicate with Chinese by means of "dialogue by brush," *hitsudan* 筆談. But such a pedantic and leisurely method could not meet the need for verbal and spontaneous commercial communication. Professional interpreters of spoken Dutch and Chinese, called *tsûji* 通事, became essential intermediaries in Nagasaki and the occupation grew rapidly. These translators were part of the Nagasaki port magistracy. Official Chinese translators were first appointed in 1604. The position of *tsûji* translators was divided into several ranks: chief translator (*ôtsûji* 大通事), assistant translator (*kotsûji* 小通事), and translator in training (*keikotsûji* 稽古通事). Older readings for this expression include *osa* or *kishi*, derived from terms referring to officials of Silla and Paekche immigrants.[4] Other names for translator included *zetsujin* 舌人 ("tongue person), *rôta* 老爹 (Ch: *lao die*, "oldster" in colloquial Chinese

[3] Statistics from Okada Kesao's *Edo igengo sesshoku: Rango Tôwa to kindai Nihongo*, 2006.
[4] Ishizaki 1940, pp. 15.

and "officer" in Zhaozhou dialect) and *shôsho* 象胥 (a term from *The Rites of Zhou* referring to an envoy to uncivilized regions).[5] The use of colloquial expressions such as *rôta* and *tsûji* suggests that this occupation was still newly defined and underlines the emphasis on verbal communication.

The Chinese language translators at Nagasaki, *Tôtsûji* 唐通事, consisted of both Japanese natives and descendants of Chinese emigrants, many of whom were exiles from China in the late Ming Dynasty. Once a Chinese family became part of the *tsûji* translator community, it was a custom to train their children bilingually from an early age in preparation for this occupation. Edo scholar Amenomori Hôshû 雨森芳洲 (1668-1755), who was fluent in colloquial Chinese and Korean and known as the diplomatic liaison with Choson, detailed the language training for children of Chinese translators in his collection of essays *Kissô chawa* 橘窓茶話 (Idle Talks by the Orange Blossom Window, ca. 1748):

> "All translators claim that the pronunciation of Chinese is hard to learn, so one should start training around age seven or eight. In my opinion even the ages of seven or eight would be too late. The best time to begin is from the cradle. We living in the East (Japan) have simple vowels (単音) and no compound vowels (合音). What are the simple vowels? They are *a*, *i*, *u*, *e*, and *o*. These are solitary syllables (砕音). What are composite vowels? They have *an*, *in*, *un*, *en*, *on* [...]. These are comprehensive syllables (全音). Japanese children are used to listening to the solitary syllables from the time they are still in the cradle before opening their mouths. They develop wisdom from age two and become capable of uttering full sentences, that is the course of nature. To teach them the difficult comprehensive syllables at age seven or eight would certainly be challenging."[6]

During the decline of the late Ming dynasty, groups of Chinese sailed across the sea to Japan to avoid the chaos and turmoil brought on by civil war. Many of them settled in Nagasaki and assimilated to the local community. As trading between China and Japan proliferated, some

[5] Wakaki Taiichi, "Tôwakai to Edo bungaku," *Edo Bungaku* 32. The expression *shôsho* is also seen in a preface of *Tôwa sanyo*, "*Shôsho* in the ancient times is what we call *tsûji* today. The profession of *tsuji* is indispensable to any country."
[6] Original quote from Ishizaki 1940. It is written in Chinese with the phonetic parts in *katagana*.

Chinese émigrés took up the occupation of commercial translator to make practical use of their cultural background. Over time the occupation of *Tôtsûji* became a hereditary trade for Chinese living in Nagasaki. Members of the Chinese community monopolized the top *tsûji* positions and opportunities for promotion for Japanese translators were slim.[7] It is not without a certain irony that many of the Chinese emigrants were initially exiles avoiding the Manchurian rule of the Qing Dynasty. Once they settled and formed a tight-knit community in Nagasaki, securing the niche profession of *tsûji*, Japanese natives were the marginalized in this profession.

The community of translators held regular gatherings called *Tôwa kai* 唐話会 ("Association of Spoken Chinese") to exchange information about the profession and updates from China, and above all to practice conversational Chinese. On November 22nd, 1716, one of these meetings took place at the Nagasaki *seidô* 聖堂, a Confucian institute that also functioned as a community center for Chinese émigrés. Details of this meeting were transcribed by Shinozaki Tôkai 篠崎東海 (1687-1740), a scholar who took an interest in the study of vernacular Chinese. Shinozaki was affiliated with the Sorai school and was a disciple of Itô Tôgai 伊藤東涯 (1670-1736), son of the eminent Confucian scholar Itô Jinsai 仁斎 (1627-1705). Shinozaki's record of this *Tôwa kai* meeting is included in his book *Chôya zakki* 朝野雜記. This account deserves close examination because it yields insights into this bilingual, bicultural community and preserves rare phonetic data of various dialects of colloquial Chinese at the time. In his monumental book *A Literary History of Vernacular Chinese in Early Modern Japan* (Kinsei Nihon ni okeru Shina zokugo bungakushi, 1940), the vernacular Chinese scholar Ishizaki

[7] Japanese translators had little chance of being promoted and received considerably lower compensation. The Chinese families that essentially monopolized the "principal" positions were refereed to as "the nine lineages of Chinese translators" 唐通事九家 or 九家訳士. Okumura Kayako, "Tôwa shiryô Hehan suyu cheng shi deng za shi yi er, hanwen yi zokugo shoshû Chôtanwa to Yakusha Hitsubi: koko no shiryô ni mirareru kanrensei," *Ajia bunka kôryû kenkyû* 3, 2008.

Matazô (1905-1959) first published the entire record, which enabled recent scholarly work on this material.[8] The format of Shinozaki's record is a log of all the conversations that occurred at the meeting. Excerpts from three exchanges are translated below to demonstrate some of the points of interest.[9]

Meeting of Nagasaki Chinese Translators *Nagasaki tsûji Tôwa kai* 長崎通事唐話会

1. Fuzhou[10] dialect

Kawama Kôtaro[11]:	Sir, have you ever been aboard a Dutch ship?
問（福州話）：	先生紅毛船裏。上去了没有。（河間幸太郎）
	Suen zan hon mou suun ri. Shon kyou rau mu yuu?
Sakaki Hachiemon:	Never been up on one.
答：	従来未曽上去看。（彭城八右衛門）
	Chin rai moi tsuen shon kyou kan.
Kawama Kôtaro:	I have never been to one either.
Sakaki Hachiemon:	It must be different from the Chinese ships. The front and back ends are painted black, I am sure it is quite water-proof in all corners. They are quite well-built and easy to manipulate, quite impressive. [romanization and remainder of the exchange omitted]

2. Zhangzhou[12] dialect

Go Tôjiro:	Just in these two days it dropped to extreme coldness. How well is your mother? For the elderly, one should call on them to inquire after their well-being. You are quite a filial son.
問（漳州話）：	只二日大下寒冷。令堂都納福否。有年紀个人問候飲食起居。尔著孝順兮。（呉藤次郎）
	Chi nun jeru totsu ee kua chien. Ren ton tou rabu hoku mu. U ni ki ge chin mun heu emu sheru ki kiu. Ruu teu hau son e.
Yô Ichirobe'e:	Thank you for your wise words. A mother's kindness is greater than heaven. How could one not be filial? I remember "While his father and mother are alive, a son should not go on distant journeys. If he travels, he must

[8] For a detailed discussion of this record see Wakaki 2005.

[9] The romanized pronunciation attached below is based on the original *kana* phonetic guides appended to the characters, and numbers and some punctuations marks have been added by me for clarification.

[10] Located in northern Fujian Province and currently its provincial capital.

[11] Since there is no information on the pronunciations of the names, with the one exception of Kumashiro, the romanization here is either based on conventional readings or on entries in the Kodansha *Nihon jinmei daijiten* (2001). Readings with connections to Nagasaki *tsûji* history have been chosen over others.

[12] A city in modern day southern Fujian Province.

have a fixed destination."[13] These two sentences, because I rarely leave home, yet I have talked about it many times with my mother.[14]

答：　多謝只是金言。母恩大如天。豈可不孝順。父母在不遠遊。遊必有方。我也記得。此二句因為罕得出門然数共家母說。（陽市郎兵衛）

Tou shaa chi shi kem gyan. Beu en tout zuu ten. Kii kou mu hau son he. Fu beu tsuai poru wan yiu. Yiu pe'eru yiu hon. Kuwa yak ii te'eru. Tsu nun ku'u en ui han eru tsoru mun jen sou an ka'a heu sue.

3. Nanjing dialect

Sakaki Teitarô: May I ask, in your fine composition today, there was "the light flavor remotely reminiscent of Wang's party." Please do let us know the story behind this.

問（南京話）： 今日你的佳作裏。有清味遠懷王子会。請教這個甚麼故事呢。(彭城貞太郎)

Kin ji nii teki yaa zou rii. Yiu tsin ui en hai wan tsu woi. Tsin kyau che ko shi mo kuu suu nii.

Kumashiro Jûshiro: This is Mr. Wang Xiu's in the old times. At winter times, he took ice blocks from a frozen stream, chose the most pristine part, and melted it to steep tea leafs from Fujian to treat his guests. [Romanization and remainder of the exchange omitted]

The three dialogues here take up approximately one-sixth of the entire record. As shown in the excerpts above, the conversation topics involve professional inquiries, personal exchange, and interest in Chinese literary anecdotes. The examples included here are representative of the rest of this record, which contains more discussions on Chinese poetry and professional errands. These popular topics indicate that while *tsûji* translators fulfilled their duties as commercial interpreters for the Nagasaki Port Magistrate, they also paid much attention to Chinese traditions. In this relatively brief record, besides the quote from *The Analects* shown above, there are also a number of references to Chinese classics such as the Tang poets Li Bo and Du Fu, and the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove, a school of intellectuals and recluses from the Jin Dynasty. While

[13] *The Analects*, 4:19. Burton Watson 2007.
[14] The English here is intentionally confusing to reflect the original, which will be discussed later.

tsûji were bureaucrats providing a service with their linguistic skills and cultural background, they also identified with Chinese literati and considered themselves men of letters. For many translators of Chinese lineage, emphasis on familiarity with Chinese high culture was not just a professional necessity but also part of collective cultural identity as an émigré community.

The English translation of the exchanges listed above aims to be as close to the original as possible in its syntax as well as the tone of the speech, underlining its colloquial and dialect-based features. The language style combines highly colloquial expressions with more elegant, elliptical classical structure. One evident vernacular marker is the use of the modern first and second personal pronouns *wo* 我 and *ni* 你, instead of the classical personal pronouns *wu* 吾 and *ru* 汝. Other distinct vernacular characteristics are final particles such as *ni* 呢, *le* 了, and *me* 麼, and the double compound verbs such as *jiang-jiang kan* 講々看 (to try to explain it) indicating suggestion of an action. These patterns do not appear in classical Chinese and clearly indicate vernacularization.

The conversations detailed in this record took place in early eighteenth century Japan among Chinese language interpreters. Given this context, it is not surprising that some sentences are awkward, suggesting the speaker's advanced yet non-native apprehension of the language. In the second example, Yô Ichirobe'e said "These two sentences, because I rarely leave home, yet I have talked about it many times with my mother." The logical connectors *en ui* ("because" 因為) and *jen* ("yet" 然) do not make sense in this context. One explanation would be that the speaker misunderstood the causal conjunction, *en ui*, for a concessive conjunction.

Another noteworthy aspect of the Shinozaki record is the three different types of dialects used and documented. Since one of the main purposes for such gatherings was to practice spoken Chinese, it was natural to emphasize the pronunciation of the type of Chinese used.

Zhangzhou, Fuzhou, and Nanking dialects were the most commonly used Chinese dialects in Japan at the time.[15] Along with Japanese and written Chinese, the *tsûji* families also taught their children regional dialects of Chinese from an early age to prepare them to succeed at their posts. This record demonstrates the phonetic diversity of southern Chinese dialect pronunciations in the early eighteenth century. In this record, the *kana* guide functioned as a system for documenting phonetic information. Conventionally, Chinese dictionaries for characters with phonetic glosses, *yun shu* 韻書, use a set of common characters to indicate vowels and consonants. From a historical linguistic perspective, this system was flawed because the pronunciation of the set of commonly used characters also underwent changes over time. But a syllabary system, such as *kana*, is more consistent with a lower rate of information loss over time. The short table below shows how three characters appearing in this record were pronounced differently across the regional dialects:

character	Fuzhou	Zhangzhou	Nanjing	contemporary Mandarin (Beijing)[16]	Japanese
我	*gou*	*kua/gua*	*kou*	*wo*	*ga*
不	*put*	*mu*	*horu/fu/pu*[17]	*bu*	*fu*
是	*sui*	*shi*	*su'u*	*shi*	*ze*

Two of these Chinese regions, Fuzhou and Zhangzhou, were open trading ports like Nagasaki during the Chinese sea ban in Ming-Qing periods.[18] Subsequently, dialects from these areas

[15] Okada 2006, p. 247.
[16] Romanization of contemporary Mandarin Chinese follows the *pinyin* convention. Note that the *shi* in *pinyin* and in Japanese Romanization (シ) are different.
[17] This character appears multiple times in the Nanjing dialect section and only three times there are *kana* readings appended—all three are different and thus Romanized here in that order.
[18] In 1567, Emperor Muzong (r. 1567-1572) of Ming ordered a halt to the sea ban that lasted until the end of the Ming Dynasty. Zhangzhou Port opened this year and unlike Nagasaki where ships were allowed to berth but the locals were forbidden from traveling overseas, residents of Zhangzhou as well as the rest of the Fujian region were able to travel by sea to Japan, Korea and other areas. This contributed to the fact that Fujian dialect is to this day spoken in many overseas Chinese communities.

became common pronunciations in many overseas Chinese communities. These dialects were distinct enough to raise the question: how were interpretations conducted in the absence of a uniform source language?

This issue was discussed among the *tsûji* translators of that time as well. In an early eighteenth century booklet titled *Instructions for Chinese Translators* (Tôtsûji kokoroe, 唐通事心得) the importance of a standardized colloquial Chinese, namely, Mandarin (官話), was explained as follows:

> "Originally Mandarin circulated everywhere; it is understood in all thirteen provinces of China. When junior scholars (*tong sheng* 童生) and licentiates (*xiu cai* 秀才) seek offices, they all have to learn to speak Mandarin no matter where they grow up. In Beijing, all the ministers and military officers speak Mandarin at the Imperial Court. So if one knows Mandarin he can go wherever he pleases. Isn't that convenient? But every region has its own local dialect, Suzhou has Suzhou dialect and Hangzhou has its own as well. When they talk to each other in different dialects they cannot even make out what the other party says. All they can do is to stare at each other as if they were deaf."[19]

The definition of Mandarin (Jp: *kanwa*, Ch: *guan hua* 官話), literally "the official speech," had not always been northern pronunciation centered on Beijing, the meaning of its successor term *pu tong hua* 普通話 today. Prior to the popularization of the northern dialect, the term Mandarin referred to Nanjing dialect. In the quotation above, *Instructions for Chinese Translators* gives a clear if somewhat simplified definition for Mandarin from the practical point of view of a translator. It verifies that by the early eighteenth century, Mandarin language was perceived as

[19] This quote is included in Okamura's article "Nagasaki tsûji no Tôwa kan: Nihonjin no tame no Tôwa to no hikakuni oite," *Ajia bunka kôryû kenkyû* 2, 2007. *Tôtsûji Kokoroe* is a booklet of thirty eight pages including eight episodes, many related to experiences of learning and speaking vernacular Chinese. It is written in a humorous colloquial Chinese. The only known existing copy of this booklet is in Nagasaki Prefectural Public Library. For an annotated Japanese translation see Kizu Yuko's "*Tôtsuji Kokoroe* yakuchû kô," *Kyoto Daigaku bungakubu kenkyû kiyô* 39, 2000. The paragraph quoted here also includes a humorous anecdote on Chinese dialects in which a senior officer inquires about a translator's regional specialty: "Do you speak Zhangzhounese?" "No, sir." "Do you speak Fuzhounese?" "No, sir, I do not." "Then you must know the talk of Xianan?" "I am afraid not." "What on earth do you speak then?" "Sir, I can do Japanese." The passage ridicules a "monolingual translator."

(1) northern/Beijing pronunciation (2) publicly recognized political language, and (3) language for scholars.

2. Okajima Kanzan: As Translator of Vernacular Chinese Novels

A key figure in promoting vernacular Chinese in Japan was Okajima Kanzan 岡島冠山 (1674-1728), a native of Nagasaki who became a translator of Chinese language.[20] He published a sizable primer for vernacular Chinese entitled *Tôwa san'yô* (Essentials of Vernacular Chinese 唐話纂要, 1716), which became a standard reference among the Nagasaki translators and also received attention in other parts of Japan from those who were interested in this new spoken language. In this primer there is only a single reference to the importance of Mandarin:

> *Inaka kotoba wo iu bekarazu* 休要打郷談
> *Miyako kotoba wo iu beshi* 須要講官話
> One should not use a regional dialect, and must speak Mandarin.[21]

Tôwa san'yô is a six-volume extensive introductory textbook and reference for learning vernacular Chinese. Why there is so little discussion on Mandarin pronunciation, unlike other translators' handbooks? Okumura Kayoko proposes a convincing explanation. She suggests that *Tôwa san'yô* was written with the intention of reaching out to Japanese literati beyond Nagasaki who were interested in this new language, and was not intended specifically for the *tsûji* translators as a vocational handbook. Since literati, living in other parts of Japan, rarely had the opportunities to meet and speak with Chinese natives, we can safely speculate that their need to learn the pronunciation of various dialects of Chinese was hardly as pressing as that of the Nagasaki interpreters working at the Port Magistrate.

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[20] Other known names used by Kanzan include Gyokusei 玉成 and Enshi 援之, as listed in Ishizaki's book. Also see detailed study of Kanzan's appellations in "Okajima Kanzan to Shina hakuwa bungaku" by Aoki Masaru in his book *Shina bungei ronsô* 1927.
[21] The Romanization here is a transcription of the original *kana* translation appended to the Chinese.

Kanzan was a pivotal figure in promoting vernacular Chinese beyond Nagasaki, bringing his linguistic expertise as a *tsûji* there to scholars in Edo who were interested in this new language. While the Nagasaki translators' training focused mostly on practical knowledge such as vocabulary for commercial transactions, intellectuals in Edo were intrigued by how this new, non-elite style of Chinese (*zokugo*) differed from the classical prose (*kanbun*) in which they were well versed. What attracted the literati's attention was imported vernacular Chinese novels, loosely referred to as *hakuwa shôsetsu* 白話小説 by later scholars. These books showcased a language style that was highly colloquial, with vocabulary unfamiliar to Japanese readers. Kanzan's translations and his interest in literature made him a perfect candidate to tutor scholars in vernacular Chinese.

Little is known about Kanzan's life in Nagasaki other than that he did not find the hereditary society of *tsûji* suitable as a permanent career environment. As mentioned previously, high positions in this profession were customarily taken by members of the Chinese emigrant community. In *Nagasaki Tsûji Tôwa kai*, the Shinozaki report discussed previously, four of the six translators were of Chinese ethnicity. Although Kanzan excelled in both pronunciation and composition of Chinese, he resigned from the post at age twenty-nine to pursue his ambitions elsewhere. A biographical account of Kanzan is seen in *A Collection of Essays on Earlier Scholars* (Sentetsu sôdan 先哲叢談 1816) by Hara Nensai.

> "A native of Nagasaki, Kanzan first served the Lord of Hagi Domain[22] as a translator and received a monthly stipend. He was ashamed to be employed at a low rank so he resigned to study Neo-Confucianism on his own at home. His knowledge was renowned all over Kyushu. [自慙為賤役而家居専修性理学。独以此鳴於西海。] […] He took up the profession of lecturer and traveled to Edo and Kyoto. His expertise in the speech of Chinese earned him wide recognition. He was a pioneer in advocating the study of

[22] More generally refered to as the Chôshû Domain (長洲藩), governed by the Môri clan. Hagi was the seat of the domain, located in modern day western Yamaguchi Prefecture.

popular novels. [首唱稗官学於世] Although there were people who had undertaken this field earlier, nobody reached his level of accomplishment."[23]

After leaving Nagasaki, Kanzan spent three years in Kyoto, during which time he completed his first translation of a Chinese vernacular novel. *Stories of the Heroes of Ming: A Popular Edition* 通俗皇明英烈伝 (*Tsûzoku kômin eiretsuden*, hereafter referred to as *The Heroes of Ming*), was published in 1705 in Kyoto.[24] *Stories of the Heroes of Ming* was a long narrative translated from *Romance of Heroes* (Ying lie zhuan 英烈傳), a seventy-chapter historical narrative. Attributed to Xu Wei 徐渭 (Jp: Jo I, 1521-1593), a Ming author and literati known for his achievements in drama, painting, poetry and calligraphy, this long narrative is loosely based on biographical anecdotes of historical figures who were founding members of the Ming Dynasty. Other editions include *Stories of Heroes of the Ming Empire* (Huang ming ying lie zhuan 皇明英烈傳, 1591) and *Legend of A Throng of Heroes* (Yun he qi zong 雲合奇蹤, 1616).[25] As Tokuda Takeshi points out, Kanzan's translation draws from these two editions.[26] *Stories of the Heroes of the Ming Empire*, imported to Japan circa 1644, is written in a classical prose borrowing heavily from Chinese chronicles. In contrast, *Legend of A Throng of Heroes*, imported to Japan circa 1688, incorporates more colloquial expressions and supernatural elements.[27] A close examination of *The Heroes of Ming* makes it evident that Kanzan combined the language styles and contents of the two source texts to render this translation. As war chronicles and supernatural tales are two important topoi in Japanese literature, this Chinese long

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23 Katanuma, Seiji, *Jugaku to kokugaku : "seitô" to "itan" to no seiseishiteki kôsatsu* 1984, chapter 12:4.
24 Ishizaki, pp. 49-54. Contemporary scholarship on this book includes Tokuda Takeshi's *Nihon kinsei shôsetsu to Chûgoku shôsetsu* 1987, and Katanuma Seiji's *Jugaku to kokugaku* 1984.
25 Katanuma 1984, p. 528.
26 Tokuda 1987, chapter four.
27 See Kawa Kôji's article "Tsûzoku kômin eiretsuden no 'tsûzoku': rekishi shôsetsu Eiretsu den no Nihon ni okeru juyô kara," *Chûgoku bungaku kenkyû* 31, 2005, pp. 55-71.

narrative fits the interests of Japanese readers, which presumably made it a popular choice for importation and translation.

The term *tsûzoku* 通俗, translated as "popular edition" here in English, has the connotations of "popular" and "vulgar." From the Edo period to the early twentieth century, this term was often used as a prefix to book titles indicating that they were translations from another language. During this time period, most of the titles prefixed with *tsûzoku* were translations of Chinese texts, but in the early Meiji period some Japanese translations of European literature also used this convention: famous examples include *Tsûzoku Isoppu monogatari* 通俗伊蘇普物語 (Aesop's Fables) translated by Watanabe On in 1873 and *Tsûzoku karyû shunwa* 通俗花柳春話 (Edward Bulwer Lytton's *Ernest Maltravers*), translated by Oda Junichirô in 1879. Prior to the Meiji period, *tsûzoku mono* as a genre often featured translations of texts written in vernacular Chinese that were often prose fiction (*shôsetsu*). However, these translations were not limited to popular fiction but also included other genres. As a common characteristic, most *tsûzoku* translations, as the expression suggests, use a less Sinicized style of Japanese that was accessible to a broad readership. The early Edo scholar Hayashi Razan (1583-1657) wrote *Daigaku genkai* 大学諺解, an annotated version of the Confucian classic *The Great Learning*, in simple Japanese to "use it someday to teach my young son."[28] The expression *genkai*, meaning to retell in colloquial language, was synonymous with *tsûzoku* in this context. *Tsûzoku* translations also include Confucian texts (*Tsûzoku Shisho chûshakô* 通俗四書注者考 1697), Daoist treatises (*Tsûzoku Daijô kannô hen* 通俗太上感応篇 1708, *Tsûzoku Inshitsu bun* 通俗陰

[28] Katanuma 1984, p. 553.

鷺文 1721), provincial gazetteers (*Tsûzoku Hônai meisekishi* 通俗封内名跡志 1741), and poetry (*Tsûzoku Tôshi kai* 通俗唐詩解 1798).

In the preface to the gazetteer *Tsûzoku Hônai meisekishi*, Takahashi Ikei gives a descriptive definition of *tsûzoku* translation: "…to summarize the main contents [of the original] and demonstrate it in native *kana* so that the elderly and children of rural villages can also understand."[29] As the publishing industry rapidly expanded in urban areas, the *tsûzoku* genre was also gaining popularity. In *Anthology of Early Modern Translations of Chinese Vernacular Novels* (Kinsei hakuwa shôsetsu hon'yaku shu 近世白話小説翻訳集), the modern scholar Nakamura Yukihiko listed eleven *tsûzoku* titles published during 1759-1814. In a more extensive chronological table of *tsûzoku* titles compiled by Katanuma, there were sixty one titles published from 1693 to 1831.[30]

Kanzan's first translation, *The Heroes of Ming,* was commissioned and printed by the Kyoto publisher Hayashi Gitan 林義端 (?-1711), also known by the name of his publishing house, Bunkaidô 文会堂. A disciple of Itô Jinsai, Gitan was also a writer and scholar. He befriended the prolific *kanazôshi* writer Asai Ryôi (1612-1691) and posthumously published Ryôi's last work *Paper Puppy* 狗張子 (Inuhariko, 1692), a collection of adaptations of Chinese supernatural tales and a sequel to the epitome of the *kanazôshi* genre, *The Hanging Doll* 御伽婢子 (Otogi bôko 1666), which will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three. As a successful publisher and fiction writer himself, Gitan had a keen sense of readers' interests, as well as the foresight to depart from short supernatural tales and expand into new genres of more substantial and sophisticated narrative literature.

[29] Ibid, p. 554.
[30] Ibid, p. 588.

Prior to Kanzan's translation, Gitan had published a Ming historical narrative, *The Chronicles of the Ming Empire* (Kômin tsûki 皇明通紀 1696). This work, documenting the time period from the decline of Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368) to mid Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), was first published in China in 1555 and soon became popular.[31] The official chronicle of the Ming Dynasty, *Ming shi* 明史, would not be published until nearly two centuries later. During this time, the absence of an official comprehensive chronicle did not discourage Japanese intellectuals. Books on subjects related to Ming history were translated and published in Japan as soon as they became available. Kanzan's *The Heroes of Ming* was promoted as a sequel to *The Chronicles of the Ming Empire*. In Gitan's preface to *The Heroes of Ming*, he underlines the significance of these two books by comparing them to the canonized *Twenty-one chronicles* 二十一史 (Jp: *Nijûisshi*, Ch: *Er shi yi shi*) and praises Kanzan's expertise in vernacular Chinese.

> "Every household is familiar with the Chinese *Twenty-one chronicles*. They cover the expansive history from ancient ages to the Yuan Dynasty. However, there is no chronicle of the Ming Dynasty yet. The Ming Dynasty saw vast prosperity, growth of military power, and literary achievements. How can one ignore the history of such a magnificent era? Hence I published *The Chronicles of the Ming Empire* (Kômin tsûki), but I was concerned that villagers and commoners could not fully comprehend it. [...] Okajima Gyokusei[32] was born in Hishû, Nagasaki. He was acquainted with seafarers and thus learned the spoken language of China. He is exceptionally talented….Last autumn [I] commissioned him to translate *The Heroes of Ming* (Ying lie zhuan) 英烈伝 and *The Water Margin* (Shui hu zhuan 水滸伝). This spring the translation of *The Heroes of Ming* was completed first and now here it is in print."[33]

In this preface Gitan conveys his objective in publishing *tsûzoku* historical narratives: to reach out to a broader readership so that "villagers and commoners could comprehend fully" (村民俗輩通暁スル *Sonmin zokuhai tsûgyô suru*). For Kanzan and other translators, *tsûzoku* came to denote the style of translation that mapped vernacular Chinese into comparably colloquial

[31] Kawa Kôji 2005.
[32] Gyokusei 玉成 is one of Kanzan's styles, as detailed in note 20.
[33] Tokuda quotes from this preface and the entire text is included in Kawa Kôji's article.

Japanese, instead of the traditional *kundoku* method for classical Chinese texts.[34] Shinozaki Tôkai, in his appraisal for *The Heroes of Ming* included in *A Discussion of Native Studies* (Wagaku ben 和学弁 1758), treats it as superior to other titles of the *tsûzoku* genre:

> "*Legend of A Throng of Heroes* [the source text] is a book about the events taking place near the end of the Yuan Dynasty. It is a fascinating book comparable to *The Water Margin*. Okajima Gyokusei translated this book and thus made it possible for [Japanese] publication. However, since the title on the cover reads *Tsûzoku Genmin gundan* 通俗元明軍談,[35] the public perceives it as another *tsûzoku* book. It is a regrettable misreading."[36]

The translation of *Water Margin* mentioned in Gitan's preface refers to *Chûgi suikoden* 忠義水滸伝, published much later, in 1728. It consists of the first twenty chapters of the one-hundred chapter edition with Li Zhuo-wu's 李卓吾 (Jp: Ri Takugo, 1527-1602) commentary, with *kundoku* marks appended by Okajima Kanzan. Strictly speaking it is not a translation but a *honkoku*, a Japanese reprint of a Chinese text. Kanzan eventually produced a complete Japanese translation of *The Water Margin*. Published under the title *Tsûzoku chûgi suikoden* 通俗忠義水滸伝, it was a tour de force in forty-seven volumes. The last installment was published in 1757, near thirty years after Kanzan's death. The importation of the *Water Margin* to Japan initiated a lasting cultural phenomenon, and inspired a great number of translations, adaptations, imitations, and other derivative narratives. In terms of the significance of its influence as a single work of foreign literature, it is unrivaled by any other in Japanese literary history. As the first translator of this Chinese novel, Kanzan was clearly the progenitor of early modern translation literature. While the source texts of *The Heroes of Ming* are historical vernacular, *The Water Margin* is less related to historical records and has far more fictional characters and storylines. In terms of

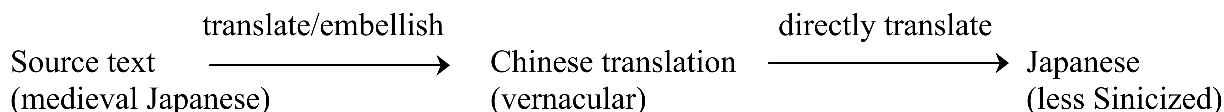
[34] The different interpretations of the term *tsûzoku* are based on Kawa Kôji's article (2005).
[35] The cover title, *gedai*, differs slightly from the title used elsewhere in the book.
[36] This quote from Shinozaki can be found in both Katanuma 1984, p. 560, and Kawa Kôji's article as well.

language style, *The Water Margin* is written in a highly vernacularized prose, versus the stilted, chronicle style of *Romance of Heroes*. The difference between these source texts and the sequential timing of their publications in Japan suggest the transformation of popular literature: supernatural tales and war chronicles were no longer sufficient for an expanding and diversifying readership, while interest in imported contemporary Chinese vernacular narratives was on the rise.

Besides these two translations of Chinese popular fiction, Kanzan also produced a highly unusual book: a Chinese translation of the fourteenth century Japanese war narrative *Chronicle of Great Peace* (Taiheiki 太平記). Titled *Taiheiki engi* 太平記演義 (Romance of The Great Peace), Kanzan's reverse translation was published in 1719 in both Edo and Kyoto. It is one of the earliest known translations of a Japanese work into a foreign language. The source text, *Taiheiki*, documented in forty voluminous chapters the turmoil of the Southern and Northern Courts. It was widely read and influenced many genres of popular literature and theater. *Taiheiki engi* has translations for the first nine chapters.[37] Among a number of editions of the original, modern scholars have identified Kanzan's source text as *Sankô taiheiki* 参考太平記, an annotated edition commissioned by the Mito *daimyô* Tokugawa Mitsukuni and published in 1691.[38] Kanzan's *Taiheiki engi* is an unusual translation in more than one respect. First of all, it was written in Chinese but intended for Japanese readers who were presumably familiar with the original *Taiheiki*, as well as capable of reading different styles of Chinese prose. Secondly, this book in fact includes two translations: an embellished Chinese translation based on the source

[37] Katanuma 1984, p. 594.
[38] For more on the source text of *Taiheiki engi*, see Okumura Kayoko's "*Taiheiki engi* no kotoba: *Taiheiki* hon'yaku ni arawareta hakuwa kan." *Kansai daigaku Chûgoku bungakukai kiyô* 24 (March 2003), pp. 113-131. Also see Ueda Mieko's "Okajima Kanzan to *Taiheiki*: kinsei bungaku kôryû no senku." *Tôgen* 4 (February 1949), pp. 48-67.

text, and a direct translation of the Chinese version into Japanese. The Chinese translation uses a prose similar to vernacular Chinese novels. It also makes structural rearrangements and adds elaborated details that are not in the source text. The Japanese rendition, titled *Taiheiki tsûzoku*, is a direct translation of the Chinese with occasional minor exceptions. The relationships of the source text and the two translations are shown in the diagram below:



The pages of *Taiheiki engi* are partitioned into two sections: the upper one titled *Taiheki engi* in Chinese, and the lower section titled *Taiheiki tsûzoku* 太平記通俗, which is the colloquial Japanese translation. The table below shows two excerpts from this book, with the source text *Sankô Taiheiki* appended, to demonstrate the different language styles and some of the characteristics of Kanzan's translations.

Sankô taiheiki (source text, *wakan konkôbun*)	*Taiheiki engi* (vernacular Chinese)	*Taiheiki tsûzoku* (Japanese)
The kick took [Saburô] by surprise and that's when the first strike of the sword stabbed through him in the stomach to the floor, then the sword was pulled out and lacerated his windpipe. [The assassin] then calmly went and hid in a bamboo grove in the rear. (Chapter Two) [39]	With his pillow kicked, Saburô woke up in shock, but before he could make a move, Kumawaka's sword had pierced him above the navel. Saburô let out a screech "Ah!" as the second strike of the sword slashed his throat. [Kumawaka] fled the room and hid himself in a bamboo grove by the moat. He dared not even to breathe heavily. Meanwhile the	[English translation omitted to avoid redundancy with the middle column]

[39] This part of *Sankô taiheiki* differs from the edition *Tenshôbon* 天正本 which is the source text for most contemporary reprints such as the Iwanami and Shogakukan series. An English translation of the *Tenshôbon* text is included here for comparison. "[Kumawaka] kicked [Saburô's] pillow hard and caught [him] by surprise. Right at that moment he impaled [Saburô's] chest with his sword all the way to the floor. Pulling the sword back he then slit [Saburô's] windpipe. After he calmed down his breath he went

ケラレテ驚ク処ヲ一ノ太刀ニ臍ノ上ヲ畳マデツトツキトヲシ、返ス太刀ニ喉ブエ指切テ、心閑ニ後ノ竹原ノ中ヘゾカクレケル	attendants heard the scream in the middle of their sleep, they rushed to find a lantern to check on Saburô's bedroom. What they saw was Saburô covered in blood lying inside the mosquito net, already dead, with his body still warm. (Chapter six) 踢其枕頭、三郎忽然驚醒却待動租、早被阿新第一刀刺透了肚臍上、三郎呀一声喊、第二刀又刺断了喉嚨、急忙走出外廂、躲在城濠畔竹林中、不敢高気喘、却説近侍人等睡夢裡聴得那一声喊、便慌忙走起来取提灯、照視三郎臥房、只見那三郎。血淋淋死于蚊帳中、身尚未冷（第六回）	踢タリシカハ目ヲ覚シテ動租トスル処ヲ一ノ刀ニテ臍ノ上ヲ刺透ケレハアツト一声叫ケリ。二ノ刀ニテ喉ヲ刺断テ急外へ走出濠ノ畔ノ林中ニゾ懸ケル。此時近時ノ者共叫タル一声ニ目ヲサマシコハ何事ソト起来テ灯ノ光ニテ三郎カ臥タル所ヲ照シ視タリケレハ三郎只今殺サレタルト覚テ血淋淋ニナリテ死シタリケルガ身モ未ダ冷ナラズ（第六段）
Masashige had been a devotee of the Kannon chapter of the Lotus Sutra for years, and he wore an amulet containing it against his skin. The arrow hit right on the amulet and the tip lodged in the two lines from one of the verses, "chant the name with all your heart." It was quite a miracle. (Chapter Three) 正成ガ年来信ジテ奉読観音経ヲ入タリケル膚ノ守ニ矢当テ一心称名ノ二句	The arrow stuck Masashige in the left arm. As he was about to pull it out, the arrow slipped out and fell to the ground by itself. With his arm unharmed, Masashige was overjoyed. He took it as a rescue from heaven and he fled from peril once again. (Chapter Thirteen)[41] 箭射中左臂正成却待拔之只见其箭自迸落地。臂上无恙。正成暗喜曰。天救我耶。遂又飛奔脱了虎口（第十三回）	正成ガ左臂ニ射中タリ。正成啊ト思ヒテ己ニ拔取ントセシ処ニ其矢自ラ迸テ地ニ落タレバ、臂上少モ子細アラザリケリ。正成暗ニ喜テ是正シク天ノ助ナラント救思ヒ飛カ如ニ馳過テ虎口ヲゾ脱ケル（第十三段）

hiding in a bamboo grove. Honma Saburô let out a scream "Ah!" when he was first stabbed, and that sound startled the attendants. When they lit a lantern and took a look, there were a few footprints in blood." *Taiheiki*, SNKBT vol. 54, p. 89.

ノ偈ニ矢崎留リケルコソ不思議ナレ[40]		

The first example depicts Kumawaka's assassination of Homma Saburô. There is considerable dramatization in the Chinese translation to heighten this critical moment of the narrative. In contrast to the simple and direct language of the source text, the Chinese is explicit and exhaustive with subjects of the sentences clearly identified. Kanzan also uses vernacular Chinese expressions such as exclamation *ya* 呀 and narrator identifier[42] *que shuo* 却説 ("on the other hand, the story goes…"). In the second excerpt about Kusunoki Masashige, Kanzan deliberately omitted the detail about the Buddhist amulet and hence removed the supernatural essence. At critical moments in the narrative, attributing a miraculous happening to a specific sutra or mantra is a characteristic often seen in earlier *setsuwa* tales. The warrior narratives genre continued to embody this Buddhist influence but with less direct didactical emphasis. While preserving the fantastic aspect of this scene, Kanzan's translation lessened the medieval fatalism from the source text and modified the narrative to foreground an agile warrior.

Katanuma Seiji's book *Jugaku to kokugaku: "seitô" to "itan" to no seiseishiteki kôsatsu* includes a chapter discussing Okajima Kanzan and *Taiheiki engi*. This study characterizes Kanzan's translation of *Taiheiki* as involving three types of elimination from the source: (1)

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[40] An English translation of this part in *Tenshôbon* edition: "That arrow did not miss and Masashige felt it landing on his upper arm. He thought he was struck yet it did not impale his skin at all. The arrow in fact flipped its tip and flew back out. He thought this was marvelous and took a look at where the arrow hit. Masashige had been a devotee to the Lotus Sutra for years, and on his arm, he wore an amulet with writings from the sutra. Right on the words "all resentments dissipate" was indeed a mark from the arrowhead. It was a miracle he was unharmed. Masashige, escaped death while being hit by a deadly arrow." *Taiheiki*, SNKBT vol. 54, p. 160.

[41] Katanuma 1984, pp. 598- 599.

[42] Narrator identifiers are a group of expressions that are typically seen in Chinese vernacular fiction. They are narrator's interjections that directly address the readers. It is a characteristic that originated from earlier oral literature.

allusions to Chinese historical anecdotes; (2) Confucianist morals; and (3) Buddhist miracles.[43] From these changes, we can speculate that Kanzan's intention was to popularize this medieval warrior narrative by enhancing its entertaining quality and lessening its pedantic and edifying attributes. *Taiheiki engi* was a highly accomplished Chinese vernacular narrative in terms of language style, and the same time a rare and experimental example of a bilingual literary text. Its publication is a strong evidence of popularity of vernacular Chinese at that time.

Using *The Water Margin* as an example to demonstrate how a Chinese narrative text becomes fully localized and enters the Japanese literary canon, the full process of such localization can be formulated into four phases:[44]

A. imported text 唐本 → B. Japanese reprint 翻刻 → C. translation 翻訳 → D. adaptation 翻案
(Chinese) (appended *kundoku*) (Japanese prose) (Japanese prose)

In the case of *Water Margin* the following texts were produced at each of the four phases:

A. *Keihon zôho kôsei zenshô chûgi suiko shiden hyôrin* 京本増補校正全像忠義水滸志伝評林

This text was published in China in 1594 in one hundred and three chapters. A copy of this edition was collected by a Japanese priest, Tenkai (1536-1643), and recorded in a catalog (compiled in 1654) of his library at Rinnô Temple in Nikkô. This is the earliest known imported copy of *Water Margin* in Japan.[45]

B. *Chûgi suikoden* 忠義水滸伝 (20 chapters, 1728)

[43] Katanuma 1984, p. 606.
[44] Takashima Toshio in his book *Suikoden to Nihonjin* (1991) has the same stages, with slightly different terms.
[45] Ibid. p. 22.

This is the earliest Japanese reprint of *The Water Margin* published in two installments, with *kundoku* marks attributed to Okajima Kanzan.[46]

C. *Tsûzoku chûgi suikoden* 通俗忠義水滸伝 (47 volumes of 100 chapters, 1757)

As one of numerous Japanese translations, this text is the aforementioned translation by Kanzan and is the earliest comprehensive translation.

D. Numerous adaptations and derivative texts throughout the rest of Edo though to the Meiji period.

The Water Margin, since its early appearance, was the most adapted foreign text in Japanese literature. Some notable adaptations include Takebe Ayatari's *Honchô Suikoden* (1773), Itami Chin'en's *Onna Suikoden* (1783), Santô Kyôden's *Chûshin Suikoden* (1799), Takizawa Bakin's parodic *Keisei Suikoden* (1835), and Bakin's historical novel *Nansô satomi hakkenden* (The Eight Dog Chronicles). These derivative works are inspired by the *Water Margin* and mimic some of its narrative features to various degrees, but they are also original and creative works in various genres of narrative literature. The localization of *Water Margin*, from an imported book to a major topos for creative works in the target culture, illustrates translation literature as a platform for generating new models of domestic literature.

In this framework of localization process, Kanzan's *Taiheiki engi* is a text between translation and adaptation, also in addition to its unusual incorporation of a reverse translation from Japanese to vernacular Chinese. It remains close to the plotline of the source text and keeps all the proper nouns, while taking liberties with creative modifications and dramatizing details. In this time period, the distinction between translations and adaptations was often not a clear one,

[46] Many doubt that Kanzan was indeed the *kundoku* rewriter for both installments, because thirty-one years intervened between their publications.

and to what degree a translation or an adaptation could be perceived as an original work was not nearly the issue it would be today. Imitation was a legitimate mode of creativity, especially when the source was from another culture. Kanzan expressed his ambition to follow in the footsteps of the Chinese novelist Luo Guanzhong 羅貫中 (Jp: Ra Kanchû, 1330-1400), the attributed author of *Romance of Three Kingdoms* and co-author of *The Water Margin*:

> "As the years pass, I am entering my old age. If I do not emulate Guanzhong's aspiration and realize my humble lifetime ambition now, I am afraid that day will never come. Thus I go to my study and pick up the brush, and translate the famous history of our country, *Taiheiki*, into a historical novel (*engi* 演義)."

This comment is quoted in the preface of *Taiheiki engi*, written by Kanzan's disciple Moriyama Sukehiro, a doctor from Nagasaki.[47] In this preface, Moriyama pays tribute to Luo Guanzhong's literary talent, stating the importance of Luo's two vernacular novels; and appraises Kanzan's achievements as echoing those of Luo:

> The genre of historical novel (*engi*) began with Luo Guanzhong of the Yuan Dynasty, and it is still quite popular to this day. Luo Guanzhong was a genius of his generation, the best among all of his contemporaries. Yet his talent did not bring him fame and fortune like others. His discontent motivated him to write *Sangokushi engi* (Romance of the Three Kingdoms) and *Chûgi suikoden* (The Water Margin). These two books conveyed his ambitions in stories of the past, and demonstrated his talent to the world [...] However, only a handful of scholars in our country could read these two books by Luo [in the original language]. Most of them can only comprehend *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* and not *The Water Margin*. I do not trust those who talk about *The Water Margin* but cannot comprehend [the original]. My master Kanzan is the sole exception. We are from the same part of the country, Nagasaki. He acquainted himself with Chinese people since an early age and studied with Master Ueno.[48] He has reached a high level and gained profound knowledge of the language, with deep understanding of the two masterpieces by Luo Guanzhong. [...] I delight in the splendor of his prose and lucidity of the narration. He obliterated the redundant, supplemented the incomplete, corrected the erroneous, and resolved the unsettled, […] the language is enjoyable to the elite and commoners alike [...] Chinese historical novels began with Guanzhong and he was the founder; historical novels in our country began with my master Kanzan and he is the originator.

[47] A reprint of this preface can be found in *Riben han wen xiao shuo cong kan*.
[48] Ueno Gentei (1661-1713), a well-known linguist of Chinese.

This preface indicates that Kanzan's aspiration to be not only a translator of Chinese novels but also an innovator of new literary forms.

While Kanzan's *Taiheiki engi* might be experimental in terms of its linguistic complexity, this text served more functions than just as a piece of literature. The bilingual format of *Taiheiki engi*, with the Japanese text on the lower half of the page below the Chinese translation, provokes questions such as why there was a Japanese reverse translation and who the intended readership was. As mentioned earlier, readers of this book presumably possessed a good knowledge of classical Chinese (*kanbun*). As vernacular Chinese began to attract attention in parts of Japan outside of Nagasaki, most devotees of this new language were literati who already had fluency in classical Chinese, as well as knowledge of the classical Japanese canon. The side-by-side bilingual format of *Taiheiki engi* suggests an educational intention: to function as a reader for learning vernacular Chinese. Unlike Nagasaki translators who used spoken Chinese frequently, these literati did not have opportunities to hold conversations in vernacular Chinese. Their interests were focused on reading comprehension of this language. Thus imported vernacular novels, with translation appended, were a natural choice as primers. The painter and literati Yanagisawa Ki'en (1704-1758) commented on learning Chinese in his collection of essays *Hitorine* (Sleeping Alone):

> If one intends to learn the trade of a Chinese translator, one must read *The Water Margin*, *Journey to the West*, and *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* all in the Chinese original. Nowadays the famed scholars cannot read popular books (*zoku shomotsu* 俗書物) from China, which is understandable because they do not have the [linguistic] skills of the translators."[49]

An interesting practice related to learning vernacular Chinese through fiction was the compilation of dictionaries and handbooks dedicated to reading *The Water Margin*. In less than

[49] Ishizaki 1940, chapter three.

a hundred years thirteen such books were published.[50] Often the dictionaries have entries sorted by the chapters of *The Water Margin* and list expressions that were characteristic of vernacular prose. Among these dictionaries the most accomplished ones are Oka Hakku's (1692-1767) *Suikoden yakukai* (1727) and Suyama Nantô's (1700-1766) *Chûgi Suikoden kai*. Below is an example of the same entry in these two dictionaries:

Oka	阿呀 a sound used to express surprise, "*yah*."
Suyama	阿呀 *ah yah*, a scream out of surprise, similar to the Japanese onomatopoeia "*arya*." Same as *yai ya* 哎呀 and *yai yo* 哎喲.[51]

Besides affirming the educational consumption of *The Water Margin*, these dictionaries also provide an index of vernacular Chinese vocabulary as perceived by Japanese of that time. For historical linguists interested in the transformation of Chinese language, particularly the vernacularization process, these material yield unique insight from the perspective of non-native learners of this register.

Another scholar and linguist of the time, Amenomori Hôshû, also advocated approaching the study of Chinese though vernacular fiction with an emphasis on speech, stating that "For us from the eastern land to learn vernacular Chinese, novels (*shôsetsu*) are the only means to start." Elsewhere Hôshû write, "someone asked: 'In order to learn vernacular Chinese, should I read [Chinese] novels?' I said yes, that is doable. Yet texts come out of the brush of writers, conversations are directly from the mouths of the speakers. If you talk in a way like it is taken straight from the *Tale of Heike*, who would listen to you?"[52] It is noteworthy that *The Tale of Heike*, the quintessential Kamakura period war chronicle (*gunki mono*), in this context represents

[50] Odagiri Fumihiro, "Suiko-goi e no kanshin to Suiko jisho no seiritsu." *Ajia yûgaku* 131 (March 2010), pp. 93-98.
[51] Okada, Kesao, "Igengo sesshoku to *Suikoden* chûkaisho gun." *Ajia yûgaku* 131 (March 2010), pp. 80-92.
[52] Ishizaki, chapter one.

a language style that had become too archaic for conversations. Similar to *The Tale of Heike*, *Taiheiki* is written in *wakankonkôbun*, a mixed Japanese-Chinese style that embeds Chinese compounds in Japanese prose, which is commonly used for this genre. This prose style was not unfamiliar to the early eighteenth century literati but viewed as passé as evident in Amenomori's comment. From this perspective, we can speculate that *Taiheiki* was a suitable text for which Kanzan crafted a linguistic reincarnation.

Kanzan's literary ambitions, combined with the unfulfilling career path of a low ranking *tsûji*, led him to leave Nagasaki and go to Kyoto. In 1706, on an invitation from the Shimotsuke *Daimyo*, Kanzan went to Edo. After that he moved again and lived briefly in the Osaka area, before coming back to Edo at age thirty eight (1710) where he lived for the next decade and was affiliated with the Ken'en School led by eminent Confucian scholar Ogyû Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666-1728). In 1711, they founded the Translation Society (*Yakusha* 訳社) to promote the study of vernacular Chinese. Kanzan and Sorai's contribution to the propagation of vernacular Chinese and the involvement of other scholars of the Ken'en school in this movement are discussed in detail in the following chapter.

Okajima Kanzan was a central figure in the reception of Chinese texts in early modern Japan. His monumental translations from vernacular Chinese fiction, prolific production of glossaries and primers, and collaboration with Confucian scholars all contributed to the study of Chinese language and popularization of Chinese vernacular fiction in Japan. Kanzan's expertise in conversational Chinese enabled him to include detailed phonetic and tonal information in the primers. This innovative approach demonstrated how the study of Chinese language in Japan had diversified from the tradition of *kanbun* as a solely written language.

Chapter Two   Ogyû Sorai and the Study of Chinese as A Foreign Language

This chapter focuses on Ogyû Sorai and Okajima Kanzan's contributions to the study of Chinese, in particular, two important publications—Sorai's *Yakubun sentei* (A Tool for Translation) and Kanzan's *Tôwa san'yô* (Essentials of Vernacular Chinese)—and the Translation Society that Sorai founded. Ogyû Sorai (1666-1728) was one of the most prominent intellectuals of Tokugawa period, prolific and widely influential through his abundant publications and the many disciples of his school. To survey his work and philosophy would be well beyond the scale of this chapter. Hence, the introduction and discussion of Sorai here will focus on his involvement in the vernacular Chinese movement, his methodology in reading Chinese, and translation theory.

1. Sorai and Kanzan: Reconceptualization of Chinese

Throughout his career, Sorai had advocated treating Chinese text, in the classical register or otherwise, as a linguistically foreign entity rather than as something subject to syntactic rearrangement to render Japanese prose by means of the *kundoku* system. He promoted reading Chinese in its original pronunciation whenever possible. As a Confucian scholar, Sorai asserted that familiarity with the Chinese language, phonetically and syntactically, was instrumental to in-depth comprehension of the classics. This approach rejects the traditional *kanbun kundoku* method, which identified the Chinese canon as the fundamental basis for Japanese ideology, rather than a distinct body of knowledge. In the late seventeenth century, Sorai's approach marked him as a maverick and dissenter from the views of other orthodox Japanese Confucian scholars.

Sorai's personal and educational background helps explain his intellectual outlook. Although he was born into a prestigious family, in his early years he was deprived of an elite or affluent environment. A descendant of an old samurai clan in Mikawa (eastern Aichi Prefecture), Sorai's father Ogyû Hôan (1626-1706) served the Shogun Tokugawa Tsunayoshi (r. 1680-1709) as a physician, but fell out of favor with his patron and was exiled from Edo. In 1679, when Sorai was fourteen years old, the family moved to Kazusa, where his mother's family lived.[1] Spending the formative years of his life in rural obscurity did not impede Sorai's ambition to resume his scholarly lineage. A precocious child, he was educated mostly by his family and then became an autodidact. Limited resources of reading material led him to immerse himself in available Chinese and Japanese classics. When Japanese translations and annotations were not easily obtainable, he read the Chinese texts in original repeatedly until he was able to comprehend the classical language. "As people in the old times used to say, 'after reading a book for a thousand times, its meaning will present itself,'"[2] Sorai would later recall of this period with pride. This unconventional training from an early age equipped him with a solid foundation of classical Chinese texts, as well as a belief that the commentaries and annotations by Japanese scholars were not indispensable to the comprehension of these texts. This decade of living in Chiba, in geographical proximity to Edo yet isolated from its urban material prosperity and intellectual liveliness, left a lasting influence on his world view and approach to scholarship.

The first prolific period of Sorai's career occurred from the time he returned to Edo until the death of Tsunayoshi in 1709. It was during this period that he was most involved in Chinese

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[1] Modern day middle part of Chiba Prefecture. For a concise biographical account of Sorai see Hiraishi Naoyuki's preface to *Sorai shû*, part of the *Kinsei juka bunshû shûsei* (facsimile reproduction of early modern Confucian works) published by Perikansha, 1985. For widely cited, early research on Sorai including a comprehensive biography, see Yoshikawa Kôjirô's "Sorai gaku'an" in *Nihon shisô taikei 36*, Iwanami, 1973. For an exhaustive chronological table, see "Sorai nenpu" by Tsuji Tatsuya in the same volume.

[2] The opening of the preface to *Yakubunsentei*.

linguistic work and translation projects. In 1690 Sorai's father was pardoned and the family relocated back to Edo. That year, the Confucius Academy in Edo, founded by Hayashi Razan (1583-1657), moved from the residence of Razan's grandson Hayashi Hôkô to a new location at Yushima and was officially named Shôhei Confucian Institute (*Shôheizaka gakumonjo*). This move was overseen by Tsunayoshi, who was a devoted patron of Confucian studies and this institute. Like other political rulers whose reigns occurred during periods of stability and growth, Tsunayoshi's emphasis on Confucian ideology and patronage of scholarly activities were meant to promote his legitimacy as an enlightened and sagacious leader.

It was in such an environment that Sorai returned to Edo and became a lecturer on Chinese classics at age twenty five, at a seminar near the Zôjô Temple. His teaching style was candid and unconventional, which quickly gained him popularity among students and attention from other scholars. Sorai's lecturing notes from this period were transcribed and organized by his disciples. Many copies of these notes were made, and they were well-received in Edo and Kyoto. They were finally published in 1711 under the title *Yakubun sentei* 訳文筌蹄 (A Tool for Translation).[3] The phrase *sentei*, literally meaning fish trap and rabbit snare, is taken from a metaphor in the *Zhuangzi* that encapsulates Sorai's outlook on the paradoxical relationship between words and meaning.

> The fish trap exists because of the fish; once you've gotten the fish, you can forget the trap. The rabbit snare exists because of the rabbit; once you've gotten the rabbit, you can forget the snare. Words exist because of the meaning; once you've gotten the meaning, you can forget the words. Where can I find a man who has forgotten words so I can have a word with him?[4]

[3] For a different opinion on the publishing date of *Yakubunsentei*, see Tajiri Yûichirô's article "*Kundoku mondai to kobunjigaku: Ogyû Sorai wo megutte*" included in *Kundoku ron* published by Benseisha, 2008.
[4] Burton Watson 1964, *Chuang Tzu: Basic Writing*, p. 140.

Zhuangzi describes the temporariness and irrelevance of words as merely a tool to capture and retain thoughts momentarily, therefore not to be prioritized above or confused with the actual thoughts. Ideally thoughts and ideas would be conveyed and shared without the assistance of words. In *Yakubun sentei*, Sorai extended and elaborated on this paradoxical metaphor to argue for both the necessity and the non-essentiality of translation.

Among a great number of dictionaries and primers for Chinese language produced in this period, *Yakubun sentei* is unique in that it was written not only as a practical grammar book, but also as a scholarly study on the art of translation. Its preface, comparable in significance to the main text, is a novel treatise on studying Chinese language and literature, and on translation. Its sophisticated arguments, somewhat loosely organized, are eloquently laid out in a plain spoken style, explicating Sorai's outlook on Chinese literature and his reasoning against the traditional *kundoku* reading of Chinese texts.[5]

In the preface to *Yakubun sentei* Sorai famously and innovatively defined *kundoku* as translation. This statement unambiguously redefines Chinese as a language foreign to Japanese, which necessitates the medium of a translation.

> *Wakun* 和訓, the Japanese *kundoku* reading of Chinese texts, is a translation, and therefore contains all the issues inevitably originated from the process of translating. A translation appears to be a great aid, while in fact it is an obstacle. Yet the *wakun* system has been installed for too long to be entirely eliminated. Thus a new translation, along side the *kundoku* text, becomes necessary. The new translation should maintain a delicate relationship with the original text that is neither indistinguishable nor disparate, that is the purpose of this tool (*sentei*). 不即不離之妙、是其筌蹄尓

[5] A number of modern Sorai scholars have published on his linguistic works including *Yakubun sentei*, such as Yoshikawa Kôjirô's "*Sorai gakuan*" (1975), Kuraishi Takeshirô's *Honpô ni okeru Shina gaku no hattatsu*, Maeno Naoaki's *Sorai to Chûgokugo oyobi Chûgoku bunka* (1974) and Hiraishi Nobuyuki's *Ogyû Sorai nenpukô* (1984). English publications on Sorai include Olof Lidin's *The Life of Ogyû Sorai, a Tokugawa Confucian Philosopher* (1973) and more recently *Imagining Harmony: Poetry, Empathy, and Community in Mid-Tokugawa Confucianism and Nativism* by Peter Flueckiger (2010). Emanuel Pastreich's *The Observable Mundane* (2011) dedicates a chapter to Ogyû Sorai's *Yakubun sentei*, as well as a full English translation of the text.

Here Sorai problematizes the *kundoku* method by claiming that any translation would include inherent imperfections, namely distancing the source text and the target text. He then moves on to point out that translations also need to be updated as languages evolve over time.

> *Wakun* was formulated long ago and the Japanese language has evolved towards vernacularization. What was colloquial and even vulgar in the past such as *Genji* and *Ise* now is read as elegant and subtle, requiring much annotation. Thus it is necessary to update the Japanese translations (of the ancient Chinese classics) with a more accessible language.

Sorai claims the key to comprehend the classics is first to become familiar with contemporary Chinese, adopting the language training method used by *tsûji* translators in Nagasaki, with emphasis on pronunciation and colloquial vocabulary.

> Ideally students should first learn contemporary Chinese in the same way as the Nagasaki translators (*Kiyô no gaku* 崎陽之学), that is to read the original texts in Chinese pronunciation and then translate it into local colloquial language (*rigo* 俚語), without ever relying on the circumferential *wakun* reading. When such environment is not available then the next preferred method is to first teach the Chinese classics in *wakun*, and then select certain accessible parts to explain in vernacular Japanese.[6]

These arguments reveal two notions: first, the importance of contemporary vernacular languages. Since language is an evolving cognitive system, any derivatives of a text such as a translation or annotation need to be updated. Second, Sorai argues that Japanese scholars need to learn the Chinese language from scratch, instead of relying on the medium of *kundoku*. "[The smallest unit of] Chinese language is characters, while that of Japanese is *kana*. Similar to the Sanskrit language of India, the Huns[7], the Tartars, the Annamese, the Southern Barbarians, and the Koreans all have their own scripts. […] Considering the tens of thousands of miles of sea between Japan and China, it is natural that the two languages are different."[8] By underlining the geographical distance between China and Japan, Sorai argues that it is inherent that there is

[6] Preface to *Yakubun sentei*, *Sorai zenshû* 2.
[7] *Kokoku* 胡国, another name for *Kyôdo* 匈奴, a central Asiatic nomadic civilization.
[8] *Sorai zenshû* 2, pp. 631-2.

significant distinction between the two languages. The *kundoku* reading rearranges the word order of classical Chinese based on Japanese syntax and yields a reading in Japanese pronunciation, resulting in the linguistic conceptualization that classical Chinese is not essentially a different language but a formal writing style of Japanese. Sorai's outlook overturns this conventional view.

> It has long been said that a Confucian is someone who is conversant with both antiquity and the present. It is also said that the Confucian is conversant with the realms of Heaven, earth, and man. The study of translation (*yakugaku* 訳学) brings China and Japan together as one. The study of ancient phraseology (*kobunjigaku* 古文辞学) brings together antiquity and the present as one.[9]

Here, in the conclusion of his preface, Sorai articulates his belief in an intellectual unity that is based on translation.

The main text of *Yakubun sentei* was published in two installments. The first half begins with a sample translation of a short story, followed by a glossary of one-character verbs, categorized into groups of synonyms with the same Japanese *kunyomi* pronunciation (*iji dôkun* 異字同訓). The differences in nuances are lost in the *kundoku* transcriptions, which Sorai believed to be one of the main flaws of the system. An exemplary entry is as follows:

> tiao 跳　yong 踊　yong 踴　yue 躍
> *Tiao* 跳 is pronounced *odoru*, means to jump once.
> *Yong* 踊 means a low jump, specifically without leaving where one stands. Also means to stomp with one foot at a time, as in the *qu yong* 曲踊 dance.[10]
> *Yong* 踴 same as *yong* 踊, since it is often associated with the "crying and stomping" ritual *ku yong* 哭踴[11] so for the context of jumping for joy the character *yong* 踊 is used more often, although they have the same meaning.
> *Yue* 躍 means to leave the current location by hopping up or jumping up, as seen in the phrase "to jump over" *ju yue* 距躍. It is also means to leap over objects or a distance.

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[9] Pastreich 2011, p. 166.
[10] *Qu yong* (Jp: *kyokuyô*) 曲踊, a dance that involves spinning ones body and jumping up or sideways, as documented in the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. The term later refers to a jump to the side.
[11] *Ku yong* (Jp: *kokuyô*) 哭踴, a mourning ritual involving wailing and stomping to a rhythm. It is detailed in *The Book of Rites* and *The History of Han*.

> Although the three characters *tao* 跳, *yong* 踊, and *yue* 躍 are approximately the same, their applications vary subtly. The characters *tiao* 跳 and *yue* 躍 are used to describe fish and dragons springing out of water, and 踊 is rarely used on fish and birds. When the character *teng* 騰 (to soar) is used together with *yong* 踊 or *yue* 躍 it often refers to a sudden rise in prices, and the character *tiao* 跳 is not used for this context. The expressions *yong yue* 踊躍 and *tiao yue* 跳躍 are used in association with movements of soldiers.[12]

These four characters have very similar definitions. The examples, the "crying and stomping" ritual and the *qu yong* dance, are archaic phrases, yet the explanations are written in colloquial Japanese that is easily comprehensible. The subtlety and sophistication in the Chinese expressions and the accessibility of the Japanese explanations is representative of the rest of *Yakubun sentei* and Sorai's other works. The second half of *Yakubun sentei*, also entitled as *Kun'yaku jimô* 訓訳示蒙, includes two short essays. (Although in the table of contents they are divided into five different titles, lengthwise and logically it is more sensible to view them as two essays, one on translation and the other on revising the current *kundoku* method, with examples drawn from the Neo-Confucianist Zhu Xi's works.) This part of *Yakubun sentei* also includes an extensive glossary of Chinese particles, most of which do not have a corresponding syntactical unit in Japanese.

Around the same time as the production of *Yakubun sentei*, Okajima Kanzan also wrote a number of Chinese textbooks that incorporated colloquial vocabulary and conversational idioms. Although both Sorai and Kanzan's works focus on Chinese language and were presumably

[12] The original entry is appended here to provide an example of the language used in the definition section. **跳**おどるとよむ。一とはねにとびあがるなり。**踊**小おどりするなり。其の所離れずと注して、其の場をはなれず片足づついくたびもおどりあげる気味なり。曲踊と連す。**踴**踊と同じ。哭踊と多く用い来る故に、喜んでおどるには多く踊の字を用ゆ。しかれども同意なり。**躍**其の所去ると注して、おどりあがり飛び上がることなり。距躍と連す。飛び越えることにも用ゆ。跳、踊、躍三字とも大抵同じ事に用ゆ、然れども用ようにて少しづつのちがいあるなり。龍跳龍躍、魚跳魚躍とは用ゆれとも、鳥魚のことに踊字はあまり用ず、又騰踊騰躍などは物の値の上がりたることをいい、跳字は用ず。踊躍跳躍は兵を用ゆる事に使う。*Sorai zenshû* 2, p. 342.

intended for similar readership, Kanzan's works differ from *Yakubun sentei* in terms of linguistic emphasis. For comparison, Kanzan's primer for learning vernacular Chinese, *Tôwa san'yô* 唐話纂要 (A Synopsis of Vernacular Chinese), will be examined in detail below. Kanzan was prolific in producing vernacular Chinese primers and dictionaries.[13] During his lifetime, he published four primers:

- *Tôwa san'yô* 唐話纂要 Five volumes, first edition published in Edo in 1716; second edition published in 1718 in Edo and Kyoto with a sixth volume appended.
- *Tôwa ben'yô* 唐話便用 Six volumes published in 1725 in Kyoto. Similar to *Tôwa san'yô,* this book is also a dictionary of vernacular Chinese expressions. In addition to Japanese definitions, it also incorporates Chinese pronunciations transcribed in *kana*, as well as indicator dots at the corner of characters marking their tones. Such attention to phonetic details displays Kanzan's linguistic background and knowledge acquired from actual practice as an interpreter.
- *Tôyaku benran* 唐訳便覧 Five volumes published in 1726 in Kyoto, with a preface by Itô Tôgai. The first four volumes are a handbook of Chinese expressions glossed in *kana* syllabic order. The last volume is a collection of longer expressions, with tonal marks appended.
- *Tô'on gazoku gorui* 唐音雅俗語類 Five volumes published in 1726 in Edo and Kyoto, proofread by Shinozaki Tôkai. The first two volumes collect "formal/elegant expressions (*gago* 雅語)" and volumes 3, 4, and 5 include "casual/popular expressions (*zokugo* 俗語)," also with pronunciational and tonal marks appended.

[13] Facsimile reproductions of these texts have been published in recent years as part of the series of Edo period Chinese textbooks, edited by Rokkaku Tsunehiro (1919-) who has conducted research on the history of education of Chinese language in Japan.

In the fourth volume of *Tô'on gazoku gorui* there are expressions concerning legal issues, violations of the law and subsequent penalties. Rokkaku pointed out that this section is likely taken from the translation project of the Ming Criminal Code commissioned by Tokugawa Tsunayoshi and led by Ogyû Sorai, with the assistance of linguists such as Kanzan. The Ming Criminal Code (*Da Ming lü* 大明律, compiled cir. 1375) was translated into Japanese under two titles: *Minritsu kokujikai* 明律国字解 and *Minritsukô* 明律考.[14] These translations became fundamental primary sources for the study of Ming legal system in Japan. The Edo Shogunate took great interest in such studies and was inspired to make partial modifications to Japanese criminal code during the Kyôhô Reform in the early eighteenth century. Kumamoto *han* was the first domain government to initiate a progressive legal reform based on the Ming model and was soon followed by other domains. The first Meiji criminal code, *Shinritsu kôryô*, in use from 1870 to 1881 until European legal protocols were adapted, was enacted based on the *Minritsu* standard as well.[15] While Ogyû Sorai was the official translator of the Ming Criminal Code, and his younger brother Ogyû Hokkei 北渓 (1673-1754) conducted significant study of the Chinese laws, in Muro Kyûsô's *Sundai zatsuwa* he noted that this translation was a collaboration between Sorai and Kanzan, likely along with other vernacular Chinese specialists. The language used in the Ming Criminal Code includes a considerable amount of vernacular expressions, for which Kanzan's participation was no doubt instrumental.[16]

Sorai's *Yakubun sentei* does not include pronunciations of Chinese expressions and focuses on single character vocabulary, an attribute of classical Chinese. In contrast, all of

[14] Pastreich 2011, p. 125.
[15] Takashio Hiroshi, "Edo jidai kyôho ki no Minritsu kenkyû to sono eikyô" from *Nitchû bunka kôryûshi sôsho* vol. 2.
[16] The point about the language style of *Da Ming lü* is based a note from a converstion with Tokuda Takeshi.

Kanzan's works meticulously provided phonetic details, and the vocabulary highlights expressions of two or more characters. It is noteworthy that the pronunciations appended in these primers are based on the Nanjing dialect, which was considered Mandarin (*guan hau* 官話), the official speech, before being replaced by the northern dialect following the shift of the cultural and political center. As mentioned in the previous chapter, since a number of dialects were used by the Chinese tradesmen who traveled to Japan, the Nagasaki translators had regional dialect expertise. Kanzan was known for specialization in Nanjing dialect, and his near-native pronunciation was especially praised and documented by his peers.

Volumes one to three of *Tôwa san'yô* are a dictionary of vernacular Chinese expressions grouped by their number of characters, started from two-character expressions (*nijiwa*), and increasing to three, four, five, and six-characters. The latter half of volume three and volume four list proverbs and full sentences grouped under "common expressions (*jôgen*)" and "long and short phrases (*chôtanwa*)." The fifth volume is a glossary of nouns in fourteen categories such as "household utensils (*kiyô*)" and "fruits and berries (*kara*)." When this work was reprinted in 1718, two years after the first edition, a sixth volume was added, incorporating two original short stories in vernacular Chinese on the lives of Chinese émigrés living in Japan, titled "Strange Tales of Chinese in Japan (*Wakan kidan*)."

A few entries from the first volume of *Tôwa san'yô* are listed in the table below:

Phrase	Pronunciation	Definition
他們	*taa mon* タアモン	*karera* かれら (they, them)
快些	*kuai sue* クハイスヱ	*hayaku* はやく (hurry up)
聴信你説	*teen sheen ni se* テイン スイン ニイ セ	*nanji no iu koto wo shinsuru* 汝の云ふ事を信する (I believe what you say)

Although Sorai and Kanzan had different objectives for their textbooks, one common characteristic was the emphasis on translating Chinese phrases, classical or vernacular, into contemporary and informal Japanese. Two examples from *Tôwa san'yô* are illustrative of this trend:

多虧他 (thanks to him)	*Tou kui taa.* トウ クイ タア	*Kare ga okake ja.* 彼がおかげじゃ
且罷了 (lets leave it here for now)	*Tse baa liao.* ツエ バア リヤウ	*Madzu yame yo.* まづやめよ[17]

The underlined parts are early modern colloquial interjections that are still in use today. While Sorai emphasized updating translations of classical Chinese by choosing a more accessible Japanese style in his definitions, Kanzan conveyed the effect of vernacular Chinese by matching it with casual speech.

Though Sorai's publications on learning Chinese are intended for studying classical Chinese, mostly poetry and Confucian classics, he was also highly interested in and involved with the study of contemporary Chinese. He studied vernacular Chinese and had chances to practice it in Edo, mostly with Ôbaku sect priests travelling from China. As discussed previously, foreigners' activities were restricted to limited areas in Nagasaki during most of the Tokugawa period, with the exception of Buddhist priests, who traveled to other parts of Japan. Among them, the Ôbaku sect was particularly well connected with scholars and politicians in Edo. Sorai became acquainted with this school of Zen Buddhism through his professional affiliations.

In 1696, four years after returning to Edo, Sorai's father Hôan was appointed residential medical officer serving the shogun Tsunayoshi. In the same year, Sorai obtained patronage from the powerful statesman Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu (1658-1714), who granted him access to the

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[17] *Chûgokugo kyôhon rui shûsei hoshû vol. 1*. Rokkaku Tsunehiro Ed. Tokyo: Fujishuppan, 1998. p. 53.

inner circle of scholars advising Tsunayoshi. Yanagisawa recognized Sorai's knowledge of classical Chinese and supported Sorai's advocacy of direct-reading (*chokudoku* 直読) of Chinese texts. Yanagisawa was an enthusiast of vernacular Chinese himself, as well as an adherent of the Ôbaku sect. Through this connection Sorai and his peers met Chinese priests and had conversations by brush (*hitsudan* 筆談). The best known of such meetings took place in the ninth month of 1707, when Sorai met with the Ôbaku sect priest Yuefeng Daozhang (Jp: Eppô Dôshô) from Hangzhou. This written conversation was recorded by Sorai's disciple Andô Tôya, and is discussed by modern scholars of the Edo vernacular movement.[18] In Pastreich's article on *Yakubun sentei* this conversation is described as "a performative *tour de force*" of Sorai's linguistic capability and "anything but a relaxed *tête-à-tête*."[19] But actually, both the content and the language register employed in this conversation indicate a candid exchange mostly driven by Sorai's curiosity about quotidian subjects, phonetic rules, and Chinese cultural trivia. After the initial greetings and exchanges of pleasantry, Sorai made inquiries about spoken Chinese.

> Sorai: I started studying vernacular Chinese (*Tôwa*) a few years ago but I sound like a bird. Writing is manageable, but when it comes to speaking it out loud, it is quite challenging. What do you call that tissue paper? Last year someone called it "nose-lifting paper 掀鼻紙," is that correct?
>
> Yuefeng: Yes, that is right.
>
> Sorai: (picking up an object from his belt) Is this thing called *he bao* 荷包 (pouch)?
>
> Yuefeng: Yes, indeed.
>
> Sorai: The Japanese cherry blossom 桜花, I am not sure if that is the flower of cherries 桜桃花 or crab apples 海棠花 in Chinese?
>
> Yuefeng: Crab apples are not the same as cherries. Japanese cherry blossoms are more beautiful than those of China.
>
> Sorai: There is a character written as 齣 (*chu*) seen in vernacular novels. I looked it up in dictionaries but could not find it. Please tell me how it is pronounced.
>
> Yuefeng: It is a unit of length of music, and also means one song.

[18] The full record of Sorai and Yuefeng's conversation is included in Ishizaki's book, and quoted in various publications on Sorai's activities related to vernacular Chinese.
[19] Pastreich 2011, p. 127.

Since this conversation was documented in its entirety, it preserves first-hand information about the linguistic status quo of Edo scholars' vernacular Chinese and the points of interest to them. During this conversation Sorai used colloquial expressions that he had presumably acquired from vernacular novels. Some examples include "that embarrasses [me] to death" *yue fa kui si le* 越発愧死了 and "how unimaginative" *sha feng jing sha feng jing* 殺風景殺風景. The character *si* 死 (to die) functioning as an adverb, indicating extremity, is a feature of late vernacular Chinese.[20] Furthermore, the postfix *le* 了 and repetition of multi-character compounds for emphasis are also more commonly seen in late vernacular novels. From this conversation it is evident that Sorai, as well as his peers such Andô Tôya, were quite fluent in reading and writing vernacular Chinese, and were likely familiar with vernacular novels.

After Tsunayoshi's death in 1709, Yanagisawa resigned from his official post and retreated to an estate not far from Edo castle. While Sorai no longer had direct access to the highest political echelon, he continued to serve Yanagisawa as an advisor. This patronage provided Sorai with financial security, freed him from bureaucratic duties, and enabled him to focus on his own linguistic and literary interests. In 1711, the same year *Yakubun seitei* was published, Sorai, together with his brother Hokkei and friend Ii Hakumei, founded *Yakusha* 訳社, the Translation Society. It was intended to be a group for studying vernacular Chinese and producing reliable, scholarly translations of Chinese texts. In its founding charter, Sorai officially recruited Okajima Kanzan as a linguist and lecturer.

2. The Translation Society and Ken'en School: Main Figures, Achievements, and Influences

[20] In early vernacular Chinese, the character *sha* 殺 (to kill) was more commonly used in this context, such as in Qin Jianfu's Yuan drama *Dong tang lao quan po jia zi di*: "wouldn't that embarrass me to death" 兀的不羞殺我也 *wu de bu xiu sha wo ye*.

The Ken'en School, *ken'en gakuha* 蘐園学派, named after Sorai's residence and lecture hall, refers to scholars affiliated with Sorai and the movement for "study of ancient phraseology" (*kobunjigaku* 古文辞学). In 1709, the year Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu retired, Sorai purchased a property near Kayabacho in Edo. Because the name of the area means a reed field, he took the character for reed (茅 *kaya*) and replaced it with a more esoteric synonym, *ken* 蘐 (Ch: *xuan*), to name his seminary. Since the Ken'en School advocated reading Chinese directly as a foreign language, many of its members were involved in the vernacular Chinese movement. Andô Tôya, Dazai Shundai, and Ogyû Hokkei were known for their proficiency in spoken Chinese. The Translation Society was established as a formal Chinese reading group among the Ken'en scholars, under instructions from linguists such as Okajima Kanzan and the Ôbaku priest Daichô. Its founding charter opens with the statement that the importance of translators had been historically neglected, and hence it is necessary to study translation (from Chinese into Japanese) as a formal discipline:

> Have there been translators who presided over the Way? Translation was not considered a scholar's assignment. [...] Yet what scholars recite to cultivate themselves and to convey to others are all texts from China. Chinese texts are none other than words of the Chinese people. Therefore we endeavor to rid ourselves of incongruous pronunciations,[21] and aim to emulate that man of Chu who learned another language from full immersion.[22] Hence, joined by Mr. Ii Hakumei and my younger brother Hokkei, we hereby initiate the Society, inviting Mr. Okajima from Nagasaki to be a lecturer on translation. [...] [For the Society meetings] members shall dress casually and have few attendants, so as not to disturb the neighbors. The number of the Society members may be lessened but not

[21] The original expression, *ketsu* 鴂, or *jue* in Chinese, literally means a shrike or butcher-bird, in this context refers to a disagreeable or unauthentic accent, a reference from *Mencius* to "a shrike-tongued barbarian from the south whose teaching are not those of the former kings." Book3A in *Mencisu*, Irene Bloom 2009.

[22] A reference from *Mencius* about the son of a Chu Chief Counselor learning the langue of Qi, a neighboring kingdom, "if [the son from Chu] is placed in the middle of a neighborhood in Qi, then after a few years even if you beat him daily to make him speak Chu he would not be able to. (For he had mastered the dialect of Qi)." Bloom 2009, Book3B.

> increased. The agenda of the meetings shall focus on utilizing Chinese thought to bring changes to Japan. It is disallowed to obstruct the elegant with the vulgar.[23]

The charter states that the *Yakusha* would be an informal and yet highly exclusive group, holding regular study meetings. These meetings took place from 1711 to 1724.[24]

The Ôbaku Sect had a prominent presence in the Translation Society. At the beginning of *Tôwa ruisan* 唐話類纂 (1725), a primer for vernacular Chinese, edited by Okajima Kanzan and others, there is a list of twelve members of the Society: Okajima Kanzan, Daichô, Tensan, Etsû, Ogyû Sorai, Andô Tôya, Dazai Shundai, Shinozaki Tôkai, Amano Sogen, Yamada Suiryû, Watarai Tôka, Majima Kôgen.[25] Among these members, Daichô, Tensan, and Etsû were Ôbaku priests. The Ôbaku school, one of the three prominent Zen Buddhist sects in Japan, was founded in 1654 by the Chinese priest Ingen Ryûki (Ch: Yin yuan long qi, 1592-1673).[26] This sect played an important role in the vernacular Chinese movement as a liaison between its politician patrons and Sinologist scholars. As the population of Chinese in Nagasaki increased by the year, they gathered funds, combined with donations from homeland, to commission Buddhist temples to be instituted for worship and community functions. There were three temples in Nagasaki serving primarily Chinese émigrés from different regions: Kôfuku-ji 興福寺 (Nankin-tera 南京寺), Fukusai-ji 福済寺 (Shôshu-tera 漳州寺), and Sôfuku-ji 崇福寺 (Fukushû-tera, 福州寺; Shina-dera). They were referred to as *acha-dera* (Chinese temples) by local Japanese, as *acha*

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[23] *Sorai shû*, volume 18, folio 8 and 9, printed by Bunkindô, Osaka, 1791. Waseda University rare books collection.
[24] Okada Kesao, *Edo igengo sesshoku: Ranwa/Tôwa to kindai Nihongo*. p.232.
[25] With the exception of Majima, brief biographical information of the members are included in Ishizaki's chapter on *Yakusha*.
[26] Ôbaku Sect formally became independent from Rinzai Sect in 1876. The other Zen school is the Sôtô Sect.

阿茶 was a Nagasaki expression for Chinese settlers.[27] But the influence of contemporary Chinese Buddhism spread beyond Nagasaki.

Following an order from Tokugawa Ietsuna, the chief priest at Kôfuku-*ji*, Itsunen, invited Ingen, a priest at Wanfu-si 万福寺 in Fujian, to come to Japan. In 1654, at the age of sixty-three, Ingen arrived at Nagasaki leading a group of twelve disciples. Soon after his arrival, his reputation reached beyond Nagasaki and broadened the influence of the Ôbaku Sect. In 1658 he traveled to Edo for a reception with Ietsuna, who granted him a substantial plot of land in Uji near Kyoto to construct a monastery that was to become Manpuku-ji 万福寺, the head temple of the Japanese Ôbaku Sect. The direct and contemporaneous connection between the Japanese Ôbaku Sect and its sources in China opened an expeditious channel for religious discourse and also for vernacular language and other cultural imports. To this day, the Ôbaku Sect bears a number of resemblances to Ming and Qing Chinese monasteries in terms of rituals and usage of vernacular Chinese idioms. Chanting sutras in Mandarin pronunciation (Nanking dialect) remains a daily practice, referred to as *bonbai* 梵唄, at Ôbaku temples in Japan. Compare the opening of the *Heart Sutra* translated into Chinese from Sanskrit recited as below:[28]

> Chinese characters: 仏説波羅蜜多心経
> typical Japanese reading: *bussetsu haramita shingyô*
> Ôbaku Sect reading: *poze poromito shinkin*
> Chinese reading (contemporary Nanking dialect): *poze poromeduo xinjing*

Another example of Chinese cultural preservation is *fucha ryôri* 普茶料理 ("tea for all" cuisine), a culinary style using vegetarian ingredients to imitate poultry and other non-vegetarian dishes. It originated from Chinese Buddhist vegetarian cooking and became one of the Ôbaku Sect's attributes.

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[27] Ishizaki, p. 32.
[28] Information provided by Manpuku-*ji*, Uji, Kyoto Prefecture.

Among the group of Japanese priests in the Translation Society, Daichô (1678-1768), Etsu and Tensan were known for their fluency in spoken Chinese.[29] In particular, Daichô, a native of Hizen (modern day Saga Prefecture), received formal language training in Nagasaki and was a translator at Manpuku-ji monastery.[30] His literary and linguistic achievements were highly considered in his homeland, Kyûshû. A fellow countryman, scholar and *kanshi* poet Hirose Tansô (1782-1856), paid attribute to Daichô in his *Appraisal of Scholars* (Jurin hyô 儒林評):

> Literary development of Kyûshû owes much to the groundbreaking work by Priest Daichô from Hizen. Daichô was thirteen years younger than Sorai. While he was not a disciple of Sorai's, the two had a close friendship. He was greatly influenced by Sorai's philosophy on scholarship and poetry. After Sorai passed away he continued to be a source of influence and gained wide respect from many in the Kyûshû region. A number of later renown scholars and writers were Daichô's protégés.[31]

Daichô was invited to join the Translation Society together with Kanzan as a language instructor.

Among Sorai's disciples Dazai Shundai 太宰春台 (1680-1747) was credited with maintaining Sorai's legacy in Chinese classical learning and the study of ancient phraseology (*kobunjigaku* 古文辞学). At age seventeen Shundai began studying with Sinologist scholar Nakano Giken. Nakano Giken was a native of Nagasaki and nephew to the chief translator Hayashi Dôei (Ch: Lin Dao rong), whose father came from China. Giken was orphaned at a young age and was raised and educated by Hayashi Dôei who taught Giken vernacular Chinese as well as the classics.[32] As an expert on spoken Chinese, Giken was also acquainted with the Ken'en school. With this connection, when Shundai met Sorai in 1712, he soon became a keen

[29] See Ishizaki and Kuraishi.
[30] Wakaki Taiichi of Nagasaki University presented a paper on Daichô's career and publications as a linguist at the summer of 2006 biannual *Nihon kinsei bungaku taikai* symposium.
[31] Ishizaki, p. 65.
[32] Ibid, pp. 50-51.

disciple and active member of the Translation Society. Shundai's *Essentials of Japanese Readings* (Wadoku yôryô 倭読要領), published in 1728, is a voluminous tour de force on Chinese phonetics, philology, and correction of Japanese scholars' and Sung Neo-Confucianists' hermeneutics on the Chinese classical canon.[33] On Japanese *kun'yomi* reading of Chinese characters, Shundai stated: "In contemporary view, neither the *Go* reading 呉音 nor the *Kan* reading 漢音 is really the pronunciation of Chinese (*Chûka no on* 中華の音). They were initially transcriptions of some dialects of unknown regions."[34] Shundai inherited Sorai's opposition to the *kundoku* reading method of classical Chinese text, and considered *kundoku* reading's rearrangement of the word order an obsolete convention that obstructed genuine comprehension of the classics. This objection to "reversing the word order" (*tentô shite yomu* 顛倒して読む) is inherited from Sorai's criticism of "inverted word order" (*kaikan no yomi* 廻環之読) in *kundoku* annotation, articulated in *Yakubun sentei*.

A conventional method for reading classical Chinese, especially the Confucian classics, was double-annotation (*onkun ryôdoku hô* 音訓両読法). With certain variations, this method appends both phonetic Chinese reading (*ondoku*) and syntactical Japanese reading (*kundoku*) next to the original text.[35] Orthodox Neo-Confucian scholars such as Hayashi Gahô of Confucian Academy, Matsunaga Sekigo, Kinoshita Jun'an, and Yamazaki Ansai adopted this annotation system. An example from *Gokyô shitchû* 五経集注, *The Five Classics* annotated by Matsunaga Shôeki (Matsunaga Sekigo's son) is as follows:

Bunmei (文明) *aya* (文) *ari akirakani* (明らか)

[33] For extensive introduction on the contents of *Wadoku yôryô*, see Okada 2006.
[34] Kuraishi 2007, p. 12.
[35] See Murakami Masataka's article "Matsunaga Shôeki no 'Shusho gokyô shitchû' ni okeru kunten ni tsuite." *Artes Liberales* 28 (July, 1981), pp.172-162.

Shundai, in a chapter of *Wadoku yôryô* entitled "How to read texts (*dokusho hô* 読書法),"

criticizes this annotation method:

> To read '*kankan taru shokyû* 関関タル雎鳩' as *kankan to yawaragi naku shokyû no misago*; and to read '*shinshi taru kôsai* 参差タル荇菜' as *shinshi to katatagai naru kôsai no asaza*,[36] it is not known when this annotation system was first used, and it is truly futile."[37]

These examples are taken from *The Book of Odes*, which was one of the *Five Classics* and was typically annotated and studied in this double-annotation method. The *onyomi* readings provide pronunciational guides, followed by *kunyomi* which translate the expression into Japanese.

As the modern scholar Okada Kesao summarized in his book *Cross-cultural communication in Tokugawa Japan: Dutch, Chinese in Ming, Qing Dynasties and Japanese*, by analyzing the historical relationship between Japanese and Chinese languages, Shundai etymologically characterized Japanese vocabulary into five groups:

> 1. native words (*wago* 倭語) rooted in nature and cosmology ("true words")
> 2. native words created after contact with other cultures
> 3. words with attached *wakun* reading post importation of Chinese characters, e.g. *hitsuji* (羊 sheep)
> 4. imported words that kept Chinese readings, e.g. *ho* (火 fire)
> 5. words propagated historically from the southern Korean peninsula[38]

In *Wadoku yôryô*, Shundai also voiced his stance on the methodology of Confucian studies and Chinese-style literature, beyond narrowly linguistic issues. He questioned the legitimacy of the Neo-Confucian School's canonization. In particular, Shundai argued that *Mencius*, selected by Zhu Xi (1130-1200) as one of the *Four Books*, deviated from the bona fide philosophy of Confucius and was not suitable as a primer for pupils.[39] In the chapter

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[36] *Kankan*, *shokyû*, *shinshi*, and *kôsai* are the Chinese readings while the corresponding Japanese readings are *yawaragi*, *misago*, *katatagai*, and *azana* respectfully.
[37] Kuraishi 2007, p. 40.
[38] Okada 2006, pp. 422-423.
[39] Ibid, p. 427.

"admonitions for scholarship 学戒" Shundai reiterated that Neo-Confucianists' hermeneutics should be disregarded for they "digressed from the teachings of the ancient sage," and do not reflect the meaning of the *Six Classics*.[40]

The Ken'en School's stance on vernacular Chinese and approach to the Confucian canon were part of an ideological paradigm shift that influenced later generations of scholars. To reconceptualize Chinese, vernacular or classical, as a foreign entity was the linguistic manifestation of this ideological shift. The invalidation of Sung Neo-Confucianism as the sole authentic heir of ancient Chinese philosophy and language opened up the possibility for Japanese scholars to position their own interpretations on the same platform and to rival their Chinese contemporaries. Represented by figures like Hayashi Razan of the Confucian Academy and Nakae Tôju of the Japanese Yangming School (Yômeigaku 陽明学), Japanese scholars had hitherto been studying the annotations of Chinese Confucian scholars through the *kundoku* system. As a turning point rejecting such uncritical ideology importation, and in contrast to these traditionalists, Itô Jinsai and Ogyû Sorai advocated revivalism (*fukko shugi* 復古主義) to question the intellectual pedigree of Sung Neo-Confucianism. This dissent led to the possibility, if only at a theoretical level during the early to mid Tokugawa period, of Japanese intellectuals' equalization with their Chinese peers as Confucian scholars. The alienation of the Chinese language implied the separation of the Chinese canon from the origin of Japanese native culture writ large. The historically sequential relationship between Chinese and Japanese ideology was readjusted to a contemporary and pareallel coexistence by Edo intellectuals such as Jinsai and Sorai. Therefore Sorai and his followers advocated learning vernacular Chinese as a living language, in the same pronunciations and contexts as used by Chinese of the same period.

[40] Ibid, p. 433. *The Six Classics* is an archaic term for *The Five Classics*.

Chapter Three Influences of the Ken'en School on Classical Chinese Aesthetics: Hattori Nankaku and the Literati Culture

Among the prolific Ken'en School of scholars, Hattori Nankaku 服部南郭 (1683-1759) is considered the most influential successor of Ogyû Sorai's literary ideals. In contrast to Dazai Shundai's works focusing on linguistic, political, and Confucian philosophical subjects, Nankaku produced works of literature and literary commentary. While many other scholars of this coterie were enthusiastic about vernacular Chinese, Nankaku focused on classical Chinese poetry and prose. He translated and annotated an anthology of Chinese poetry, *Tôshisen* 唐詩選 (Ch: *Tangshi xuan*), which was canonized during his life time and became a standard for later generations of *kanshi* poets. A quintessential literati, Nankaku was an expert in various subjects and prolific beyond *kanshi* poetry and poetic criticism. Another unique and less studied work, *Daitô seigo* 大東世語 (Stories of the East), that is discussed here is a reverse translation and compilation of earlier Japanese bibliographical anecdotes into a collection of short narratives in classical Chinese. Nankaku's penchant for classical texts and "elegant language" is consistent with his intellectual lineage, the Ancient Phraseology school advocated by Ogyû Sorai. Hattori Nankaku emphasized the distinction between the elegant (*ga*) and the vulgar (*zoku*). For language register, he projected this dichotomy onto the separation of classical and vernacular Chinese; and in the terms of genre, poetry was considered suitable for "elegant emotions" while narratives (*shôsetsu*) was made of vulgar language.[1]

1. Hattori Nankaku's Life Philosophies

[1] For a detailed discussion on Nankaku's outlook on *ga* and *zoku*, see Flueckiger (2011), pp. 120-122.

Hattori Nankaku was born in 1683 to an affluent merchant family in Kyoto. His adult name was Genkyô 元喬. Nankaku, "southern wall," was his style name and presumably originated from a reference in *Zhuangzi*.[2] Although not part of the elite samurai class, Nankaku's family had a number of *waka* and *renga* enthusiasts and intellectuals. His father studied with prominent *waka* poet Kitamura Kigin and his maternal uncle was a disciple of the great scholar Itô Jinsai. Under such influence, Nankaku studied poetry and classical Chinese from an early age.[3] After his father's death, with some family connections Nankaku went to Edo at the age of fourteen aspiring to become a professional *waka* poet. In 1698 or 1699[4] he was a poet/painter-in-residence and retainer and to Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu[5] who was a powerful politician and trusted advisor to Shogun Tokugawa Tsunayoshi. Yanagisawa was also a devoted patron to a number of famed scholars including Ogyû Sorai. In Yanagisawa's literary salon, there was great attention on Chinese classics and the study of colloquial Chinese. It is documented that Yoshiyasu exchanged words with priests from China directly without an interpreter. Lectures on Confucianist canonical texts such as *The Analects* and *Mencius* were regularly held at Yanagisawa's residence and often in the presence of Tokugawa Tsunayoshi.[6] It was under such scholarly environment and the influence of Confucian scholars that Nankaku redirected his literary interest from *waka* to *kanshi* and classical Chinese studies.

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[2] *Zhuangzi* section two "Discussion on Making All Things Equal," "Ziqi of South Wall sat leaning on his armrest, staring up at the sky and breathing—vacant and far away, as though he'd lost his companion." Tokuda Takeshi argues this names is taken from another text, *Han Fei Zi* (Jp: Kanpishi), where an incompetent court musician, Master Nanguo (Jp: Nankaku), made a living by faux playing in an orchestra. Tokuda suggests this reference out of interpretation that Nankaku used this name for self-deprecation.
[3] Hino Tatsuo 1999. "Bunjin no seiritsu" in *Hattori Nankaku denkô*.
[4] Different accounts are not consistent on this date.
[5] "*Waka* and painting were his talents (to make a living) 歌ト画トノ芸ヲ以テ" a quote from *Bunkai zakki* 文会雑記 (a collection of essays on the words and deeds of Ken'en scholars) by Yuasa Jôzan. See Hino 1999, p. 65.
[6] Ishizaki, chapter 3.

In 1709 soon after Tsunayoshi's death, Yanagisawa resigned from his position and retreated to his private residence in Edo. Sorai moved to Kayabacho and established his lecture hall named Ken'en. In 1711 Nankakau became a disciple of Sorai and officially joined the Ken'en School. In the same year Dazai Shundai also became a member of this group and Okajima Kanzan came to Edo by Sorai's invitation to found the Society of Translation (*Yakusha*). In 1714 Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu died and soon afterwards Nankaku resigned from his service to the Yanagiswa house in 1718. That was the last time Nankaku held any official position. After resignation Nankaku moved to Ueno, near the Shinobazu Pond (part of the Ueno Park today) and named his house and seminar hall *Fukyokan* 芙蕖館, the Lotus Manor. From then on until he passed away in 1759 at the age of seventy-seven, Nankaku supported himself and family through the sales of his books and giving lectures. His most significant publications include the annotated anthology of Chinese poetry *Tôshisen* (唐詩選 1724); a treatise on literary theory *Master Nanakaku's Jottings under the Lamplight* (南郭先生燈下書 Nankaku sensei tôka no sho, 1734); prose narratives *Stories of the East* (大東世語 Daitô seigo, 1750); and his various writings anthologized with the title *Collected Works of Master Nankaku* (南郭先生文集 Nankaku sensei bunshû) including poetry, essays, correspondences, and epitaphs. It was published in four installments over the time span from 1727 to 1758.

Since leaving the Yanagisawa house, more than once Nankaku declined the opportunity to join the project of compiling the chronicle *Dai Nihon shi* commissioned by the Governor of Mito. The first generation of Mito Governor was Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628-1700) who recruited scholars extensively, regardless of the school they were affiliated with. By the time of Nankaku resignation from the Yanagisawa's, Mito had attracted a few known scholars from the Ancient Phraseology School associated with Sorai, even though the majority of this group were

affiliated with Hayashi's dominating Neo-Confucianism school. Unlike many of his contemporaries who considered obtaining offices as the ultimate career ambition and social responsibility as a scholar, Nankaku regarded bureaucratic duties tawdry and determined to make a living solely out of literature. In a letter to a fellow Sorai's disciple Andô Tôya, Nankaku comments on his outlook on post-Yanagisawa career: "As you often said, 'Holding office is vulgar (*zoku*).' Now I am in the position to concur with you."[7] Nankaku also openly stated his disinterest in political theories, "I will never speak about state affairs." By committing to such non-involving stance, Nankaku established a distinction between scholars (*jusha* 儒者) and independent literati (*bunjin* 文人). In contrast to Nankaku's views, his peer and rival Dazai Shundai's prospective on social responsibilities as a scholar underlines political ambition and pragmatism:

> The Way of the Sages (Confucianism) has no other purposes than ruling the nation. Since the days of Confucius and his seventy two disciples, scholars have all been aiming towards this goal. Those who abandon such pursuit, spending their entire life composing poetry and prose, are not true scholars.[8]

Such contrasting views between Dazai and Nankaku, two most prominent successors of Sorai, reflect the differences in their personalities and approaches to the same intellectual lineage. It also reaffirms Sorai's philosophy on education in cultivating diverse talents in accordance to each disciple's nature, stated in his *Yakubun sentei* (A Tool for Translation).

Nankaku's life philosophy as an independent scholar was uncommon for men of letters at that time. This stance originated from a few possible circumstances. Nankaku was an adherent of Taoist philosophy, he published two books of annotations of *Zhuangzi*: *Kakuchû sôji* 郭注荘

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[7] *Nankaku sensei bunshû* in *Sorai gakuha*, *Nihon shisô taikei* vol. 37, p. 202.
[8] Dazai Shundai's "On Public Affairs (*Keizai roku*)."

子 (1739) and *Sôji ongi* 荘子音義 (1741).[9] One of the fundamental concepts of Taoism is "effortless doing" (*wu wei*) proposed in *Tao Te Ching* which is often interpreted as to govern without actions. Following such interpretation, it is justifiable for scholars, during lasting political stability, to embrace idleness as "diminishes doing" instead actively seeking office. Sorai appraised the Taoist notion of inactivity in his treatise "Policy for Harmonious Sovereignty" (太平策 *Taiheisaku*):

> [Following Confucianism], the second highest school of thought is Lao-tzu's philosophy. It is about not taking any rectifying measures. If one can not practice the Way of Sages, then just treat the most urgent matters and leave the minor issues alone—that is the best method. There is the ancient expression that one follows the moderate course (中道 *chûdô*) without taking remedies. That is consistent with the Taoist philosophy.[10]

The influence of Sorai's outlook on Taoism is embedded in Nankaku's views which further emphasizes some of the important concepts of Taoism. In an article titled "Comments on the *Tao Te Ching* with Wong's Annotation," Nankaku stated, "Reflecting on historical and current events, many a time the veracity of Lao-tzu's wisdom have been attested. How could the Confucianists glare [at Taoists] in contention?"[11] The Ken'en school regarded the philosophy of Lao-tzu and Zhuang-zi as an alternative to Confucianism, constructing theoretical basis for political ideology. Nankaku's interpretations of this philosophy tend to lean towards a personal principle.

Besides Taoist influence, Nankaku's inclination to be a literati without office was reminiscent of a group of Chinese intellectuals from the third century, "the Seven Sages of the

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[9] Hino 1999, p. 284.
[10] Ibid, p. 141.
[11] This quote by Nankaku is from the forth installment of *Collected Works of Master Nankaku*. Wong's annotations refer to Wang Bi (Jp: Ô Hitsu, 226-249) whose annotated *Tao Te Ching* was standardized edition for the text.

Bamboo Grove"[12] (竹林七賢 Ch: zhu lin qi xian, Jp: chikurin no shichiken). This group, of which the most known figures were Liu Ling 劉伶, Ji Kang 嵇康, and Ruan Ji 阮籍, were intellectuals disillusioned during a time of political turmoil. The Six Dynasties (222-589) culture underlined by aristocratic intellectuals, Taoism, mysticism, and metaphysics was in decline and the country was fraught with the civil wars and political chaos of the Northern and Southern period. The Seven Sages, became more of a trope for later literature and art symbolizing a stance of protestation to society by reclusive life style, eccentric behavior, and rejection to holding offices. In a preface to his peer Irie Jakusui's (1671-1729) poetry collection *Woodcutters' Songs in the West Mountain* (Seizan shôshô 西山樵唱, 1725), Nankaku eulogized life of a poet taking hermitage outside of society:

> Jie Zi-tui[13] was to live the rest of his life as a recluse, and he needed no provocative speeches. His words were already established. A pity they were never heard and applied. For those who are born in towns during a peaceful era, they wander into the fields under a harmonious sovereign, come and go freely and leisurely. They stomp on the ground and beat on the stomach like a drum. Sated with food, they enjoy themselves. Having a good time makes one want to sing; singing leads to rhythm and rhyme, and that becomes poetry. And one can trek to all of the famous mountains and grand rivers, admiring the fish and birds, singing of forests and swamps. […] The author (Jakusui) is taking a journey among the clouds, and all of the esteemed gentlemen in the Eastern Capital want to meet him. […] He obtained fame from his poetry and it was through his poems the world knew of his reclusion. Recluses do not seek recognition, and yet people are talking about this recluse, it is because of this collection. This is an example of how words have a life of their own. The collection is named "The Woodcutter's Songs."[14]

The Six Dynasties intellectuals' emphasis on individuality, aversion to worldly undertakings, and celebration of nature particularly resonated with Nankaku's life philosophy.

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[12] The name of the group came from the anecdote that they often gathered in bamboo groves outside of town for drinking and "pure talk," philosophical discussions (清談 Ch: *qing tan*, Jp: *seidan*).

[13] Jie Zi-tsui 介子推 (Jp: Kai Shisui), a famous Chinese retainer to Duke Wen of Jin during the Spring and Autumn Period. He aided the duke through twenty years of exile and return to sovereignty. Afterwards Jie left the capital and took hermitage in a mountain without accepting promotion or awards for his service.

[14] Installment one, section seven from *Collected Works of Master Nankaku*.

The Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove symbolized a passé golden age of aristocratic scholars (士大夫 Jp: *shitaifu*, Ch: *shi da fu*). Their eccentric behavior, indulgence in drinking, and reclusive lives were manifestations of individualism and elitism, repressed under unpredictable political climate. This contributed to the popularity of this group as model for nonconformist intellectuals for later generations, particularly during either political turmoil or stifling stagnation. During the Southern Sung dynasty, Liu Yiqing (403-444), nephew of the first Sung emperor and a writer and poet, was a patron to a number of scholars. Leading this group of literati, Liu was known for compiling and composing *A New Account of Tales of the World* (世說新語 Ch: Shi shuo xin yu, Jp: Sesetsu shingo), a collection of anecdotes of aristocrats, scholars, and statesmen from the second century BCE to Liu's contemporaries. Many of the Seven Sages were featured in this book with their artistic, witty, and iconoclastic anecdotes. This text was widely influential and popular among literati who possibly identified with some of the characters. In 1750, Nankaku published his version of a similar text: *Stories of the East* (大東世語 Daitô seigo). This book is composed in classical Chinese and structured in the similar style as its Chinese predecessor. The last section of this chapter includes an analytical comparison of these two texts in details.

Nankaku was a studious disciple among the Ken'en school with his literary talent recognized by Sorai and Yanagisawa. However, he was from a commoner family and most of his peers in the literati circle came from elite samurai class. The difference in social background might have contributed to Nankaku's attraction to the ideal of *shi da fu* (aristocratic scholar). Not long after moving to the capital Nankaku refocused his literary interest from *waka* to the more elite Confucian studies and *kanshi* poetry. On the other hand, Nankaku might have considered himself a marginality of such clique. His talents were recognized by Yanagisawa

who provided him with financial security, social status, and freedom to explore any literary domain of his interest. Such patronage understandably was received by Nankaku with deep gratitude and loyalty. It was after Yanagisawa's death that Nankaku made up his mind that, without the master who truly understood and appreciated him, it was futile to be in service. In a letter to a fellow retainer and painter Yanagisawa Kien[15], Nankaku stated his loyalty:

> No one understands a steward better than his master. The late Lord, out of kindness and sympathy, used to say to me: "I will not fault you for anything, but people after me might demand more of you. After I leave this world, you may go serve one of these people, or you might choose not to and make a name of your own. If you decide to go far and away one day, do not say I did not understand you." I was profoundly moved by this and sworn to never forget his words.[16]

If Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu had remained in power longer and kept Nankaku under his generous protection, it was possible that Nankaku's life might have been different with more political ambitions. In fact, his commentaries on a poem by Wang Wei 王維 reveal his resignation was a result of disappointing circumstances. The poem, a well-known pentasyllabic, was composed on the occasion of parting with a friend and Meng Haoran:

To See a Friend Off		送別
Dismount and drink this wine.	1	下馬飲君酒
Where to? I ask.	2	問君何所之
At odds with the world:	3	君言不得意
Return to rest by the South Hill.	4	帰臥南山陲
Go. Go. Do not ask again.	5	但去莫復問
Endless, the white clouds.[17]	6	白雲無尽時

[15] Also known by the name Ryû Rikyô, Kien (1704-1758) was not a relative to the Yanagisawa house. His family was retainers at the Yanagisawa's house and received the family name as recognition for their service. Kien also studied with Sorai and influenced by the Sorai-Kanzan group. His paintings, representative of the early "literati painting" genre (*bunjin-ga*, also referred to as *nanga*, the Southern School), demonstrate strong influences of Chinese aesthetics.

[16] Section 6 of the first part of Hino 1999.

[17] There exist a number of English translations for this poem: by David Hinton in *Selected Poems of Wang Wei* and various scholars and translators in Minford and Lau's *An Anthology of Translations: Classical Chinese Literature Volume One From Antiquity to the Tang Dynasty*, includes six versions of English dating from 1884 to 1980, as well as a German translation. Here the translation by Wai-lim Yip

While the simplicity of the poem yields room for variation in interpretations, it is evident this poem implies the friend being sent off has been disillusioned by worldly pursuits. Projecting the scenario onto his own life, Nankaku elaborates in his commentaries:

Commentary

Title: This is a parting poem for someone who has ceased to care about worldly affairs and chooses to be a recluse.

Line One: It was parting ritual to ride with the one who is leaving to the border of the town. Once there, people would dismount and bring out wine to toast the occasion.

Lines 2-4: The question is for the one who is leaving. When I asked what are your plans now, and where are you heading to. You answered: I, too, once had certain ambitions and tried to make a name for myself. But things did not turn out well (line three), and rather than hanging on desperately to this frivolous world, I shall go rest and lay myself down by the foot of the South Mountain.

Line Five: It is better to enjoy oneself in the foothills of the South Mountain. May you never inquire after or seek fame and fortune again.

Line Six: Residing in the mountain, the white clouds gather and scatter incessantly without ending. Withdraw oneself and demand nothing from the outside world, enjoy the autumn landscape. To flee the maddening world with candid parting words, that is the delightful part of this poem. “White clouds” is a reference for recluse, so much unsaid encapsulated in this term alone.[18]

Of the interpretative comments, the underlined parts are added by Nankaku and not indicated or implied in the original poem. It does not take a leap of imagination to see that Nankaku empathized and identified with the poet’s friend, Meng Haoran, who after a brief and unfulfilled career resigned from official posts for good.

Any of the aforementioned circumstances or combination of all might explain Nankaku’s decision to be a scholar without holding any official posts for the majority of his life. While being an independent scholar and not affiliated with an institution has become a recognized trajectory for conducting scholarship in later centuries, it was far from customary in the early

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is cited for its close representation of the syntactical simplicity of the original, in contrast with Nankaku’s extrapolative and personal comments. Minford & Lau 2000, p. 716.

[18] *Tôshisen kokujikai*, volume one, ed. Hino Tatsuo. No. 405 of Tôyô Bunko, published by Heibonsha. Underlines mine.

eighteenth century. Nankaku's practice of his philosophy defines him as one of the earliest Japanese intellectuals making distinction between Confucian scholarship (*jugaku*) and pure literature (*bungaku*).[19] This unique position enabled Nankaku to dedicate his literary skills solely to subjects of his choice and he produced the voluminous complete collection of his works during his lifetime in addition to the annotated anthology of Chinese poetry.

2. Poetic Commentary in *Tôshisen*

Tôshisen 唐詩選 (Ch: *Tang shi xuan*), attributed to have been anthologized by Ming poet Li Panlong 李攀龍 (Jp: Ri Hanryû, 1514-1570), is a central part of Japanese *kanshi* poetry canon since its first importation in the mid Tokugawa period. Its phenomenal and lasting popularity earned its Japanese publisher Suharaya Shinbê 須原屋新兵衛 tremendous profit. From the first local edition (*wakokubon*) published in 1720 until the end of Tokugawa period in 1860, the printing blocks for a single edition of *Tôshisen* had to be reproduced fourteen times due to wear. A catalogue from Suharaya issued in the late nineteenth century listed forty different editions of this text. During the hundred and forty years it is estimated that approximately one hundred thousand copies of various editions of *Tôshisen* were sold.[20] These figures place this anthology in a class of its own in terms of its wide influence and reach of readership of the time. As most Chinese texts imported to Japan of the time, a number of interpretational commentaries and linguistic glosses were produced for a broader, general readership. Among these, Hattori Nankaku's commentary, published in 1724, was the standardized annotated edition of *Tôshisen*. His lecture notes on this anthology were organized by his students and published posthumously

[19] Nakumura Kayoko.
[20] Figures here are from Hino Tatsuo's introduction to *Tôshisen kokujikai* and Peter Kornicki's *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginning to the Nineteenth Century*.

in 1791 with the title *Tôshisen kokujikai* 唐詩選国字解 (A Vernacular Guide to *A Selection of Tang Poems*) *Kokujikai*, literally explication in native words, refers to a genre of annotated and commentated reprints of Chinese texts which uses colloquial Japanese for a readership not necessarily fluent in classical Chinese or even familiar the *kunten* annotations.

In terms of the accuracy of translation of *Tôshisen*, Nankaku's edition has been surpassed by later commentators of Tang poetry. However it still holds significance in illustrating Nankaku's poetic criticism. *Tang shi xuan*, the Chinese source for *Tôshisen*, is embedded with Li Panlong's literary outlook. Never intended to be an exhaustive anthology, it includes poems primarily from the High Tang (712-765) period out of the three hundred years of the dynasty. This anthology concentrates on the grandiosity of works by virtuosos as Li Po and Du Fu, and evidently disregarding mid and late Tang prominent poets such as Po Chu-I, Han Yu, and Li Shangyin, whose works demonstrate exquisite deftness. In his commentated edition, Nankaku fully embraces Li's philosophy of such preference that underlines heightened human pathos. This selection emphasizes individual expressions as a literary reaction to the rigidity of Neo-Confucianism ideology. In consistency with this emphasis on pathos, Nankaku's interpretations on some of the poems in *Tôshisen* are marked with personal melancholy and disillusion that depart from conventional readings.

A Night of Drinking in Youzhou	幽州夜飲	張説
Zhang Yue (667-731)		
Cold wind blowing through the night rain,	1	涼風吹夜雨
Rustling the treetops into shivers.	2	蕭瑟動寒林
At the time a banquet being held in a grand hall now,	3	正有高堂宴
How can one forget the approaching old age?	4	能忘遅暮心
Sword dance is suitable for the martial occasion,	5	軍中宜劍舞
Sound of the flute is favored here at the border.	6	塞上重笳音
Without serving as a frontier officer,	7	不作辺城将
How would one know the depth of grace?	8	誰知恩遇深

Commentary

Title: Youzhou is located in the north. [Near modern day Beijing.][21] The poet is apparently someone who held a high ranked militant position. The poem depicts scenes from a banquet, while the ambience is sumptuous, the poets longs to return to the capital.

Lines 3-4: The word "at the time 正" echoes the previous couplet depicting desolation on the border: although the merry making at the banquet is cheering people up, I cannot help thinking of the end of the year is near and my old age. "Late in the year 遲暮" means both the passing of the year as well as one's aging. The sentiment here suggests failure to fulfill one's ambition and growing old in vain.[22]

Modern scholar Hino Tatsuo's additional notes to Nankaku's commentary of this poem provides a different reading: "Most later commentaries interpret line four as 'Makes one forget the approaching end of the year (age).' Nankaku interprets this line as a rhetorical question, it reveals Nankaku's tendency towards melancholy and lingering attachment in poetry."

Li Panlong, the attributed compiler of *Tang shi xuan*, was a main figure of the Chinese Ancient Rhetoric School 古文辞派 and also one of the "Later Seven Masters" (後七子 Ch: *hou qi zi*, Jp. *goshichisi*, early sixteenth century). While there are scholars both in China and Japan questioning the authenticity of this attribution, the selection and commentaries of this anthology are characteristic of Li's outlook on Tang poetry and consistent with the Ancient Rhetoric School. Li represented a school of scholars who advocated revivalism of Qin and Han dynasties prose and the dramatic characteristic of High Tang poetry, opposing the stoic and often pedantic Sung and Ming poetry. This anthology of close to five hundred poems are categorized by format into seven groups. The brief and forthright preface by Li Panlong summarizes his appraisal of pivotal Tang poets such as Li Po and Du Fu.

Tang shi xuan was circulating in China from the late sixteenth century to the early seventeenth century. It was first imported to Japan not long after its publication in China, and

[21] Additional notes in brackets are by Hino Tatsuo.
[22] *Tôshisen kokujikai*, volume one, pp. 279-280.

gained attention from scholars such as Nawa Kassho 那波活所 (Fujiwara Seika's disciple) and Kaibara Ekiken 貝原益軒. Prior to Nankaku's edition, a Japanese reprint (*wakoku*) of *Tang shi xuan* was published: *Tôshi kunkai* 唐詩訓解 (1661-2). This reprint was read by Ogyû Sorai and Arai Hakuseki, as well as used by Nankaku and his disciples as a base text for *Tôshisen*. However, in one of his prefaces to *Tôshisen* Nankaku criticizes the erroneous comments of this text and questions its reliability. Nankaku's own commentated edition was intended to be a more accurate and accessible edition of this anthology.

Although there were other Tang poetry anthologies circulating in Japan at that time such as the Southern Sung *Santaishi* 三体詩 (Ch. *San ti shi*), most of them selected poems primarily from mid to late Tang periods reflecting the influence of late Sung scholars in Japan. Neither Li Po or Du Fu's poems were included in *Santaishi*. Repositioning the epitome of Tang poetry back to the early eighth century, the High Tang, *Tôshisen* was a reaction against this trend. The larger ideological and intellectual context for this reaction, both in China and Japan, was the rise of revivalism (復古 Ch: *fu gu*, Jp: *fukko*) or pseudo-classicism (擬古 Ch: *ni gu*, Jp: *giko*) which challenged the mainstream Zhu Xi's neo-Confucianism and advocated earlier rhetoric and literary aesthetics. In China the main figures of this movement were the "Late Seven Masters" of Ming including Li Panlong and Wang Shizhen. In Japan this ideological shift was responded by Ogyû Sorai's Ken'en School, also referred as the Ancient Phraseology Study (古文辞学 *kobunjigaku*) and Itô Jinsai's Ancient Interpretation School (古義学 *kogigaku*) in the mid to late seventeenth century. Both the Chinese and Japanese revivalists subscribed to the motto "only [study] prose from Qin and Han, and poetry from the High Tang 文必秦漢詩必盛唐."

In terms of literary criticism, the Sorai School claims that the quintessential function of literature is conveying genuine human emotions and to evoke empathy from others. Such views were further developed and advocated by the Nativism's literary theorist such as Motoori Norinaga. They disputed neo-Confucianism's theory that literature, prose as well as poetry, should first and foremost serve the purpose of moral edification. While classics such as *The Book of Songs* was interpreted allegorically as political remedies by the neo-Confucian scholars, the revivalists argued many of the poems focused on love and other human emotions and allegorical interpretation would be deviating from its true essences. On the motivation of poetry, Nankaku's quote from *Nankaku sensei tôka no sho* (Master Nanakaku's Jottings under the Lamplight) states:

> Later scholars (neo-Confusicanists) claimed that (Writers) must make well-adjusted judgments without personal discontent 愚痴にもなきよき合点. But that is not the sentiments of a poet. While knowing it is futile, one can not help but remembering old sentiments, sorrow and indignation […] In the eyes of post-Sung theorists, such expressions are merely the mawkishness of the juvenility 手ぬるき児女子の様, but this is in fact the sentiments of poets 風人の情.

This statement affirms Nankaku's concurrence with the Sorai school's emphasis on poetry expressing unaffected and personal emotions.

Tôshisen kokujikai, although not free of certain mistranslation, became a standardized Tang poetry anthology in Japan since its publication, replacing predecessors and popularized Ancient Phraseology School's poetic criticism. It was an extraordinary commercial success as well and sold tens of thousands of copies until early Meiji period. The popularity of this book did not suffer noticeably in late eighteenth century when, similar to the decline of Ming revivalism, Sorai's school and High Tang poetry began to lose its dominant influence. *Tôshisen* remained as a central piece of the *kanshi* poetry canon in early modern Japan.

Unlike other prominent figures of the Ken'en School who were experts or enthusiasts of vernacular Chinese, Nankaku held a more elitist view and considered vernacular Chinese part of the vulgar vocabulary to be surveyed only for the purpose of comparing and contrasting with elegant language. His outlook on vernacular Chinese is explicated in his essays and reflected in some of the commentaries in *Tôshisen*, where vernacular expressions are sometimes misinterpreted. In an article "Brief Thoughts on Tools for Language" (筌文小言 *Senbun shôgen*) Nankaku outlines his definitions for elegant and vulgar language:

> Among the writings of scholars and literati, the most refined prose is considered the elegant language. Since the composition is embellished, it is capable to convey great truth, and pass on ancient knowledge. Examples are the *Six Classics*, works by sages and philosophers, the chronicles, as well as masters of later generations. […] Vulgar language seen in writings is candid and accessible, that is the only reason it circulates so that the noble and commoner alike can understand. From legal codes (律令 *ritsuryô*), collected sayings (語録 *goroku*), to narrative tales (伝奇 *denki*), fiction (小説 *shôsetsu*), and vernacular primers (句解 *kukai*) and alike all fall into this category.[23]

Similar views are found in the theoretical work *Nankaku sensei tôka no sho*, where Nankaku expresses the exclusive nature of literary language, "All poetry and literary writing are the words of gentlemen (君子 *kunshi*), so they are not something for communicating to common men and women….They are truly the words of gentlemen, and it is likewise gentlemen who listen to them."[24] Among his patrons, mentors, and contemporaries who enthusiastically studied vernacular Chinese and organized reading group such as the Translation Society, Nankaku's partiality for formal language and disinterest in the vernacular likely placed him in the minority. A lecturer at the Translation Society and an avid linguist of vernacular Chinese, Priest Daichô commented on Nankaku's linguistic inadequacy affected his annotations of *kanshi*:

[23] This quote is included in Tokuda's article "Daitô seigo *ron*" published in *Tôyô bungaku kenkyû* 17, 1969.
[24] English translation from Flueckiger 2011, p. 121.

> Sorai was an expert of Chinese pronunciation that it was not the least awkward even for meetings with Chinese natives. However the collection of Sorai's works was edited by Nankaku after Sorai passed away. It took me significant effort to make the numerous corrections. Nankaku is someone who is not familiar with the sound of Chinese. That is why his annotations often misinterpret the poems.[25]

In *Tôshisen*, a poem by Li Po "To See a Friend Off to Shu (送友人入蜀 Jp: *Yûjin no Shoku ni iru wo okuru*)," the first couplet begins with a colloquial expression 見説 (Ch: *jian shuo*):

They say the roads to Shu	1	見説蚕叢路
Are too rugged to travel.[26]	2	崎嶇不易行

Line One: 見説 (reading: *mirunaraku*) means to see, to look.

Hino Tatsuo points out the note on 見説 *mirunaraku* is a misinterpretation, "見説 nowadays is commonly read as *iunaraku*. While *mirunaraku* was a possible readings for this expression, here it means hearsay."[27] Hence the reading in this couplet should not be *mirunanaku*, which means "it looks like" or "it seems to be." The expression *jian shuo* is an early colloquial term seen in Tang poetry such as Wei Zhuang's well known long narrative "Lament of the Lady of Qin 秦婦吟:"

> I just heard a visitor has arrived from Jin Ling,
> It is said that landscapes in the South are different from here.
> 適聞有客金陵至　見説江南風景異

Nankaku's interpretation for this expression is based on his more literal reading of the poem and overlooked the possibility of a colloquial phrase in the opening line.

While Nankaku did not focus on vernacular Chinese to the degree of many of his peers, he joins other Ken'en scholars in utilizing an informal and accessible Japanese in his commentaries and lecture notes. Some formal archetypal expressions in the poems in *Tôshisen*

[25] This quote is originally from Ishizaki Matazo's book *Nihon ni okeru Shina zokugo bungakushi*, it is cited in Tokuda's article.
[26] English translation by Wai-lim Yip 1997, *Chinese Poetry: An Anthology of Major Modes and Genres*.
[27] *Tôshisen kokujikai*, vol. 1, p. 288.

are translated into simple plain Japanese, as seen in the example below, "In response to the Emperor's poem 'Sending off Minister Zhang Yue to Northern Garrison'" by Zhang Jiu-ling.

> Honorable bestowal from the Immortal Forbidden Palace, 寵賜従仙禁
> With glory and splendor he departs the imperial capital. 光華出帝京

This poem was composed upon the order of the Emperor for the occasion of parting banquet for a minister[28] on a state mission. Thus the expressions adapt to the formal ceremonial function. However, Nankaku translated this couplet with unembellished, colloquial expressions:

> The emperor has presented (the minister) with many gifts and blessings, on top of that, composed a poem to send him off. He left the capital draped with honor."[29]

It is evident that Nankaku wrote his commentaries in simple, intuitive language intended to make the poems more accessible to a wider readership.

3. Prose Narratives in Classical Chinese: *Stories of the East* 大東世語 (Daitô seigo)

In 1750, at age sixty eight, Nankaku published a collection of *zuihitsu* (literally, following the brush) style short stories written in kanbun title *Daitô seigo* (1750). This anthology of short narratives takes the form of the Chinese miscellany essays *shi shuo* 世説 (Jp: *sesetsu*; literally, talks of the world), which mainly collects personal anecdotes of notable historical figures. In particular, Nankaku consciously adapted many stylistic characteristics from an earlier Chinese text *Sesetsu shingo* (世説新語 Ch: Shi shuo xin yu) compiled by Southern Sung literati Liu Yiqing (403-444). *Shi shuo xin yu* is a collection of over a thousand anecdotes of aristocrats, scholars, and priests. These anecdotes are grouped by personality and behavior traits into thirty six categories such as "Precocious and Intelligence (夙恵 *su hui*)," "Self-renewal

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[28] Author of the poem "A Night of Drinking in Youzhou" cited previously.
[29] *Tôshisen kokujikai*, vol. 2, pp. 61-62.

(自新 *zi xin*)," and "Quick Perception (捷悟 *jie wu*)." This anthology of character appraisals is considered by later writers and scholars as a comprehensive and representative source on the elite literal society of the Six Dynasties (222-589AD). The aristocratic intellectuals (*shi*) advocated authentic self-expressions by free and sometimes idiosyncratic behavior and life styles, a philosophy embraced and practiced by Nankaku throughout his life. Many imitations of *Shi shuo xin yu* appeared in Tang and Sung periods, as well as in Tokugawa and later periods in Japan. The term *shi shuo* was first defined as a genre (*ti* 体) by scholar and bibliographer Zhao Gongwu in the twelfth century.[30] The richness and wide influence of *Shi shuo xin yu* inspired considerable scholarship on this text. A recent book, *Spirit and Self in Medieval China: The* Shih-shuo hsin-yü *and Its Legacy* (2001), by Qian, Nanxiu offers a comprehensive literary and historical analysis of this classical text, including a chapter on Nankaku's *Daitô seigo*.

Shi shuo xin yu was introduced to Japan during the early Heian period and soon gained attention as a significant text. Eminent Heian scholars Kûkai (774-835) and Sugawara no Michizane (845-903) made references to *Shi shuo xin yu* in their works. In his *kanshi* poetry collection *Shôryôshû* 性霊集, Kûkai composed a poem for completion of writing on a screen of passages from *Shi shuo xin yu* by the order of the emperor. A poem by Sugawara no Michizane titled "First reading of *Shi shuo xin shu* at the prime minister's[31] library at a spring banquet" (*Shôfu buntei shitoku Sesetsu shingo*) is collected in his kanshi anthology *Kankebunsô*.[32] A ninth century bibliography of Chinese texts in Japan, the earliest of such catalogues, *Nihonkoku genzai shomokuroku* (ca. 891), included *Shi shuo xin yu* under the genre of *shôsetsu* 小説 ("minor narrative"). Other notable mentioning of this text from the Heian period include *Wamyô*

[30] Qian, Nanxiu 2001. *Spirit and Self in Medieval China: The* Shih-shuo hsin-yü *and Its Legacy*, p. 17.
[31] Fujiwara no Mototsune (836-891), the first *kanpaku* regent.
[32] *Kankebunsô maki* 2, poem no. 149.

ruijushô, a Japanese dictionary of Chinese characters. Among others, an entry under the *Jutsugei* 術芸 (Arts and skills) heading of a board game, *dangi* 弾棋, alludes *Shi shuo xin yu*: "According to *Shi shuo*, the game of *dangi* originated from the court of Wei, Emperor Wen was an enthusiast of this game."[33] There are also a number of entries in the Heian period dictionary *Wamyô ruijushô* with allusions to *Shi shuo xin yu*. Interest in this text in Japan did not cease with the decline of Heian court culture. A renewed interest for *Shi shuo xin yu* surged during the Tokugawa period after the first local reprint (*wakoku*) of this text became available in 1694 along the advancement of print culture. Around the same time, Chinese poet Wang Shizhen's 王士禎 (1526-1590) published a sequel titled *Shi shuo xin yu bu* 世説新語補 with commentaries and additional episodes that extended into the Yuan period. This text was imported and reprinted in Japan.[34] Similar to Li Panlong, Wang was a prominent figure in the Ancient Rhetoric School and one of the Later Seven Masters. Their philosophy on literature and poetic criticism were advocated and echoed closely by Ogyû Sorai's Ken'en School. This connection no doubt contributed to the popularity of Wang's sequel in Japan, and consequently stimulated renewed attention to the original *Shi shuo xin yu*. After Nankaku published his *Daitô seigo* in 1750, there were fourteen annotative works on *Shi shuo xin yu* published in less than a hundred years.[35]

Daitô seigo is written entirely in classical Chinese, in a elliptical and elegant prose mirrowing that of the original *Shi shuo xin yu*.[36] It also takes the same structure of classification

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[33] See Imahama Michitaka's article "Heian bungaku to sesetsu," *Musashi Nihon bungaku* 13 (March 2004), pp. 63-79.

[34] Ôyane Bunjirô and Kawakatsu Yoshio have published their research on the reception and influence of *Shi shuo xin yu* in the Tokugawa period. The details here are cited from Tokuda Takeshi's article "Daitô seigo ron 1," *Tôyô bungaku kenkyû* 17 (March 1969), pp. 82-99.

[35] Tokuda. Ibid.

[36] For analysis of the language style of *Shi shuo xin yu*, see Yoshikawa Kôjirô's article "The *Shih-shuo hsin-yü* and Six Dynasties Prose Style." An English translation of this article by Glen W. Baxter was published in *HJAS* vol. 18, 1955.

of personality and behavior traits, adopting all but five of the thirty six categories.[37] In terms of contents, *Daitô seigo* takes sources from a variety of Heian and Medieval classical texts, including *setsuwa* anthologies *Konjaku monogatari* and *Kokon chomonjû*, *zuihitsu* collections *The Pillow Book* and *Essays in Idleness*, as well as historical narratives such as *Ôkagami*.[38] *Daitô seigo* consists of five volumes totaling over three hundred anecdotes of historical figures from Heian to Kamakura period. It is also a significant text from translational and linguistic perspectives, it demonstrates Nankaku's refined classical Chinese and his idealization of the literati (*bunjin*) life style. In spite of the ample interest on *Shi shuo xin yu* and Nakaku's works and scholarship, relatively little research has been published on the voluminous *Daitô seigo*. The exhaustive and definitive *Nankaku denkô* by Hino Tatsuo includes minimal introduction of this rich and informative text. Comparative literature scholar Tokuda Takeshi published a series of three articles (1969-70) on *Daitô seigo* that established a dependable basis for future research. A master thesis by Liu Jia-qing of National Cheng Kung University of Taiwan titled "The Study of Hattori Nankaku's *Daito Seigo* and its Comparison with *Shi shuo xin yu*" (2009) contextualizes Nankaku's work from a comparative literature perspective.

Like *Shi shuo xin yu*, many of the anecdotes in *Daitô seigo* highlight characters of extraordinary integrity, generosity, or detachment to material matters. Sometimes these virtues manifest in unconventional manners. While it is evident Nankaku identifies and praises such qualities, the anecdotes in *Daitô seigo* are not embedded with didacticism, unlike the related but different earlier genre of *setsuwa* narratives. The proposed virtues or qualities are conveyed by

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[37] The five categories Nankaku eliminated are "Zi xin 自新" (Self-renewal), "Jian se 倹嗇" (Stinginess and meanness), "Tai chi 汰侈" (Extravagance and ostentation), "Chan xian 讒険" (Slanderousness and treachery), and "Huo ni 惑溺" (Delusion and infatuation).
[38] Hino 1999, p. 93.

unaffected prose and concise narration. For example, in "Tokkô" (徳行 Virtuous conduct) there is an account of exemplary selflessness:

> A group of thieves entered the room of Nun Anyô[39] at night and stole everything. [On their way out] they accidentally dropped a robe on the road. A maid picked it up and returned it to Anyô. She was lying under a paper blanket[40] and said, "They already think of it as theirs. Even if they dropped it, it no longer belongs to me. You must catch up to them and return this." The maid did what she was told. The thieves were profoundly moved and shamed that they returned everything and left. (*Daitô seigo*, "Tokkô" no. 6)

This anecdote is seen in the Kamakura period *setsuwa* anthology *Kokon chomonjû* (A Collection of Things Written and Heard in the Past and Present, 1254). It is included in the section of "Chûtô (偸盗 Thievery)," "Story on the redemption of thieves who robbed a nun who was the younger sister of Priest Eshin."[41] This *setsuwa* tale in written in a verbose *wabun* prose with honorifics similar to earlier *monogatari* narratives. Nankaku eliminated some details and translated the story into precise and evocative Chinese. Another example illustrating Nankaku's rewriting stlye:

> The Shogun of Kamakura[42] (Minamoto no Yoritomo) was out one day and saw an old monk with an impressive and unworldly air. Yoritomo told his retainers to question the man, and he turned out to be Priest Saigyô. Yoritomo had always admired Saigyô's reputation and happily invited him to his residence. Once they arrived, Yoritomo asked him about martial arts since Saigyô was from a samurai family and had practiced martial arts in his youth. Saigyô replied, "Since I abandoned the material world, all that was passed down from my ancestors have scattered. Now I care for little other than the moon and the wind."[43] Yet Saigyô did not withhold and discussed the art of battle with Yoritomo throughout the night. When dawn came Saigyô was about to leave. Yoritomo tried to keep him longer to no avail, thus he presented a cat made of silver as a parting gift. Saigyô accepted it and left. Once outside, he saw a child playing. Saigyô then gave the silver cat to the child and walked away. (*Daitô seigo*, "Tokkô" no. 12)

[39] Nun Anyô (Anyô-ni), also referred as Gansai-ni, sister of eminent Tendai School priest Genshin (942-1017). Genshin, also known as Eshin, was the author of the influential Buddhist text *Ôjôyôshû* (The Essentials of Rebirth in the Pure Land).
[40] A plain piece of bedding similar to a comforter, with the cover made of *washi* paper and straw fillings, here perhaps detailed to illustrate the nun's ascetic life style.
[41] *Kokonchomonjû*, volume no. 12, *dan* 446.
[42] Minamoto no Yoritomo (1147-1199), the first generation of the Kamakura Shogunate.
[43] The expression "moon and wind (*fûgetsu*)" here refers to the art and practice of *waka* poetry.

The meeting between Saigyô (1118-1190) and Minamoto no Yoritomo (1147-1199) is documented in greater details in the Kamakura period historical record *Azuma kagami* (Mirror of the East, ca. 1266) in its entry on the fifteenth and sixteenth days of the eighth month of 1186 (Bunji 2). *Azuma kagami*, like other texts of its genre, is written in a varied *kanbun* prose (*hentai kanbun*) which was the style of choice for official diaries of the Kamakura period. It employs a vocabulary of mixed origins such classical Chinese, compounds of Chinese characters coined in Japan (*wasei kango*), and phonetic substitute characters (*ateji*).[44] This prose style is sometimes referred to as "Azuma style (*tai*)" by historians and literary scholars. Rewriting Japanese localized *kanbun* prose into classical Chinese, Nankaku did not rearrange the word order to smoothen some of the characteristics of *hentai kanbun*, instead he recomposed the sentences entirely in a fluent and natural classical Chinese prose. Comparing the two texts on the detail of the silver cat demonstrates the exceedingly different styles.

> *Azuma kagami*: On the sixteenth day around noon, the Holy Priest Saigyô exited in spite of multiple detains and holds. Dare not to retain him, a cat made of silver was used by the Second Rank (Minamoto no Yoritomo) as a gift to the Holy Priest. [He] bowed in acceptance. Outside the gate, [he] gave it to a wandering infant.
> 十六日庚寅。午剋。西行上人退出頻雖抑留、敢不拘之二品、以銀作猫、被充贈物上人、乍拝領之、於門外、与放遊嬰児[45]
> *Daitô seigo*: When dawn came Saigyô was about to leave. Yoritomo tried enthusiastically to keep him without luck, thus he took out a cat made of silver as a gift. Saigyô accepted it and left. Outside of the gate [he] saw a child playing. [Saigyô] then gave it [to the child] and took off.
> 及旦将出、公苦留不可、乃出銀造猫為贈、行受而出、門前見児嬉、便与之去

The text in *Azuzma kagami* reads awkward with questionable usages of the passive auxiliary verb *bei* 被 and *fang you* 放遊 (to wander, roam). In addition, while *er* 児 refers to children, *ying er*

[44] For further reading on the linguistic style of *Azuma kagami* and kanbun vocabulary originated in Japan, see Gotô Eiji's chapter "Azuma kagami ni okeru wasei kango" in *Nihongo no rekishi chiri kôzô*, Meiji Shoin 1997.
[45] Text and punctuation from the *Azuma kagami* electronic textual database by National Institute of Japanese Literature.

嬰児 means infant(s) which does not fit the context. Nankaku's usage of the adverb *ku* 苦, here meaning enthusiastically, also reads more natural and concise in comparison with the "multiple detains and holds 頻抑留" in the former. Nankaku's proficiency in classical Chinese reaffirms his reputation as Ogyû Sorai's successor in literature and a preeminent classical Chinese expert of the Ken'en School.

Some other episodes in *Daitô seigo* suggest Nankaku's outlook on life and death complying with philosophies of *Lao-tzu* and *Chuang-tzu*:

> A person with epilepsy was by a river when he had a sudden seizure. He lost balance and fell [into the river]. His unconscious body drifted downstream for a few *li*, and was by chance washed ashore on an islet. When he recovered [his senses] he was in shock and thought aloud, "I am alive now only because I was dead. If I had been alive then I would have no doubt died by now. How fortunate I was dead!" A priest heard about this and said, "One exists only because of forgetfulness. If one does exist then he must forget. How fortunate I am able to forget! All things in the world follow like this." ("Gengo 言語" Speech and rhetoric, 35)

This kôan like anecdote offers a non-dualistic view of life and death, eluding the impossibility of separating the two phases of being. In another account, a dying poet (Murasaki Shikibu's half-brother) baffles a Buddhist priest in discussion about afterlife.

When Fujiwara no Nobunori[46] was dying, a monk preached the doctrine of *chû'u* (中有 the mid-state between death and rebirth)[47] in order to rectify his thoughts. Nobunori said, "What does it look like to be in the state of *chû'u*?" The monk said, "It is like when one walks into dusk and gets lost alone in the wilderness." Nobunori then asked, "If it is in wilderness, shouldn't there be grass and woods colored by autumn and insects singing here and there?" the monk replied, "There should be." Nobunori then said, "Then, [to be in the state of] *chû'u* is not too bad." The monk felt despondent and left.[48] ("Nintan 任誕" Uninhabitedness and eccentricity, 4)

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[46] Fujiwara no Nobunori (?-1011) was the oldest son of Fujiwara no Tametoki, half brother to Murasaki Shikibu. A waka poet, his works are included in the anthology *Goshûishû*.
[47] *Chû'u* 中有, a Buddhist concept indicating the time period of the first forty nine days after death. It is the third of a sequence of four stage of reincarnation, *shi'u* 四有. The "intermediate existence" is considered to be the uncertain stage between death and rebirth.
[48] English translation of this anecdote cites from Qian 2001 on *Daitô seigo* with minor changes. Analysis here argues partially against her interpretations of this story.

In this story Nobunori's sensitivity as a poet empowers him to face his imminent death. His imagination of the after-death surpasses the monk's didactic rhetoric.

Nankaku's selection and adaption of these anecdotes made *Daitô seigo* an extremely accomplished and important text in the canon of Japanese *kanbun* literature. The eccentric yet genuine and vivid personalities depicted and preserved in *Daitô seigo* form another literary expression by Nankaku to identify with a more liberal, philosophical, and literary Six Dynasties culture, as well as his reaction to the feudal Neo-Confucianism of Tokugawa society.

Hattori Nankaku, a prominent figure affiliated with the Ken'en School and an independent scholar, held his unique position during a time of vernacularization and ideological diversification, during which the function of literature was debated among different schools of thoughts. While Japanese Neo-Confucianists, represented by the orthodox Hayashi school, claimed that literature serves to spread moral values and to edify people, rivaling opinion voiced by scholars such as Itô Jinsai and Ogyû Sorai argued that the value of literature is not predicated on its function as propaganda but rather on its capacity to communicate profound human emotions, and that, furthermore, since human emotions are held in common across spatial and temporal boundaries, literature also transcends language and genre limitations. While Nankaku was an accomplished writer of *kanshi* and classical Chinese, his choice of colloquial Japanese for the commentary indicates his awareness of the potential of a vernacular register for sophisticated literary genres and subjects. Vernacularization inevitably leads to changes in existing literary genre hierarchy. The framework of *ga* (elegant) and *zoku* (vulgar) was undergoing integration and redefinition, and the process of translating Chinese texts brought on opportunities for Japanese scholars to experiment with different styles and create new literary genres. The

distinction between the elegant and the vulgar, in the context of literary styles, would continue to disperse as prose narratives became more sophisticated and entered the realm of literati.

Chapter Four Adaptation of the Supernatural: *New Tales under the Lamplight* and Its Derivative Narratives

Adaptation narratives have historically held an important position in Japanese literature. Apparent traces of adaptations of Chinese narratives can be found in Japanese texts as early as the *Nihon shoki* and *Nihon ryôiki*,[1] but the golden age of narrative adaptation, in terms of variety, quantity and degree of literary establishment, was undoubtedly the Edo period. In Suzuki Nobuyuki's *Edo jidai shôsetsushi* (1932) he states that "[Edo narrative] was in fact almost entirely adaptations (*hon'an*) from Chinese literature."[2] While this might be an exaggeration, it is indisputable that the prosperity of Edo narrative fiction has considerable connections to Chinese narrative prose. *Hon'an* 翻案, literally "flipping a case," has the connotation in Japanese of adaptation of a literary work, usually prose narrative or drama, into a rewritten form or a different genre. *Hon'an* adaptations based on Chinese sources often borrow the general plot from the original with modifications on customs, historical references, and proper nouns such as place names and people's names to cater to a local readership.

The term *hon'an* refers to a wide range of adaptation styles. This chapter examines adaptations of classical Chinese supernatural tales from *Jiandeng xinhua* (剪灯新話, Jp: *Sentô shinwa*), *New Tales under the Lamplight*[3] (1378) by Qu You 瞿佑 (Jp: Ku Yû, 1341-1427). *Jiandeng xinhua* is a Ming collection of twenty-one short prose narratives. Although active during the popularity of vernacular language in prose narrative in China, Qu You wrote the work in classical prose (*shirokubun* 四六文). *Jiandeng xinhua* and its sequel *Jiandeng yuhua* 剪灯余

[1] Yan, Shao dang, *Zhongguo wenxue zai Riben* 中国文学在日本, Hua cheng chu ban she, 1990, p. 113.
[2] Suzuki, Nobuyuki, *Edo jidai shôsetsushi*, Tokyo, Kyôiku kenkyû kai, 1932, p. 151.
[3] English translation of the title comes from "The Appeal of Kaidan, Tales of the Strange" by Noriko T. Reider, *Asian Folklore Studies* 59, (2000), pp. 265-283.

話 ("*Remaining Tales under the Lamplight*" by Li Chang-qi, 1420) achieved far broader and long lasting recognition in Japan, Korea, and Vietnam than in China. Upon its completion, it caused a brief sensation among literati readers and was followed by numerous sequels and imitations by other writers. Yet the discontent expressed in many of its stories was alarming enough for conservatives that in 1442 a petition to ban *Jiandeng xinhua* was circulated in court. Such censorship led to the eventual obscurity of this collection in China. Its reemergence would not occur until the early twentieth century, when annotated copies produced in Japan were brought back to China.[4] A decade after its reappearance in China, Lu Xun's remarks on *Jiandeng xinhua* in his *A Brief History of Chinese Fiction* prompted modern literary critics and scholars to appraise the work. In contrast to such a prolonged period of disinterest in its birthplace, overseas *Jiandeng xinhua* became a literary seed that blossomed and bore magnificent fruits. The earliest reference to this collection in Japan is seen in a poem by the Zen priest Keijo Shûrin (1440-1518) in the Muromachi period, approximately within a century of its publication in China. In the year of 1604 Edo Neo-Confucianist scholar Hayashi Razan (1583-1657) categorized *Jiandeng xinhua* and *Jiandeng yuhua* as part of the *setsuwa* group of *kanseki*, manuscripts in classical Chinese. Japanese reprints of *Jiandeng xinhua* became available during the Keichô era (1596-1614). In addition to domestic production, there is also a recording of a Japanese merchant ship acquiring thirty copies of this book and its sequel from Nanjing in a single purchase in 1794.[5] The popularity of this imported collection of stories no doubt inspired Japanese writers to produce their own renderings.

[4] In 1917, Dung Kang included *Jiandeng xinhua* in the *Song fen shi cong kan* library, the edition he used was based on Japanese Keichô (r. 1596-1615) print. See Chen Yi-yuan's *Jiandeng xinhua yu chuan qi man lu zhi bi jiao yan jiu* for more information.

[5] Yan, Shao dang, *Zhongguo wenxue zai Riben*, Hua cheng chu ban she, 1990, pp. 128.

Jiandeng xinhua was the source text for a number of Japanese narratives of the Edo period, from the early *kana-zôshi* (kana booklets in vernacular prose) genre to *yomihon* works such as Akinari's *Tales of Moonlight and Rain* (*Ugetsu monogatari*, 1768). In addition to Japan, *Jiandeng xinhua* was also well received in Korea and Vietnam. Korean author Kim Si-seup (金時習, 1434-1493), produced a collection of stories titled *New Tales of the Golden Turtle* (*Geumo sinhwa* 금오신화, 金鰲新話, est. 1466-1471) many of which were adaptations of *Jiandeng xinhua*. Since the time of its publication this collection was highly regarded in Korea as the forerunner of narrative literature composed in classical Chinese. In Vietnam there is a collection of twenty stories, *Records of Romances and Legends* (*Truyền kì mạn lục*, 伝奇漫録, 1620-30s?), by Nguyễn Dữ (?-?) who borrowed some stories' plot from *Jiandeng xinhua*.[6] Both Korean and Vietnamese adaptations were written in nativized classical Chinese (*Hanmun* and *Chữ Nôm*) which was the official writing language at the time. These adaptations will be discussed in detail in the following sections to provide a comparative perspective on the Japanese adaptations.

In Japan an early and widely known adaptation of *Jiandeng xinhua* is Asai Ryôi's 浅井了意 (1612-1691) collection of *kana-zôshi* short tales titled *Hand Puppets* (*Otogi bôko* 伽婢子, 1666). Out of sixty-eight supernatural tales in *Hand Puppets*, eighteen are generally considered *hon'an* adaptations from *Jiandeng xinhua*.[7] Unlike the Korean and Vietnamese adaptations, *Hand Puppets* is written not in *kanbun*, the Japanese style of classical Chinese, but in the elegant Japanese style (*gabun* 雅文). The combination of the particular choice of language and the plot-driven *kana-zôshi* genre reflected the merging of characteristics of the native *monogatari*

[6] The specific years of Nguyễn Dữ's birth and death are unknown but can be estimated to between late fifteenth century and mid to late sixteenth century. See biographical information by Chen, Yiyuan.
[7] Although most Japanese scholars agree with this number, there are other premises such as nineteen as in Yan Shao-dang's chapter, and Mizutani's account of seventeen tales.

tradition and influences from Chinese short prose narratives. *Hand Puppets* (御伽婢子 *Otogi bôko*) was one of the most well read anthologies of the *kana-zôshi* genre and was widely influential in later narrative literature. Asai Ryôi skillfully transplanted Chinese supernatural elements into the folklore-like Japanese genre. His innovative style inspired later authors such as Ueda Akinari. Compared to the didactic Buddhist tales of the *setsuwa* genre, the *Hand Puppets* also opened up potential for a new, sophisticated type of ghost stories through its emphasis on human psychology instead of the archetypal karmic causality.

Born into an era during which the genre *kana-zôshi* flourished, Ryôi distinguished himself from his contemporaries, most of whom were amateur authors publishing anonymously, and cemented his reputation as the leading writer of the genre with the publication of such popular works as *Famous Sights Along the Eastern Seaboard* (東海道名所記 *Tôkaidô meishoki* 1658-1661) and *Tales of the Floating World* (浮世物語 *Ukiyo monogatari*, 1666). Little biographical information can be found on him. He was a masterless samurai, a commentator on the classics, and a gazetteer writer before he became a Buddhist priest of the *Shingon* sect and spent the most prolific time of his life at the Honshô temple in Kyoto.[8] *The Hand Puppets* is a collection of sixty-eight tales, of which one story is missing from the table of contents but actually exists in the collection. With three exceptions, all of these tales were adapted from Chinese or Korean supernatural stories.[9] Yet Ryôi deliberately obscured these sources. In the preface he wrote explicitly:

> 「然るに此伽婢子は、遠く古へをとるにあらず。近く聞つたへしことを載あつめてしるしあらはすもの也。」[10]
> "Thus this *Otogi bôko* is not taken from the far and ancient. It presents collected accounts that were transmitted and heard recently."

[8] Hôjô Hideo. "Asai Ryôi no shôgai" *Kokugo kokubun*, 1932.
[9] Hanada Fujio 2001. Ed., "Otogi bōko no igi" (Iwanami shoten, SNKBT vol. 75. Tokyo), p. 10.
[10] Ibid, p. 11.

"The far and ancient" in Japanese tradition often implied Chinese, Indian or Korean sources and references. Given the considerable circulation of *Jiandeng xinhua* in Japan, it is curious that Ryôi would efface the obvious connection of his work to the Chinese tales. Considering Ryôi was a professional and successful commercial author, this omission could suggest readers' preference for and expectation of Japanese narratives instead of derivatives from Chinese texts, which were associated with the privileged and the elite. *Kana-zôshi* readers mainly included urban commoners who appreciated the tales for their entertainment values instead of moralistic teachings. Yet supernatural narratives in China, with the exception of those inserted in religious texts, never entered the echelon of elite writing. One frequently cited quote from *The Analects* on the supernatural was evident about Confucian aversion to such subjects: "The topics the Master did not speak of were prodigies, force, disorder and gods. 子不語怪、力、乱、神"[11] The expression "prodigies, force, disorder and gods" (Ch: *guai li luan shen*; Jp: *kairyokuranshin*) has thus become the collective term for all supernatural occult phenomena and related topics. Ryôi, in his preface to *The Hand Puppets*, gave an interestingly defensive interpretation of this *Analects* passage, "Although in general [it is said] not to speak of prodigies, force, disorder and gods, however, in cases when it cannot be helped, [one] shall proclaim such accounts to make a lesson of them" 総て怪力乱神をかたらずといへ共、若止ことを得ざるときは、また述著して則（のり）をなせり. Didacticism conventionally served as a justification for supernatural narratives: demons, ghosts and deities manifest in the human world to carry out karmic retributions by awarding the good-doers and punish the evil (*kanzenchôaku* 勧善懲悪). Although to a lesser degree than *Jiandeng xinhua* itself, which includes the explicit term 勧善懲

[11] Book 7:21, English from D. C. Lau's translation, Penguin Classics, 1979. This analect also inspired the title of a Qing collection of supernatural tales: *What Confucius Would Not Talk About* by Yuan Mei.

悪 *kanzenchôaku* in its preface as its intended purpose, Ryôi also stated edifying intentions in his preface to *Hand Puppets*. He avoided subscribing to any specific school of philosophy or religion, but aimed more towards personal moral cultivation. "[This book is meant to] be a supplementary [guide] for alerting young men and women, inspiring self-reflection, and proceeding towards the right path." The Japanese adaptations moderated the didacticism often embedded in the supernatural subjects of the source texts.

Jiandeng xinhua includes twenty-one stories, most them involving various supernatural subjects. Based the subject, they can be broadly divided into two groups: love/romance stories with an uncanny twist, and adventures in a supernatural realm.[12] The adaptation works are similar in their organization of subject matter. These two groups can be further divided into four sub-categories as shown in the table below. Numbers after the title indicate where in *Jiandeng xinhua* it is from, i.e. "Story of the Golden Phoenix Hairpin" 金鳳釵記 (1.4) refers to the fourth story of volume one.

Love/romance story	troubled love ending in happy marriage/reunion	"Story of the Golden Phoenix Hairpin" (1.4), "Story of Lian-fang Mansion" (1.5), "A Strange Encounter at Wei-tang" (2.5)
	unusual encounter leading to tragic ending	"Teng Mu's Drunken Jaunt in Ju-jing Garden" (2.3), "Story of the Peony Lantern" (2.4), "The Tale of Ai-qing" (3.4), "The Tale of Cui-cui" (3.5), "The Tale of the Maiden in Green" (4.5), "Story of The Autumn Fragrance Pavilion" (appendix)
Otherworld adventure	journey into a celestial or divine realm, celebratory	"Record of A Celebration in the Underwater Palace" (1.1), "An Account of the Blessed Land of *San-shan*" (1.2), "A Visit to the Hermits in Mt. Tian-tai" (2.2), "Record of Meeting the Spirits at the Dragon Hall" (4.1), "A Night Cruise on the Mirror Lake" (4.4)

[12] Although H. Iwata in his article "Ghost marriages in *Sentô shinwa*" similarly categorized these two types of plots as *ikyô hômon dan* 異郷訪問譚 (stories of visiting an alien realm) and *renai dan* 恋愛譚 (love stories), his categorization differs from the table attached here.

	adventure in netherworld or a demonic space, where the protagonist restores justice	"Reunion with Late Friends at Hua-ting" (1.3), "Scholar Linghu's Dream Journey to the Underworld" (2.1), "The Registrar of Prosperity and Wealth" (3.1), "A Deserted Temple at Yong-zhou" (3.2), "The Shen-yang Grotto" (3.3), "Judge of the Great Hall of Void" (4.2), "Administrator of Letters of the Under Palace" (4.3)

While such reductive categorization does not accurately encapsulate the sophistication of these tales, with many stories expanding across more than one category, the plot patterns reflect characteristics of literati sensibility (文人趣味), such as yearning for a perfect romance, an unfaltering sense of justice, and disillusion with social reality. This chapter selects three stories (underlined in the table) from two plot patterns to compare them with their adaptation stories, in order to examine how these underlying idiosyncrasies were transformed while being adapted into different cultures.

1: The Lore of the Underwater World: Dragon Palace in Chinese, Korean, and Japanese Tales

The first story of *Jiandeng xinhua* is a felicitous tale of a journey to the dragon palace beneath the sea. It focuses on the spectacle and splendor of this divine underwater otherworld. Three tales in *Jiandeng xinhua* are set in a similar underwater world, "Record of A Celebration in the Underwater Palace 水宮慶會録" (1.1), "An Account of the Blessed Land of *San Shan* 三山福地誌" (1.2), and "Record of Meeting the Spirits at the Dragon Hall 龍堂霊會録" (4.1). The first tale was adapted by fifteenth century Korean scholar Kim Si-seup in his anthology *New Tales of the Golden Turtle* 金鰲新話 (1471) under the title "A Record of Attending A Banquet in the Dragon Palace 龍宮赴宴録." Two centuries later, Japanese writer Asai Ryôi wrote his version based on both Chinese and Korean source texts. The Japanese adaptation is the opening story in *Hand Puppets*, "Beam Raising Ceremony at the Dragon Palace" 竜宮の上棟. While all three stories are similar in displaying the literary imagination of the ethereal underwater world

and its remarkable inhabitants, key differences such as the prestige of the protagonist and the details of the depiction of the underwater palace reveal each author's projection of his unique cultural background.

The plot of the underwater palace story is straightforward in all three narratives: one day the protagonist, a gifted scholar, is unexpectedly summoned by two messengers from the king of the underwater world. His service is needed, for the king is reconstructing the palace and requires an inscription for the center beam over the main hall. The scholar swiftly composes an ornate ode eulogizing the king and the magnificent palace. He is then invited to a banquet, compensated with priceless treasures and escorted home. After returning to the human world with abundant wealth, the protagonist later abandons the secular world to pursue spiritual learning.

The first story in *Jiandeng xinhua*, "Record of A Celebration in the Underwater Palace," although set in a fantasy world, yields invaluable insight into the author's mentality. The narrative is concise, with nearly half occupied by verse: poems by the protagonist. It is clear that this story is intended to display the author's own poetic talents. As ostentatious evidence of such intention, the protagonist's name Yu Shan-wen 余善文 literarily means "I excel in letters." Moreover, it is interesting that this story is positioned as the opening of this collection. While it is conventional practice to start with a celebratory piece when compiling an anthology, it is noteworthy that Qu You places a fictional surrogate of himself in this conspicuous place, overshadowing even the authoritative character, the King of the Southern Sea. One possible interpretation is that this audaciously triumphant narrative in a fantasy world in fact reflects the author's deep frustration with his personal life. Born near the end of the Yuan dynasty, Qu You (1347-1433) was a prodigy known for his literary ability since childhood. He grew into a

prolific poet and produced a number of collections of poetry and criticism. His works were highly acclaimed by his contemporaries and among later critics.[13] Nonetheless, he was never successful in achieving fame or securing an office for an extended period, and spent most of his adult life in various degrees of distress. Worsening the situation, he lived during the transitional period between the Yuan (1271-1368) and Ming dynasty (1368-1644), and was forced to relocate a number of times in order to avoid the disturbances of war. The literary inquisition 文字獄 of the early Ming was intensifying as the first emperor, Zhu Yuanzhang (r. 1368-1398), was determined to secure his new regime. He carried out ironfisted control of military force as well as ideology through monitoring the elite class closely. Many intellectuals were prosecuted for their refusal to comply with such censorship, for reluctance to serve the new court, or for publicly expressing discontent. After serving as a an assistant lecturer at the Imperial Academy (国子監太学助教) in Nanjing for three years, Qu You was incarcerated by the imperial military police[14] in 1408 based on "misfortune from his poems."[15] He was exiled to a remote region, spent eighteen years away from his family, and was only able to return shortly before his death. This hapless personal life under such a political climate might offer some explanation for Qu You and other writers' interests in supernatural stories.

The main focus of the underwater palace story is the glory and reverence earned by the protagonist with his brilliance in letters. In this short narrative, the King of the Sea twice expresses his admiration for Yu's "talents unrivaled in the world and strategies beneficial to the age," and insists he would be assigned the most honorable seating. 延之上階、與之對座。「聞君子負不世之才、蘊濟時之略」 When a courtier protests that such seating is inappropriate, for

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[13] See *Qu You nian pu* by Xu Shuofang.

[14] *Jin yi wei* 錦衣衛, an intelligence bureau and special force established by Zhu Yuangzhang, the first Ming emperor, whose infamous missions were spying on scholars and courtiers, secret arrests, and prosecution.

[15] *Shi huo* 詩禍, Chen Yi-yuan's *Jiandeng xinhua yu chuan qi man lu zhi bi jiao yan jiu*, p. 13.

Yu does not have any official title, another king of the sea scolds the courtier, “A scholar is present—no more comments from you!” 「文人在座、汝烏得多言!」” The contrast between the fictional character and its creator’s real life misfortune and obscurity is remarkable. Recognition and respect from authority, as centrally staged in this tale, are clearly something that literati of the time longed for but could not obtain. Thus such wishes are audaciously expressed via the medium of a supernatural tale. If we define the literati novel[16] 文人小説 as narratives that are 1) written by scholars with elite classical backgrounds, 2) provide a platform on which the authors display their cultural knowledge and literary skills, and 3) use fiction to express discontentment with society, then this story would be an early manifestation of this genre in spite of its brevity. By comparing adaptations of the narrative, we can see how this aspect was preserved in the Korean adaptation approximately one hundred years later, and became less prominent in Asia Ryôi’s tale in the mid 17th century.

New Tales of the Golden Turtle 金鰲新話 (completed 1472) is an early Choson Dynasty collection of short narratives by Kim Si-seup 金時習 (1435-1493). It was widely influential in later Korean narrative literature and generally considered the first collection of the *chŏngi* genre (Ch: chuanqi, “strange tales”) in Korea.[17] There are only five tales extant, all of which are adaptations of *Jiandeng xinhua* and written in *hanmun*, classical Chinese used in Korea. It is unknown whether Kim Si-seup originally adapted all twenty stories of Qu You’s original. Kim Si-seup and Qu You shared much in common in terms of their biographies. Kim Si-seup was also an exceptional prodigy who in adulthood endured drastic political changes that obstructed a promised elite career path. As a nonconformist to the new authorities he did not take up official

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[16] Here I am certainly using the term loosely and precipitately. I use the word novel here for convenience to refer to prose narratives collectively.
[17] See Hayakawa Satomi’s 2009 *Kingô shinwa: yakuchû to kenkyû*.

positions.[18] We can imagine that Kim Si-seup, based on such common life experience and philosophy, appreciated the literary achievement of *Jiandeng xinhua* as well as its "literati novel" characteristics. The story "Record of Attending A Banquet in the Dragon Palace 龍宮赴宴録" is approximately twice the length of the Chinese source text, and also consists of a significant proportion of poetry. The protagonist is portrayed as a great scholar from an unspecified dynasty in the past. His name is Han Saeng 韓生 ("A Korean scholar/gentleman") and his reputation is comparable to the Chinese character Yu. His host, the dragon king, compliments him as having a "good name known in all corners of Korea; talent exceeding all others 名著三韓[19] 才冠百家." The deliberate naming of the main character and the mentioning of the domain, though likely as part of a set phrase, both indicate the author's intention to nativize this narrative.

Nativization of a narrative is a rewriting process that aims at familiarizing native readers with a foreign text. This involves linguistic transformation and cultural transfer. While linguistic transformation is realized through translation, cultural transfer requires perceiving foreign elements in the original, then omitting them or replacing them with familiar cultural elements without significantly affecting the general narrative structure. Proper nouns, representing unique entities that are normally culture specific, lie in the overlapping region of language and culture. Thus in translations, the proper nouns could be transliterated but remain *untranslated*. In contrast, in the literary adaptations discussed here, all proper nouns have been refashioned, as seen in Kim Si-seup's tale, to eliminate unfamiliarity and to obscure the path of adaptation. Much adaptation literature was indeed represented as original work.[20] While

[18] Qiao, Guang-hui. *Ming dai "Jian deng" xi lie xiao shuo yan jiu*.
[19] *Samhan* 三韓 ("three confederacies") Period, also known as proto-Three Kingdom Period (108-57 BC), here used as a historical name for Korea.
[20] Unlike modern adaptations which often benefit from the sources' capital of renown (e.g. film adaptation of J. R.R. Tolkien's fantasy novel *Lord of the Rings*), the adaptation literature of interest is associated with source texts without such popular recognition. It is important for us, as modern readers and critics, to abandon concepts of

nativization almost always consists of the alteration of proper nouns, it is by no means limited to such self-evident linguistic changes. Cultural transfer is a more intricate and creative process, examples of which I will enumerate in the discussion of "The Peony Lantern" in the following section.

Adaptation as a process has a complex relationship to the source text. On the one hand, the adaptation claims its originality by erasing its connection to the culture of the source text, while at the same time it pays homage to the source through various means. Although Kim Si-seup unambiguously situated the story in Korea, the narrative itself remains an intensely Sinified text. Imitating the style of the tale from *Jiandeng xinhua*, near half of this story is in Chinese poetry, parts of which are only rearrangements of the original text, such as the first "Over the Beam" poem. The array of references Kim draws from displays his vast knowledge in classical Chinese: philosophical works like *Book of Changes*, *Huainanzi* 淮南子 and the Tang and Song writers Bo Ju-yi, Huang Tingjian 黄庭堅 and Yang Wanli 楊萬里.[21] Moreover, the majority of the poems are composed in the archaic Chinese *fu* style to emphasize a sense of historical and cultural nostalgia that can be traced to Chinese roots. The Chinese version, "Record of A celebration in the Underwater Palace," includes poems of various forms. There are *fu* poems, regulated verses, "ancient air" 古風, and perhaps the least *haut monde* form but the most rhetorically intriguing, a ceremonial poem on the occasion of "tossing the beam."[22] This ceremonial poem is the most colloquial part of this *Jiandeng xinhua* tale, with repetitive speech not so different from that of folksongs: "Tossing the beam east,…tossing the beam west…, 抛梁

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intellectual property or appropriation, and rather to consider such adaptation process as a route of propagating and preserving the original. Most of these works, the original and the derivatives, were written in an era when authorship for prose narratives itself was not emphasized.

[21] See footnotes 16, 22, 32, 34, 36 in *Kŭmo sinhwa e ssŭnora*, Kyŏnggi-do P'aju-si : Pori, 2005, pp. 493-499.

[22] *Mune-age shiki* 棟上げ式, translated in English as "topping off," is a ceremony held at the completion of a construction, when the last beam is placed.

東、拋梁西…” The inclusion of this ceremonial verse suggests the unstable, if not lowly, status of prose fiction at the time. The juxtaposition of lofty and casual poetic forms is a stylistic trait that continues in later fully vernacularized long narratives in Chinese. In a seventeenth century one-hundred-chapter narrative, *Marriage Destinies to Awaken the World* 醒世姻緣傳, there is a wedding ceremonial song “Tossing Over the Bed Curtain” in a similar style, with more vulgar content.

Unlike the hybrid of prose and poetry in the Chinese and Korean stories, Ryôi eliminated all Chinese poems and incorporated only one seven-syllable *zekku* 絶句 in “Beam Raising Ceremony at the Dragon Palace 竜宮の上棟”:

> 扶桑海淵落瑶宮　　水族駢蹎承徳化
> 万籟唱和慶賛歌　　若神河伯朝宗駕[23]
> In the depth of Japan Sea there is a divine palace,
> All creatures of the water alongside are bestowed benevolent cultivation.
> Myriad voices in unison chant celebratory hymns,
> Gods of Rivers and Seas assemble for an audience with the honorable sovereign.[24]

This poem is an altered and rearranged form of the “Tossing the beam” poem in *Jiang deng xin hua*, cited with correspondences underlined.

> 方丈蓬萊指顧中。笑看扶桑三百尺…後夜瑶池王母降…水族紛綸承徳化…
> 江神河伯朝靈駕[25]

In this interesting instance of adaptation, there is a transcoding shifting of nuance, in the expression *fu sang* 扶桑 (Jp: *fusô*). This Chinese character compound denotes a mythological tree with leaves like the mulberry tree 桑, growing in the midst of the Eastern Sea. In Chinese poetry *fu sang* is often associated with the Three Divine Mountains in the Eastern Sea, Fangzhang 方丈, Penglai 蓬莱 and Yingzhou 瀛州, as is the case in the first couplet in the

[23] Hanada Fujio, p. 18.
[24] My translation, as for the rest of this chapter unless otherwise indicated.
[25] *JDXH*, pp. 5-6. My underline.

Jiandeng xinhua poem. The “three hundred *chi* 三百尺” specification, describing its loftiness, verifies that *fu sang* here indeed refers to the divine tree. The reference is made to pay homage to the host of the occasion: the king of the sea. Ryôi dexterously kept this expression but rearranged it so as to insert the connotation of Japan. In both Chinese and Japanese mythologies, the Eastern Sea is believed to be the place where the sun rises from the perspective of the continental side. Thus the divine tree in the Eastern Sea denoted by *fu sang* refers to Japan in both Chinese and Japanese contexts from as early as the eighth century.[26] In Ryôi’s rearranged poem, this expression becomes a location indicator, as part of the nativization of the text. It also echoes the protagonist’s initial address to the dragon king which underlines the same culture self-identification “I am a humble servant from the Great Country of Japan, who shall decay together with woods and grass in obscurity. How dare I offend Your Divine Majesty by being treated as an honored guest? 我はこれ大日本国の小臣也。草木とともに腐ちはつべき身なり。いかでか神王の威を冒して上客の礼をうけ奉らんや”[27] In such alterations of narrative details, Ryôi and Kim Si-seup both attempted to erase the origin of the story and localize it for a native audience.

A close textual analysis reveals moreover that the Japanese dragon palace story is in fact an adaptation of both the Chinese and Korean versions of the same story. Among such intertextual correlations is the description of a set of an exquisite writing brush and ink stone is given to the protagonist for his assignment. The description of these two items changed subtly as the story traveled across the continent and over the sea in the span of two hundred years. In the Chinese tale, the brush handle is made of speckled rhinoceros horn and the ink stone of white

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[26] From entry of *fusô* 扶桑 in Nihon kokugo daijiten.

[27] The second half of this address is taken from the Korean version 下土愚人、甘與草木同腐。安得干冒神威, which can be traced back to another story in “A Night’s Outing on Lake Jian” 下界愚民、甘與草木同腐 in *Jiandeng xinhua*.

jade (白玉之硯、文犀之管). Kim Si-seup rewrote them as "green jade ink stone and a brush made of bamboo from Xiang River[28] 碧玉之硯、湘竹之管." By the time Ryôi transformed the narrative into a story that is fully translated and three times the length of the Chinese tale, these items became an evident hybrid of both the Chinese and Korean sources: "green jade ink stone; a brush made with bamboo from Xiang River as its handle and hairs of a speckled rhinoceros 碧玉の硯に、湘竹の管に文犀の毛さしたる筆." Ryôi misunderstood the usage of "speckled rhinoceros," assuming it was the hair of the animal and not its horns that were used to make the brush. (Rhinoceros horns were used as a precious firm material for making ceremonial wine cups, ornaments on belts and other items.[29]) Similar to translation, interpretation, as a central component of the adaptation process, also necessitates a cultural fluency that spills over into the semantic information contained in the source.

In the discourse of literary adaptation, the most compelling issues go beyond intertextuality. As a model for creating *new* literature, the adaptation process demonstrates cultural idiosyncrasies but also indicates universality across cultures and languages. Among the three stories discussed above, we perceive variation in the emphasis of scholarly skills, the function of poetry in the narrative prose, treatment of colloquial language, and the degree of nativization. However, the fundamental inspiration for these narratives, the original as well as the adaptations, is a shared literary imagination of an undersea world. The narrative model of transporting the protagonist from the human world into a fantasy world is prominent and certainly not unique to East Asian cultures. In this model, there is always a portal between the

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[28] An actual type of bamboo with spotted trunk, also known as mottled bamboo 斑竹. According to legends, the spotted pattern is from the mourning tears of pre-historical King Shun's two wives E Huang and Nü Ying after his death. They committed suicide by jumping into Xiang River, which is the locale of eight views of Xiao and Xiang Rivers.

[29] An instance of such usage of *wen xi* 文犀, "speckled rhinoceros" is seen in Cao Zhi's "Qi qi" included in *Wen Xuan* 步光之劍，華藻繁縟。飾以文犀，彫以翠綠.

ordinary and the extraordinary. It is the entry for the protagonist into the fantasy world and a pivotal point in the narrative structure. It could be either a physical location like the eight-cornered well 八角井 in the Chinese vernacular novel *Ping Yao Zhuan* 平妖傳, or a triggering event such as an unexpected encounter with a stranger in Washington Irving's story *Rip Van Winkle*. In dragon palace narratives, naturally this portal is the adjoining spot between land and bodies of water. Like the mirror in Lewis Carol's *Through the Looking Glass*, the waterfront is a likely choice for its reflective quality, which visually prompts the imagination of "the other side," a pseudo reality that partially resembles the one we are familiar with, yet with surreal characteristics such as the stoppage of time in the folktale of Urashima Tarô 浦島太郎. In the three narratives examined above, the portals, as gateway to the undersea palace, are located in different topographies.

In the *Jiandeng xinhua* story, there is only a brief description of the locale. At the beginning of the story, the place where Yu lives is identified as Chaozhou 潮州, modern day Chaozhou city on the coast of South China Sea. Yu Shan-wen, the protagonist, escorted by two messengers sent by the king of the underwater world, leaves his home to board a crimson boat on a river nearby. Two yellow dragons tow the boat and, in what seems like the blink of an eye, he arrives at the gate of the sea palace. Initially, when the two unexpected messengers called upon him announcing their mission, Yu was not fully convinced by the unusual invitation: "Guangli[30] is the king of ocean and sea," he stated, "where I am but a scholar of this secular world. The two realms do not cross paths. How could I possibly reach [there]! 廣利洋海之神、善文塵世之士。幽顯路殊、安得相及！" The realm of the supernatural does not begin until Yu sees the two

[30] Guangli 廣利 refers to the King of the Southern Sea. This naming can be traced back to the Tang dynasty, see 南海神廟碑 by Han Yu 韓愈.

towing dragons by the water. Thus the river, presumably an inlet of the sea, here functions as the portal to the other world. In spite of the tale being an adventure narrative devoted to visiting the undersea palace, the rendition of this spectacular space takes up only a few couplets in the poems. This frugality in geographical depiction in this narrative invites embellishment in the adaptations.

The story from *New Tales of the Golden Turtle* begins in a scenic and mystic place, followed by a journey into the underwater world with an elaborate entourage:

> In Songdo[31] there was Mt. Chonma 天磨山, the peak of which was lofty and steep. Thus it was called Heavenly Whetstone (Chonma). Deep in this mountain there was a dragon's pool. The name of it was Pakyon 瓢淵 ("gourd chasm"). The pool was narrow and immeasurably deep; water overflowed dropping in a hundred-yard fall. Since the landscape was pristine and scenic, all wayfarers and pilgrims would stop to admire the view when passing by. It had long been recorded in various accounts as a sacred place.

When Han Saeng is informed that the dragon god of the Gourd Chasm has sent for him, he holds the same reservations but is urged by the two messengers to depart right away. Outside his house there is a magnificent steed waiting with dozens of escorts. In this Korean adaptation, the portal to the supernatural realm is the Pakyon Falls, "the Gourd Chasm." The significance of this locale in the story is evident. Its association with occult matters is highlighted when it is introduced, and this quality is portrayed as already widely recognized. The identifying of a specific location at the beginning of a text, particularly those of supernatural motifs, bears resemblance to instances from the *fudoki* 風土記 (Nara period local gazetteers) and *setsuwa* 說話 anecdotes, which present themselves as records of history instead of fiction.

As suggested in this story, there are other accounts of mythological narratives and folklore related to the Pakyon Falls. Such "sacred locations" 霊地 and narratives featuring them gravitate towards each other. Once a locale has gathered some reputation of spirituality, more

[31] Song-do 松都, the modern day Kaesong city in North Korea.

accounts are likely to identify their narrative with this location for a strengthened sense of authenticity, and in return this leads to a wider diffusion and lasting associations of supernatural phenomena with the location. Over time, these collective narratives form what I call the lore of a locale. In dragon palace motif narratives, the locale is not the underwater palace itself but rather the entry, the portal that links a familiar reality to the other realm. The opening of Ryôi's adaptation gives a good illustration of this lore of a locale.

Similar to Kim Si-seup's version, Ryôi's story underlines the locale as a key factor in the narrative by placing it in the first sentence, "The Seta Bridge in Goshu, being the foremost grand bridge in Eastern Japan,…江州勢多のはしは、東国第一の大橋にして." Also known as the "Chinese style bridge at Seta" 勢多の唐橋[32], the Seta Bridge, as the only point of crossing for the Seta River which flows out of Lake Biwa separating eastern and western Japan, has historically been a significant point of interest. The history of events taking place at this crossing can be traced back to as early as the Jinshin War (壬申の乱) in 673, when Prince Ôtomo lost the final battle at Seta Bridge and conceded defeat the next day by committing suicide, as documented in the *Nihon Shoki*. Because of the unique strategic importance of this bridge, numerous decisive battles were fought here and a long list of famed military lords and warriors' names is associated with the locale, both in historical records and literary texts such as *Collection of Tales of Times Now Past* and *The Tale of Heike*.[33] To relate to this rich cultural and historical background, Ryôi's story alludes to a precedent, a tale about a connection between the Seta Bridge and a dragon palace account from the *Taiheiki* 太平記 (1368), in which a Heian period warrior Fujiwara no Hidesato travels to the dragon palace in Lake Biwa from underneath the

[32] Also in styles 瀬田の唐橋、勢多韓橋、勢多長橋. Included in popular ranking as one of the three most famous/historical bridges of Japan.
[33] To name a few, Fujiwara no Hidesato (alias Tawara no Tôda) in *Collection of Tales of Times Now Past*; Imai Kanehira (Minamoto Yoshinaka's foster brother) in *The Tale of Heike*, and Oda Nobunaga.

Seta Bridge. Additionally, "Sunset over the Seta Bridge 瀬田夕照" is one of the Eight Views of Ômi 近江八景, a poetic and visual art theme established in early sixteenth century Japan modeled after Chinese Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang Rivers. By contextually identifying with a location established in previous literature and thus relating to its cultural capital, this narrative subscribes to the lore of this singular locale.

Besides historical and literary contextualization, Ryôi's cultural nativization is also achieved by depicting nature in *waka*-style rhetoric. The ancient battlefield is described in the fluid and lyrical language of a seasonal landscape: lotus flowers, the sound of evening temple bells, crystal waterfalls and the transcendentally beautiful view of myriad fireflies reflected by the water on summer nights. This depiction departs from the Chinese and Korean source texts and underlines a Japanese aesthetic particular to prose narrative. This is the depiction of nature not as a static background but as the temporal and spatial all-encompassing outer structure of the narrative.

The entry to the dragon palace in Ryôi's story is located underneath this renowned bridge, a waterfront location as in the Chinese and Korean tales. As the single contact point connecting the ordinary world with the extraordinary, this portal must bear characteristics of both worlds, tangibly as well as symbolically. The waterfront functions as such a portal firstly because of its in-between physical location. Secondly, while waterfalls and bridges are landmarks of unassuming familiarity, they also have the potential to extend to the unknown such as the "immeasurable depth" of the Pakyon Fall or the "underneath" dimension of the Seta Bridge. As mentioned previously, this contact point in supernatural narratives is not necessarily geographical. In the next group of narratives I examine, for instance, it is a single quotidian object that functions more as a temporal divider between daytime and night: a lantern.

2.The Afterlives of A Ghost Story: "The Peony Lantern" and Its Adaptation

"The Peony Lantern" is another prominent example of the popularity of *Jiandeng xinhua* abroad. While outside of the mainstream canon of Chinese prose narrative, this narrative was effective enough to have multiple afterlives through the recreations of later writers. The Vietnamese adaptation "Story of A Cotton Tree" (木綿樹傳) in *Records of Romances and Legends* (early sixteenth century) and multiple Japanese adaptations since the mid sixteenth century closely resemble the original. The earliest Japanese translation of this story, together with a few other tales from *Jiandeng xinhua*, appear in a late Muromachi *setsuwa* compilation, *A Collection of Miscellaneous Strange Tales* (奇異雜談集).[34] Unlike later adaptations, which are presented as original works, this compilation cites its source text in one of the translated stories: 「新渡に、剪灯新話といふ書あり。奇異なる物語を、あつめたる書也、今、二三ヶ条を取て、こゝに、のするなり。（略）今、唐のことばを、やわらげ、日本のことばに、なして記するなり」[35] "There is a recently imported book titled *New Tales Under the Lamp*. It is a collection of unusual tales. Here I have selected a few to publish here….(omit) Now [I] have softened the Chinese phrases into Japanese phrases, and recorded them here." As acknowledged here, some stories in this collection are translations of tales from *Jiandeng xinhua*, instead of adaptations. This main differences between adaptation and translation are acknowledgement of the source, and retention of the original proper nouns, which indicate that the narrative originated in a different linguistic context.

A later Japanese adaptation by Ryôi in the early Edo period has plot modifications to nativize the Chinese tale to reach a larger local readership. The original peony lantern story has traces of didacticism, karmic retribution and Daoist practices, the last of which were unfamiliar to most Japanese readers. While Daoism was introduced to Japan in an early period and Daoist treatises

[34] The exact completion date of this book is not clear. Recent studies by scholars including Nakamura Yukihiko and Tachikawa Kiyoshi tend to push the date to early Edo period.
[35] *Kanazôshi Shûsei*, vol. 21, ed. Fukasawa Akio 1998, pp. 232-233.

entered the Japanese literary and philosophical canon, the actual practices of this religion never gained significant momentum. Exorcism, a major constituent of Daoist rituals, is rarely reflected in Japanese texts. Ryôi's approach to such culturally untranslatable elements is in stark contrast with Tsuga Teisho (1718?-1794?) whose adaptations of Chinese vernacular narratives will be discussed in detail in the next chapter. Among the many *Jiandeng xinhua* stories adapted in *Hand Puppets*, "The Peony Lantern" (*Botan tôrô*) has received the most attention from literary critics and scholars. The prominence of this story is also apparent in the fact that Ryôi named the entire collection of stories after a character, the "hand puppet," from this story. "The Peony Lantern" is a translated and modified recreation of "Mudan dengji" ("Account of a Peony Lantern") in *Jiandeng xinhua*. For the sake of convenience, I will refer to the source text in *Jiandeng xinhua* as "The Lantern" and Ryôi's adaptation as "The Peony Lantern."

"The Lantern" and its adaptations incorporate a very different supernatural theme than the dragon palace narratives. In the latter, the protagonist travels to the undersea world, where most of the story takes place. In "The Lantern," the otherworld is not a splendid dragon palace full of treasures but the menacing world of the dead. Furthermore, the protagonist does not journey into the underworld but meets someone who belongs there, so most of the story takes place in the human realm. Yet the point of intersection between the two worlds still plays a significant role. It is the central stage property of this narrative, a token stamped with eerie otherworldliness that the male protagonist, as well as the reader, will overlook until the climax.

The story begins with an encounter: on a festival night, a lonesome young man, recently widowed, meets a beautiful woman on the street, accompanied by a maid holding a peony lantern. He invites her to his house and they start a passionate affair. She begins commuting to his place every night and as time goes by the man becomes suspicious of her true identity. When he finally looks for her at the address she has given him, he finds himself in the gloomy chamber

of a temple, facing a coffin, in front of which hangs a peony lantern. Petrified and now concerned for his life, the man flees home to seek help from a Daoist priest, who gives him an incantation to keep the woman from calling again. His life seems to return to normal, but a month later when he is drunk with his friends, he accidentally ends up near the temple and is confronted by the maid. She drags him back to the chamber and the next day people find the man dead inside the coffin atop the corpse of a young woman. After that, the man, the woman, and the maid could sometimes be seen at night wandering in the area. People who caught sight of them would fall sick. A more powerful exorcist is called and when he summons the three ghosts, they give their accounts. The story ends with that the three ghosts being sent to the depths of the netherworld as punishment for their lust, obsession, and transgression.

As Linda Hutcheon, in her *A Theory of Adaptation* has written, "All adapters relate stories in their different ways. They use the same tools that storytellers have always used: they actualize or concretize ideas; they make simplifying selections, but also amplify and extrapolate…." For transcultural adaptation, however, the question of what gets amplified and what gets abridged or omitted becomes the first step in identifying the idiosyncratic aspects of different cultures. Compared to the adaptation of the previous dragon palace story, Ryôi took more liberty in restructuring "The Lantern." The most significant change in the narrative is the alteration of the relationship from a promiscuous liaison to a romantic attachment. In terms of transcoding culture specific details, Ryôi eliminated the almighty Daoist exorcist and the confessions from purgatory; instead the family of the young man makes an offering of a thousand copies of *The Lotus Sutra* to pacify the unsettled souls. With these two alterations, the adapted tale lessens the overtones of karmic retribution in "The Lantern" and transforms the narrative into a love story, though an intensely grotesque one. The modifications are successful in that the original Chinese tale is fully adapted without a trace of the non-native culture.

Another alteration for nativization is that Ryôi changed the historical background of the original story. In terms of time period, "The Lantern" is set in 1360 至正庚子, less than two decades prior to the publication of *Jiandeng xinhua* in 1378. Thus it is presented not as a historical but a contemporary narrative. Such specification of era suggests a popular quality to this collection in spite of its classical language—narratives intended for the elite readers were more likely to depict subjects of the historical past rather than current events. In contrast to this, the story of "The Peony Lantern" takes place in the Warring States period of Japan, 1548 (天文戊申 Tenbun 17), more than a century prior to the composition of *Hand Puppets* in 1666. Interestingly, although Ryôi emphasized that the stories in this collection were circulated "recently," he chose an imaginary historical era for this story.

The particular season/month of the year plays an important role in both narratives. The original Chinese story opens on the fifteenth day of the First Month (*yuan xi*, 元夕), during the lantern festival, which is widely celebrated in China. The trope of the Lantern Festival in Chinese poetry is associated with elaborate firework displays, family gatherings, viewings of the decorative lanterns and other celebratory activities. This special occasion sets up an appropriate stage for the key object: a lantern adorned with a paper peony flower. This joyful occasion contrasts sharply with the melancholy of the newly widowed protagonist, and creates an eerie, ghostly ambience throughout the entire narrative. Ryôi adapted this occasion by resituating it during the *Bon* Festival 盂蘭盆, the Japanese festival of the dead in the Seventh Month honoring the returning souls of deceased ancestors and family members. At the beginning of "The Peony Lantern," the protagonist Ogihara is lost in his lamentation for his late wife while others are busy with *Bon* Festival preparations, "This year the seasonal festivities moved him more deeply than ever before," the narrator explains, "to think that his own wife was now among the souls of the

departed!"[36] Conveniently lanterns are also an important ritual offering for this occasion in Japan as well, and thus provide a perfect cultural and narrative transition for this story. It is precisely such similarities in ritual practices and customs between Chinese and Japanese traditions that enabled such unaffected literary adaptations.

As the night advances further, the festive activities come to an end and the merrymaking crowd disperses. The stage is cleared for the uncanny to begin. The entrance of the female character is preceded by the appearance of a peony lantern.

> 十五夜，三更盡，遊人漸稀。見一丫鬟，挑雙頭牡丹燈前導，一美人隨後。[37]
> On the fifteenth night, past midnight, the crowd has eventually scattered. [He] saw a young maid holding a lantern decorated with two peony flowers leading the way, followed by a beautiful woman.

The Japanese adaptation here is close to the source text. The editor for the modern reprint of this story inserted an interpretative footnote: "Peony flower lantern 牡丹花の灯籠: a lantern with bright peony flowers painted on. See illustration on [previous] page for reference. It is 'double-peony lantern 双頭ノ牡丹灯' in the source text. The sight of two women walking on the street with an ornamented lantern instead of a regular traveling one at such a late hour of the night is supposed to be uncanny."[38] The lantern itself is not a suspicious item given that the occasion is the lantern festival or *Bon* Festival. What marks its peculiarity is the unusual hour at which it appears and perhaps the floral adornment as well. The symbolism of this object has two aspects. First, it is a signifier at the crossroad of the human world and the netherworld. A dim illuminator, the lantern literally separates *you ming* 幽明, the obscure and the tangible. Second, the

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[36] *Early Modern Japanese Literature,* Haruo Shirane ed., Columbia University Press, New York, 2002, p. 34.
[37] Yang, Jia-luo. *Jiandeng xinhua deng jiu zhong*, Taibei : Shi jie shu ju, 1974, p. 22.
[38] Ed. Hanada, Fujio. *Otogi bôko*, Iwanami shoten, SNKBT vol. 75, 2001, p. 78, footnote 4. On the detail of the appearance of the lantern, although the footnote refers to the woodblock print illustration (1648 慶安元年) to verify its explanation that the flowers were "painted on the lantern," the print shows otherwise: a lantern with faux floral ornaments attached to the top. The terseness of the Chinese, 雙頭牡丹燈, apparently baffled both Ryôi, who simplified this detail, as well as the modern commentator.

exuberant floral shape of the lantern projects the beauty and passion of its owners (both the female protagonist and her maid), an ill-timed blossom in the fragile and improvised form of paper and bamboo. When the protagonist, after a period of suspicion and warning from others, finally sees for his own eyes the nature of his affair, it is the peony lantern hanging in front of the coffin that identifies and confirms that his beloved is deceased. The reappearance of this object evinces its function in the narrative as a marker of the beginning and the end of this affair, as well as a boundary between reality and the underworld.

Both "The Lantern" and "The Peony Lantern" portray the female character as an archetypal entrancing figure. In the language of Ogihara's ecstatic thoughts, however, there are hints of the ominous.

> 荻原、月のもとにこれを見て、「これはそもあまつをとめのあまくだりて、人間にあそぶにや、竜の宮の乙女のわだつうみより出て、なぐさむにや。まことに人の種ならず」
> Looking at her in the moonlight, Ogihara thought to himself, "She must be a heavenly maiden descending to the human realm for amusement; or a princess from the dragon palace surfacing from the sea seeking leisure. Surely she could not be of flesh and blood."

The double nuances here suggest to the readers both the attractiveness and the otherworldliness of this femme fatale. The inauspicious undertone lingers on, as we will see, in Ogihara's poems.

As stated above, Ryôi wrote in what is characterized as the elegant classical style (*gabun*). In "The Peony Lantern" *waka* poems are incorporated as a rhetorical and narrative device, a characteristic reminiscent of the Heian tradition of narrative prose. These poems are not intertextually related to or appropriations from "The Lantern" but entirely original compositions by Ryôi. There are three *waka* poems, each of which foreshadows developments in the plot and contributes to creating an ethereal atmosphere for the short-lived romance. The first *waka* is a mourning poem by Ogihara about the death of his wife.

いかなれば　立もはなれず　おもかげの　身にそひながら　かなしかるらむ[39]
ika nareba/tachi mo hanarezu/omokage no/mi ni sohinagara/kanashikaru ramu.
The apparition of my previous wife remains ever before me; Why, then, am I heartbroken, though she still clings to me so?[40]

Although this poem is dedicated to Ogihara's late wife, it in fact casts hints at his upcoming fate through expressions such as *omokage* (apparition), *tachi mo hanarezu* (clings to), and *kanashikaru* (heartbroken). The depiction of an obstinate attachment to a deceased woman is the central theme of this story. Although here it refers to his inability to relinquish his feeling for his deceased wife, the subject of "clinging" will soon become his unforeseen new love. The second and third *waka* poems are an exchange of love poems between Ogihara and his new love, composed on the first night they meet. These love poems, however, contain gloomy prognostications that foreshadow the inauspicious ending of this romance:

かたふく月にわりなきことの葉を聞にぞ、『けふをかぎりの命ともがな』と、兼ての後ぞおもはるゝ。荻原、
また後の　ちぎりまでやは　にゐまくら　たゞこよひこそ　かぎりなるらめ
mata nochi no/chigiri made yawa/niwimakura/tada koyoi koso/kagirinarurame
といひければ、女とりあへず、
ゆふなゆふな　まつとしいはゞ　こざらめや　かこちがほなる　かねことはなぞ
yûnayûna/matsu to shi ihaba/kozarame ya/kakochigawonaru/kanekoto ha na zo
と返しすれば[41]

"The moon hung low in the sky, and as Ogihara listened to the woman's profound words, he thought, 'Would that this day together were the last day of my life!' Little did he realize that his wish would prove prophetic. Then Ogihara tried composing a verse:
Must we wait until the hour of our next meeting to share a pillow? No, this very night may be our one opportunity.
The woman responded:
If only you pledge you will wait night after night, I'll come without fail; Why should parting make you fret and cast such rueful glances?"[42]

The juxtaposition of prose and *waka* poems for courtship is a feature of the process of literary recreation and linguistic nativization. It is a distinctive characteristic of Ryôi's adaptation. In

[39] Ibid, p. 78.
[40] *Early Modern Japanese Literature,* Haruo Shirane 2002, p. 34.
[41] Hanada Fujio 1999. pp. 79-80.
[42] Haruo Shirane 2002, p. 35, with minor changes on the translation of the phrase *warinaki*. The original translation uses the term "charming" which is replaced by "profound" here.

this narrative, Ryôi devised the *waka* exchange and the moonlit night's drinking with the mysterious woman and her maid. On Ryôi's utilization of *waka* poetry in his adaptation, the modern scholar Usami Kisohachi (1906-1964) wrote that "when it comes to romantic matters between a man and a woman, [Asai Ryôi] borrowed the elegant and delicate touches from the *monogatari* style for events in the source text that are narrated with simple and brief language. Thus he adapted with a specific sense of Japanese aesthetics. There are many such instances and they are worthy of our attention."[43] By contrast, the initial interaction between the two is glossed over in a single condensed line in the source text: "He held her hand and brought her to his home. They took great pleasure in each other's intimate company. He thought to himself that even the kings' assignations with the goddesses of Mount Wu and the River Lou[44] could not possibly surpass this" 生與女携手至家、極其歓昵。自以為巫山洛浦之遇不是過也.[45] The lack of any verbal or written exchange between then suggests little intention to develop an emotional connection. The focus of their relationship is on physical pleasure, and later obsession. Thus the narrative climax of the Chinese tale inevitably leads to the all-consuming finality of their relationship and punishment for excess.

The original ending of "The Lantern" is omitted in Ryôi's story. Later scholars speculate that the reason for this cut is that the Daoist exorcism ritual in "The Lantern" would have been too exotic for Japanese readers and thus impossible to be incorporated in a *hon'an* narrative.[46] In fact, the ending of "The Lantern" features an important event: the "declarations of guilt" from the three characters: the ghost of Qiao-sheng the male protagonist, Fu Li-qing the femme fatale,

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[43] "Otogi bôko ni okeru hon'an nit suite" from *Kanazôshi kenkyû sôsho* 2, p. 65.
[44] This reference is from Cao Zhi's "Goddess of the Luo River" and Song Yu's "Rhapsody on the Goddess," both *fu* included in *Wen Xuan*.
[45] *Jiandeng xinhua*, p. 22.
[46] Various people have commented on this point. To begin with, in the preface of the modern Iwanami SNKBT edition of *Otogi book*, annotators Watanabe Morikuni and Hanada Fujio stated that the modification of the ending of this story is precisely "an example of the true flavors of *hon'an* stories—departure from the source text."

and her maid Jin-lian who is the spirit of a burial figurine. These confessions demanded by the Daoist priest are brief, written in metered couplets. They are the most expressive direct speeches in the story, particularly the ones by Fu Li-qing and Jin-lian.

> 符女供曰：「伏念某青年棄世、白晝無隣。六魄雖離、一霊未泯。燈前月下、逢五百年歓喜冤家、世上民間、作千萬人風流話本。迷不知返、罪安可逃！」
> 金蓮供曰：「伏念某殺青為骨、染素成胎、墳壠埋藏、是誰作俑而用、面目機發、比人具體而微。既有名字之稱、可乏精霊之異！因而得計、豈敢為妖！」[47]
> Fu confessed, "I beg to inform you: I have abandoned the world in my youth with no companion to go through the day. Although my spirits are scattered, the soul has not yet vanished. On that moonlit night, in front of the lantern I met my destined love—five hundred years of joy and anguish. In the world of men, we made a romance that would be talked about among thousands. Lost in this I forgot the returning path—how could I be spared from my sins!"
> Jin-lian confessed "I beg to inform you: Severed green bamboo is what my bones are made of; dyed silk became my flesh and body. Buried and hidden in a grave, for whom are tomb figures made? With a face and eyes more delicate than a real person, I even have a proper name—only lacking a soul! Thus I had this plan—not that I dared to be an evil spirit!"

In terms of structure and rhetorical effect, these poignant confessions are comparable to the *waka* poems in Ryôi's adaptation. Although these statements are part of the Daoist exorcism practice, their actual content does not involve any religious notions. Instead, it gives the two female characters voices and a brief moment of agency. They defend themselves by expressing their deepest regrets: Fu for her fleeting, loveless life, and Jin-lian for never having a chance to live despite her resemblance to a human. The true significance of the character Jin-lian is suggested in her confession "thus I had this plan." It is implied that it was she who persuaded Fu to seduce Qiao. Willful young maids acting as go-betweens for their mistresses' affairs are not uncommon in stories of the "scholar beauty romance" genre (*caiji jiaren* 才子佳人) such in *The Romance of the West Chamber*. Yet here Jin-lian is a foil to her mistress in more ways than the typical sidekick maid. Here, not only is the maid an accomplice to, and possibly the mastermind of,

[47] *Jiang deng xin hua*, pp. 23-24.

Fu's transgression in the human realm as she seeks love and pleasure, but she also bears the ultimate lamentable irony in her similarity to a real person. The personification of an object made to resemble a person, installed to accompany and ritualize the dead, is the most effective and original feature of this narrative. Funeral figurines 冥器 (also written as 盟器) were made of fabric, paper and wood material, or clay, often to be burnt or buried together with the deceased. Presumably out of unfamiliarity with this Chinese practice,[48] Ryôi rewrote the character of Jin-lian as the spirit of a puppet placed in a coffin together with the female protagonist. A hand puppet 御伽婢子 (*otogi bôko*) is a toy and amulet for children. Often made with cotton and clothes, it is a simplified doll. Ryôi also changed the name from Jin-lian 金蓮"golden lotus" to Asaji 浅茅 "shallow reed." This detail is again illustrative of Ryôi's consistent and diligent effort to transform what he interprets as Chinese aesthetics into his native sensibility. Golden lotus, which is a glamorizing expression for women's bound feet, adds to the enticement of the duo. Similar to the "peony" shape of the lantern, the words "golden lotus" function to accentuate the *yan* 艶, or the sensuality of the story. As Judith Zeitlin insightfully points out in her book, *The Phantom Heroine*, the "hyperfemininity" of the ghost is an attribute of Chinese supernatural narratives. "The supremely beautiful, sexually insatiable figure of the female revenant so ubiquitous in the literary ghost tale also circulated in Chinese oral tradition and folklore….Her beauty may be translated into different social registers, coded positively or negatively, but its superlativeness remains constant."[49] Fu and Jin-lian fit into this characterization, and the moral misconduct in "The Lantern" is understood as obsession with carnal pleasure. By recreating the

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[48] Although Japanese funerals sometimes incorporate the practice of placing items belonging to the deceased in the coffin before cremation, the figurine here is to be distinguished from such items. The figurines were made specifically for burial, as part of the belief in transferring wealth and possessions to the afterlife. The motifs of such figurines emulate life in this world. Thus a maid figurine would be a likely item for an affluent young woman's burial.
[49] Judith Zeitlin 2007, *The Phantom Heroine*, p. 27.

maid character as the spirit of a toy, Ryôi suggested the tender age of the woman at the time of her death. Her name, "Shallow Reed," rather than evoking alluring feminine beauty, is more closely associated with the *waka* poetic imagery of autumn, desolate nature, and by extension, a sentimental sense of ephemerality.

Asai Ryôi deemphasized the eroticism of the Chinese source text and nativized the narrative by altering it in the manner of the *monogatari* tradition. The renowned Edo literature scholar Nakamura Yukihiko (1911-1998) has commented on the explicit sexuality in Chinese vernacular fiction: "Through exposure to Chinese vernacular novels, [Japanese writers and readers] naturally perceived the difference among prose narratives (*shôsetsu* 小説), poetry, and theater. Furthermore, for *shôsetsu* there exists a change of values from atmospheric works (*jôshuteki sakuhin* 情趣的作品) such as *Genji* and *Ise Monogatari* with its ambivalent expressions to explicit narratives (*otona no shôsetsu* 大人の小説); from expressions consisting of elegant words (*gago* 雅語) to intellectuals' narratives (*chishikijin no shôsetsu* 知識人の小説) and such. Based on the existing concepts [of narrative literature], as the culturally more advanced homeland of Confucianism, which was then the core ideology, China was indeed many steps ahead of Japan in its judgment of what makes *shôsetsu*. *Shôsetsu* is meant to represent reality faithfully and accurately in colloquial language (*zokugo* 俗語), and by doing so, bears its own profoundness."[50]

Nakamura, in other words, compares Chinese vernacular fiction to Japanese prose narrative and points out that the detailed depiction of sexuality in Chinese fiction (he cited examples of *Water Margin*, *Plum in a Golden Vase* and *The Nodding Stone* 石点頭) and the utilization of colloquialized, non-elite language, were moves toward realistic representation and

[50] Nakumura Yukihiko 1983, *Nakamura Yukihiko chojutsu shû* vol. 1, p. 229.

demonstrated progress in the early establishment of the *shôsetsu* 小説 genre. Based on his expansive knowledge of both literary traditions, Nakamura's opinions insightfully characterize important differences between the two corpora. Yet, it is necessary to take into consideration that, while *monogatari* narratives give the impression of being evasive when it comes to the consummation of love, this genre excels in revealing the richness of the psychology of its characters. This is conveyed through extensive interior monologues, fluid and colloquial, private language[51] and the insertion of poems as a form of intensified dialogue—often on the subject of love—between characters. Such rhetorical emphasis on character development is a central element in the ongoing task of defining the novel. Before the penetration of multiple sources of colloquial language such as Mandarin (官話, or Northern 'official' speech), provincial dialects, and Southern theater, as we see a gradation of vernacularization in extended, multi-chapter narratives (章回小説) starting the early sixteenth century, explicit depictions in Chinese prose narratives on various subjects, including the risqué, fall short of providing realistic insight into the characters. Thus, when comparing "The Lantern" from *Jiandeng xinhua* with Ryôi's adaptation, it becomes difficult, if not entirely pointless, to argue which narrative is closer to a modern definition of the novel/short story. Nakamura's comments are made in the context of multi-chapter narratives 章回小説 and early *yomihon*, both of which genres predate the two texts discussed here. Nonetheless, transformation and continuation can be traced in both cultures. Adaptation narratives, within the same language or translingual, are concrete steppingstones for examining the transformation of genre and language, and make it possible to identify the momentum of such complex transformations.

[51] What I refer to here by "private language" is *wabun* 和文, as distinguished from the "official language of classical Chinese since Heian period Japan. There are various ways to define the separate usages and the co-existence of these two language registers in Japan. The relevance in this chapter is *wabun*'s suitability for prose narrative on love, romantic relationships and conveying such private emotional activity.

The adaptation model for "The Peony Lantern" can be characterized as translation with cultural nativization and creative alteration of unfamiliar concepts. Perhaps due to their captivating nature and people's unceasing fascination with the underworld, ghost stories tend to enjoy longevity, being retold and rewritten. Yet not all female ghosts are of the exotic and alluring kind. Some are heartbreakingly familiar, and the boundary between this world and the netherworld becomes hazy because of nostalgia and attachment.

Increasing interest in *Jiandeng xinhua* among literary critics is a relatively recent phenomenon. Most of the important research on this book was published during the past two decades. From late Ming to Qing dynasty a number of collections of short classical Chinese tales were produced. Many of these were similar to *Jiandeng xinhua* in that they mostly collected tales of the supernatural, and compiled by scholars known for their classical training who also published in various genres other than prose fiction. Some of these collections, such as *Strange Tales from Make-do Studio* (*Liaozhai zhiyi* 聊斎志異) and *Random Jottings from the Cottage of Close Scrutiny* (*Yuewei caotang biji* 閱微草堂筆記) in the eighteenth century achieved literary sophistication and recognition that surpassed *Jiandeng xinhua*. Partially due to the proliferation of these later works, as well as to the extensive period in which *Jiandeng Xinhua* was out of print in China, it did not attract much popular or scholarly attention until recently. The rising interest in *Jiandeng xinhua* is to a large degree motivated by the recent discovery of the significance of this work from the perspective of comparative literature and translation studies. The wide geographical circulation and the expansive influence of this work in Chinese character-using regions from the fifteenth to the late seventeenth century resulted in a group of interrelated narratives that provides an invaluable platform for studying linguistic and cultural similarities among these regions during that time.

Independent of its overseas influences, *Jiandeng xinhua* is also noteworthy for its pivotal position in the development of Chinese prose narratives. Voluminous anthologies of short supernatural narratives had existed prior to *Jiandeng xinhua*, such as the fourth century *In Search of the Supernatural* (搜神記 *Sou shen ji*, Jp: *Sôjinki*) and the exhaustive *Taiping guangji* (太平廣記 Jp: *Taiheikôki*, 978) commissioned by the first Song emperor, to name only a few. However, these anthologies were compilations of supernatural accounts from various sources including ancient myth, biographical anecdotes, religious texts, regional gazetteers, and folklore. Similar to the Japanese genre of *setsuwa*, these narratives were not presented as fiction and not attributed to a specific author. Furthermore, many of the narratives were noticeably reminiscent of oral literature, or written forms of oral tradition. The supernatural subjects were often rhetorical vehicles that related a certain didactic message. The contribution of Qu You's *Jiandeng xinhua* to this existing prose narrative tradition was groundbreaking. This collection marked the coming of a new era for prose narrative: stories composed to entertain readers, and to convey the author's literary creativity as an individual responding to personal experiences and social reality. As a result of such innovation, *Jiandeng xinhua* stimulated the ascent of prose fiction as a literary genre.

Why did *Jiandeng xinhua* draw such broad attention from writers outside of China soon after the time of its publication? This is an important question to contemplate in order to understand the phenomenon of the adaptations of this work. As stated previously, this collection of tales is characteristic of supernatural narratives created by literati. Qu You's lifetime experience played a crucial role in his choice of subjects and his style of composition. Many of the stories from *Jiandeng xinhua*, while set in a supernatural realm, directly reflect the author's desire for better social reception of literati. Not coincidentally, the Korean writer and the

Vietnamese writer who adapted *Jiandeng xinhua* shared a great deal in biographical detail with Qu You. Both Kim Si-seup and Nguyễn Dữ were literary prodigies with elite upbringing, yet like Qu You they were unable to obtain a stable or prominent career due to political upheaval during their lifetimes. The elite mentality reflected in *Jiandeng xinhua* was an important reason that literati writers in other regions chose this work as the basis for their own creations. This self-selecting quality of *Jiandeng xinhua* and its adaptive works determined its departure from existing discourse of ghost stories. The supernatural tales in these works were not meant to convince the existence of spiritual beings or otherworldly realms. Instead, they are largely metaphors and rhetorical devices to convey personal and political messages. From this perspective, we can consider the popularity of *Jiandeng xinhua* to be a byproduct of political regime shift, a literati group reaction to a *fin de siècle*.

Asai Ryôi's adaptations of stories from *Jiandeng xinhua* are polished and faithful translations of the original with occasional negotiations in the cultural contents, such as the omission of the Daoist practices in "The Peony Lantern" (but keeping the original plot of reincarnation). Ryôi set his own style for adaptation and his language is comparable to the simplified classical language of the original, yet with more colloquial expressions in terms of rhetorical effect. The most remarkable characteristic of Ryôi's adaptations lies in his innovative and seamless nativization. His effort in generating a supernatural narrative that is less didactic and formulaic than the *setsuwa* tales but more lyrical and consistent with *monogatari* style contributed greatly to the development of later genres. While extraliterary factors such as the rise of urban cultural and advances in printing techniques likely promoted the flourishing of genres like *kana-zôshi*, in Ryôi's *The Hand Puppet*, the presence of external literary stimulus from Chinese supernatural tales is prevalent. On the foundation of Ryôi's works and other

sources of influence such as the increasing vernacular Chinese texts, later writers such as Tsuga Teishô's and Ueda Akinari furthered developed the adaptation model and the prose style, which led to the flourishing of a sophisticated long prose narrative genre, *yomihon*, which is discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

Asai Ryôi and others' adaptations of *Jiandeng xinhua* display organically and genetically connected literary traditions. *Jiandeng xinhua* was a popular source text for adaptation because of its content and style. In term of content, didactic moral messages of supernatural stories were often a pretext for its fantastic and entertaining quality to attract wide range of readers. Various supernatural topoi such as the underwater world or lingering of the undead yield creative space for translators and adaptors to rewrite the story in their familiar cultural setting. In terms of style, the classical prose of *Jiandeng xinhua* is elegant yet lucid. It loosely keeps to the four-six syllable meter in binary measures, yet it is not the belles-lettres exemplified in *Wen xuan*. Being both concise and accessible, *Jiandeng xinhua* was linguistically a proper choice for writers from the *kanbun* regions to translate or to rewrite. Asai Ryôi's accomplishment in adaptation lies in transformation of classical Chinese into a natural colloquial Japanese prose while preserving the rhetorical sophistication of the original story. This creative and innovative translation was an essential precursor for the subsequent translation of vernacular Chinese a century later.

Chapter Five Early *Yomihon* and the Translation of Chinese Fiction—Tsuga Teishô and His Adaptation Stories

As discussed in the previous chapter, interest in vernacular Chinese language, 唐話 *tôwa*, among scholars such as Ogyû Sorai, promoted the popularization of vernacular novels, some of which were annotated and reprinted as textbooks. Consequently, the circulation of Chinese vernacular novels in Osaka-Kyoto area contributed to the emergence of more translations and adaptations of Chinese fiction and the flourishing of early *yomihon*, which became a new paradigm for Japanese popular literature. The proliferation of Chinese vernacular novels and their derivative works in the mid Tokugawa period marked a watershed in the long history of Chinese influence on Japanese literature. Vernacular Chinese fiction departed from the *kanbun* canon both in format and in content. For Japanese intellectuals these texts were unfamiliar, and they were largely incomprehensible to members of the literati class who had not been exposed to this new language. As Takada Mamoru notes, "Although vernacular fictio (*hakuwa shôsetsu*), in the colloquial style, were a genre of so-called popular literature in China, Japanese intellectuals such as Akinari or Teishô did not consider them as vulgar texts meant to only entertain the masses, nor did they consider them exotic tales. Instead, they recognized these vernacular narratives as a promising new form of literature."[1]

Tsuga Teishô 都賀庭鐘 (1718-1794) is widely recognized as a monumental figure in Edo literature. He is accredited with creating the fictional genre *yomihon* (reading books). As a representative literati (*bunjin*) of his time, with expertise in various subjects, Teishô was also an established Chinese linguist, seal-carving artist, and medical practitioner. He compiled the

[1] Takada Mamoru 1985, "Chûgoku hakuwa shôsetsu to shoki yomihon" *Nihon bungaku to Chûgoku bungaku*.

Japanese edition of the Chinese dictionary *Kangxi zidian* 康熙字典 (Jp: *Kôki jiten*) which became the basis for later character dictionaries such as the *Dai Kanwa jiten* compiled by Morohashi Tetsuji. Teishô was also a direct source of influence on later writers including Ueda Akinari (1734-1809) and Takizawa Bakin (1767-1848). Among other works, he published three anthologies of *yomihon* stories during his lifetime: *Tales of a Garland* (*Hanabusa sôshi* 英草子 1749), *Tales of the Thriving Field*[2] (*Shigeshige yawa* 繁野話 1766), and *Tales of Green Foxtail* (*Hitsuji gusa* 莠句冊 1786). These works established the genre *yomihon*. Each one of the three anthologies contains nine stories. This chapter discusses three selected stories from each of these anthologies, focusing on issues of prose style, cultural transformation, and intertextuality. Through examination of Teishô's adaptation stories, it aims to demonstrates that vernacularization of language is interconnected with the evolution of narrative literature.

1. Tsuga Teishô and the Reception of Chinese Vernacular Literature

In spite of his prolificacy and wide recognition, there is little research on Tsuga Teishô. This is not due to lack of interest, but rather to the scarcity of biographical material and the complexity of his writings. Yet in order to analyze the genre *yomihon* and its lasting influence, and furthermore to broaden our understanding of the relationship of Chinese vernacular fiction and early modern Japanese popular literature, it is essential to analyze the stories Teishô adapted and translated from Chinese texts.

Teishô's writing is innovative in incorporating expressions from different languages and styles, creating a hybrid prose that he considered suitable for sophisticated, novella-length narratives. Educated in classical Chinese with fluency in classical Japanese and vernacular

[2] The English title is from Noriko T. Reider's article "The Emergence of "Kaidan-shû" The Collection of Tales of the Strange and Mysterious in the Edo Period."

Chinese, Teishô interwove the elegance of classical Japanese with Chinese diction—both the grandeur of classical Chinese, as well as lively and jocular vernacular Chinese. Earlier Sinified Japanese prose, *wakan konkôbun*, refers to a mixed style of Japanese and classical Chinese. Teishô's unique and innovative language style is based on this hybrid prose with an additional component of contemporary vernacular Chinese. Teishô's successors such as Akinari and Bakin inherited and further developed this language style, and it became the defining language register associated with the *yomihon* genre. Effectuated by the prosperity of *yomihon*, this style continued to permeate Japanese narrative literature through and beyond the Edo period.[3]

The popularization and prosperity of vernacular literature in China echoed in Japan with the importation of Chinese vernacular texts and the rapid growth of Japan's own popular literature. During the late Ming dynasty (1368-1644), a number of Chinese literati, unable to obtain offices and disillusioned by political turmoil, turned their attention to creating and collecting vernacular stories which had traditionally been regarded as unrefined and little mentioned among the elite. Urbanization and population shifts resulted in the growth of literacy and expansion of readership, which led to more demand for popular literature. Feng Menglong (1574-1646) was a central literary figure who produced three collections, each containing forty vernacular stories: *Stories Old and New*, *Stories to Caution the World*, and *Constant Words to Awaken the World*. Collectively called *San yan* (三言 "Three Words," Jp: *Sangen*), these books circulated widely and increased the popularity of vernacular stories. A few decades after their publications in China, these collections were imported to Japan and received with great enthusiasm by a readership different from that of China.[4] In China Feng Menglong's style of

[3] Tsubouchi Shôyô's (1859-1935) essay "Essence of the Novel" (*Shôsetsu shinzui*) discusses at length Bakin's language style in the *ga-zoku* (classical vs. vernacular) context and its advantages and limitations for contemporary literature.
[4] See Ishizaki 19 40 for a discussion on the early reception of *Sangen*.

vernacular prose attracted a broad readership that was not necessarily of the elite class. In Japan, while the elite were trained in classical Chinese (*kanbun*), the new vernacular Chinese used for these stories, which departed significantly from *kanbun*, posed considerable linguistic obstacles. Japanese literati and scholars' interest in literature from contemporary China was however not deterred by such challenges. In 1743 Oka Hakku 岡白駒 (1692-1767), who was a translation collaborator with Okajima Kanzan, published a partial translation of *Constant Words to Awaken the World* titled *Shôsetsu seigen* 小説精言. Subsequent translations of the other two books of the *San yan* trilogy were published soon after. This series, collectively named *Wakoku sangen* ("Japanese Reprints of *Sangen*"), were the first publications in Japan with the general term *shôsetsu* ("novel") in the title.[5] Together with other translations of Chinese vernacular stories, they stimulated Japanese writers to produce adapted stories and to experiment with new prose styles and new genres of popular literature.

The establishment and development of the *yomihon* genre is divided into two phases: early *yomihon* in the eighteenth century and late *yomihon* in the early nineteenth century. With a few exceptions, early *yomihon* are typically comparable to short stories or novellas in term of length, written by literati (*bunjin*) in the Kyoto-Osaka area. This new genre was the response by Japanese literati to the proliferation of Chinese vernacular fiction, as well as a successor to other popular narrative genres such as *ukiyo-zôshi* ("books of the floating world"), which had been in decline since the golden days of Kyoto publisher Hachimonjiya. Since *yomihon* were written by intellectuals and intended for a more erudite readership, their language style is sophisticated, with prominent Chinese influence, and the content often focuses on historical subjects. Works representative of early *yomihon* include Tsuga Teishô's *Tales of a Garland*, Ueda Akinari's

[5] Ogata Tsutomu 1976, *Shôsetsu Sangen*.

Tales of Moonlight and Rain, Takebe Ayatari's *Tales of Nishiyama* (1719-1774), and Itami Chin'en's (?-1781) *Women's Water Margin*. Late *yomihon* were revived by a more mature publishing market with Edo-based professional fiction writers such as Takizawa Bakin and Santô Kyôden (1761-1816). The prose style generated from the translation of Chinese vernacular stories seen in earlier *yomihon* evolved to a more colloquial Japanese prose aiming at wider readership. While both phases of *yomihon* often involved historical narratives with supernatural elements, later *yomihon* stories had more moralistic implications and expanded into novel length, as demonstrated in Bakin's monumental *Eight Dog Chronicles* (1814-1842).

Similar to Feng Menglong's multi-talented career, Tsuga Teishô also published in a variety of genres. He published his three collections of *yomihon* stories over a span of nearly forty years, during which time both the translation of vernacular Chinese and Japanese popular literature underwent transformation. Changes in Teishô's style of adaptation are also reflected in the three anthologies. The prose style became increasingly convoluted, while the direct textual influence of Chinese sources became less evident, with more intertextual references to earlier Japanese classics. Besides *yomihon* stories, Teishô also published a vernacular Chinese translation of four *jôruri* and nôh plays, including the well-known *Yuya* 熊野 and *Yorimasa* 頼政, collectively titled *Shimeizen* 四鳴蝉 (1771). While he was not the only Japanese writer who attempted to write in vernacular Chinese, *Shimeizen* was highly unusual that it was modeled on Chinese southern drama and followed its format faithfully.[6] Teishô's other works include *Kaikan isshô* 開巻一笑 (1755), a translation of a collection of Chinese humorous stories attributed to the Ming scholar and vernacular literature commentator Li Zhi; an anthology of

[6] Oikawa, Akane "Preliminary thoughts on Tsuga Teishô and his *Shimeizen*: An Attempt to Travel Outward from Japanese Language."

kyôshi (comic poetry); the long *yomihon Yoshitsune banjaku den* 義経磐石伝 (1806); and an adaptation of a Chinese Buddhist narrative, *Tsûzoku iô giba den* 通俗医王耆婆伝 (1763).

Teishô was also an accomplished scholar in classical Japanese and consciously incorporated aspects of such knowledge into his works. Japanese intertextual references in his works cover a broad range of earlier canonical texts such as *Man'yôshû*, *Kojiki*, *fudoki*, *Kokinshû*, and tales from *setsuwa* anthologies. These Japanese sources are organically interwoven into Teishô's prose together with Chinese allusions and vernacular expressions. Because of the complexity of his prose style, much of Teishô's work was abstruse and not commercially successful, although his writings were recognized and appreciated among the literary coterie of his time.

In all three *yomihon* anthologies, Teishô's adaptation stories have the following attributes: (1) Insertion of Chinese vernacular expressions, often marked by translation style *kana* appended alongside the Chinese characters; some of these expressions have *kana* appended on both sides of the characters, one phonetic (*furigana*) and the other providing a Japanese translation. This introduced possible awkwardness into the reading, but underlined visually and syntactically the "exotic" nature of the translation literature. (2) Prominent display of arcane vocabulary and knowledge of subjects such as history, geomancy, and poetry. (3) De-emphasis of supernatural and didactic elements in comparison to the source texts.

Teishô's stories are concerned with morality but the moral message is often quite complicated. The tension between the moral message and the flow of the story is reflected by the changes made through the adaption process. A story has to truthfully represent reality so that readers relate to the characters and to their moral conflicts. This calls for depiction of the complexity and arbitrariness of life. The interpretations of the consequences of life events, as

depicted in the story, yield moral instruction. These two objectives of narrative literature are particularly evident in Teishô's writings. In many of his stories, the moral message from the source text still remains, but it is modified with greater intricacy and subtlety.

To illustrate Tsuga Teishô's style of adaptation and the characteristics of his early *yomihon*, and to analyze the cultural and linguistic influence of vernacular Chinese literature on Edo period Japan, three stories are analyzed in this chapter, one from each of Teishô's three collections. Since most of the stories have never been translated, an English translation of "The Courtesan from Eguchi" is attached in the appendix.

2. "How Kurokawa Gendanushi Abandoned the Material World"

This story from Tsuga Teishô's first *yomihon* anthology, *Hanabusa zôshi* 英草子, demonstrates characteristics of his adaptations from Chinese vernacular fiction. *Kokin kidan hanabusa sôshi* 古今奇談英草子 (*Strange Stories from the Past and Present: Tales of a Garland*, 1749)[7] is considered the first book of the *yomihon* genre. It includes nine stories, most of which are adaptations from Chinese vernacular stories. Unlike other Japanese writers of the time who took up Chinese tales for adaptation, Teishô was actively involved in the study of spoken Chinese. As Nakamura Yukihiko has argued, Tsuga Teishô was the most important advocate for Chinese literary aesthetics (趣味 *shumi*) in the Edo period, comparable even to renowned scholars of Chinese such as Ogyû Sorai and Hattori Nankaku.[8] "[Teishô's] philosophy of narrative literature was entirely rooted in Chinese novels […], which is to say, he considered

[7] The English title is from Noriko T. Reider's article "The Emergence of "Kaidan-shû" The Collection of Tales of the Strange and Mysterious in the Edo Period."
[8] Nakumura Yukihiko 1983, p. 338.

long narratives (*shôsetsu*) to be a supplementary and allegorical derivative from history with moral teachings applicable to one's life."[9]

Tsuga Teishô was also a linguist and lexicographer of Chinese, and his linguistic interests and expertise are reflected in his choices of Chinese source texts. His most prominent Chinese source is Feng Menglong's trilogy of late Ming vernacular story anthologies collectively referred to as *San yan* (Jp: *Sangen* 三言). Teishô named his own three anthologies after these Chinese sources. Each of the three titles includes an expression related to plants and writing. The word *hanabusa* 英 in *Hanabusa sôshi* means calyx, the sepals of a flower. This unusual choice implies that Teishô considers the stories below the grace and beauty of flowers but above the "worldly leaves," the *ukiyo-zôshi* stories that were a popular genre at the time. In the preface to *Hanabusa sôshi*, Teishô describes his choice of style: "Because [the author] is estranged from refined and elegant words, his style is close to the hackneyed. Yet, fortunately, since he is a provincial man and does not know the trendy words of the town, [the writing] is not affected by the popular style either."[10]

Eight of the nine stories in *Hanabusa sôshi* are adaptations (翻案 *hon'an*) of Chinese vernacular narratives. Among them seven are based on stories from the *San yan* collection.[11] Teishô's expertise in classical Chinese and his enthusiasm for colloquial Chinese inspired him to create a new model of adaptation that remained close to the original at a linguistic level.

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[9] Ibid, p. 347.

[10] Here Teishô indicates his intention of creating an elegant style that departs from what he perceived as the vulgarity of popular *sôshi* genre represented by booklets published by Hachimonji-ya. 風雅の詞に疎きが故に、其の文俗に遠からず。草沢に人となれば、市街の通言をしらず。幸にして歌舞妓の草子に似ず。*Hanabusa sôshi, Nishiyama monogatari, Ugetsu monogatari, Harusame monogatari*. SNKBT vo. 78, p. 20.

[11] Takada Mamoru and Yan have different analyses. Yan's chapter states that eight stories from *Hanabusa sôshi* are from *San yan* but he does not append a list of titles. Takada in his article "Ugetsu monogatari no sekai" specified the exact Chinese sources of all nine stories. This paper relies on Takada's article on this account.

Vernacular Chinese expressions are used throughout these stories. The main narrative structure is largely unchanged and direct translation makes up a significant portion of the adaptation.[12] Names of characters used by Teishô are fictional, while in the Chinese original sources they were often historical figures to give the impression of a nonfictional anecdote.

The fourth story in *Hanabusa sôshi*, "Kurokawa Gendanushi entering the mountain and obtaining the Way" (*Kurokawa Gendanushi yama ni itte michi wo etaru koto*), is an adaptation of "Zhuang Zhou Drums on a Bowl and Attains the Great Dao" (abbreviated as "Zhuang Zhou" in the rest of this chapter) from *Stories to Caution the World*, is representative of Teishô's model of adaptation. The plot is about a reclusive scholar testing his wife's fidelity by tricks. He first appears to be gravely ill and incites her to pledge her loyalty to him for the rest of her life. Then he passes away and while the wife is in mourning, she falls in love with a younger man and remarries. A hurried wedding is held while the former husband's coffin is still in the house. On the wedding night, the bridegroom falls suddenly ill and tells her that the only cure for his illness is human brains. In order to save his life, the woman decides to use the brain from her former husband's corpse. As she opens the coffin, the supposedly dead man sits up and comes back to life. The younger man disappears at the moment the woman realizes all has been but a test for her. In deep shame and regret she hangs herself. The protagonist burns down the house and becomes a vagrant.

The Chinese story is a fictional account of *Zhuangzi* (4th century BCE), written the Warring States Period philosopher who was later deified by the Daoism school. This particular story about the death of his wife draws loosely from Zhuangzi's philosophy of detachment and death, elucidated in the chapter "Supreme Happiness" from *Zhuangzi*:

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[12] Yan Shaodang 1990, *Zhongguo wenxue zai Riben*, p. 143.

> "Zhuangzi's wife died. When Huizi went to convey his condolences, he found Zhuangzi sitting with his legs sprawled out, pounding on a tub and singing. 'You lived with her, she brought up your children and grew old,' said Huizi. 'It should be enough simply not to weep at her death. But pounding on a tub and singing—this is going too far, isn't it?' Zhuangzi said, 'You're wrong. When she first died, do you think I didn't grieve like anyone else? But I looked back to her beginning and the time before she was born. Not only the time before she was born, but the time before she had a body. Not only the time before she had a body, but the time before she had a spirit. In the midst of the jumble of wonder and mystery a change took place and she had a spirit. Another change and she had a body. Another change and she was born. Now there's been another change and she's dead. It's just like the progression of the four seasons, spring, summer, fall, winter. Now she's going to lie down peacefully in a vast room. If I were to follow after her bawling and sobbing, it would show that I don't understand anything about fate. So I stopped.'"[13]

This account reveals Zhuangzi's conceptualization of death as a phase not fundamentally different from life. The Chinese vernacular story "Zhuang Zhou" takes this anecdote and restates it with dramatically different implications, namely, to deemphasize the ties of marriage and to depict women as more prone to infidelity than men. When Teishô chose this story from Feng Menglong's anthology to translate and nativize it, he endorsed its moral message. In fact, some of its implicit values were amplified through the adaptation process.

Teishô's adaptations preserved some of the linguistic features of the source texts. Typical of Ming vernacular narratives and possibly reminiscent of origins in earlier oral literature, the story "Zhuang Zhou" begins with a poem followed by the narrator's comments comparing the relationships between fathers, sons, and brothers, to branches of the same tree that can never be severed. By contrast, the union of marriage is impermanent and unpredictable:

> *Fu qi bens hi tong lin niao ba dao tian ming ge zi fei*
> 夫妻本是同林鳥　巴到天明各自飛
> Man and wife are essentially birds in the same wood
> Waiting for the dawn to flee each its own way

[13] Burton Watson 2003. *Zhuangzi: Basic Writings*, p.115

Teishô cited this couplet in Chinese. He also appended the Japanese translation immediately after:

> *Kore wo yawarage-te kiku toki wa*
> *Otto to me wa*
> *onaji hayashi ni*
> *yadoru tori*
> *akureba ono ga*
> *samazama ni tobu*
> 是を和げて聞く時は、
> をつと妻は／同じ林に／やどる鳥／明くればおのが／さまざまに飛ぶ[14]
> When the above is reiterated,
> "Husband and wife are birds inhabiting the same woods; when dawn comes they fly each its own way."

Teishô accurately translated the Chinese couplet into *waka* format. Such side by side bilingual structure shows the author's intention in preserving the appearance of the Chinese predecessor. As Nakamura Yukihiko speculates, "When Ueda Akinari wrote adaptation stories from Chinese sources, he did his best to transform them into something authentically Japanese. However, Tsuga Teishô did not have that intention at all. His novelty lies precisely in his preference for the appearance of Chinese-ness. It was such exotic Chinese aesthetics that intrigued him; and no doubt for this reason he deliberately left such [parts of the original text] as is."[15]

In terms of content, Teishô also preserved parts of the plot that were distinctively Chinese. Unlike other writers of the time who omitted cultural singularities to obscure the sources, Teishô did not eliminate the Daoist components from "Zhuang Zhou," keeping and emphasizing such culturally unfamiliar details. In the Chinese original, the protagonist Zhuang Zhou's work is referred to as *The Divine Classic of Nan-hua* (南華真経 *Nan hua zhen jing*), title used in the Tang Dynasty, when Zhuangzi was deified as a founder of Daoism. Teishô kept this title in his

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[14] *Hanabusa sôshi, Nishiyama monogatari, Ugetsu monogatari, Harusame monogatari*. SNKBT vol. 78, p. 74.
[15] Nakamura Yukihiko 1983.

adaptation and made the protagonist, Kurokawa, a commentator of this book. Kurokawa also wrote another book, "Yôjô shinron" (養生新論 "New Theory of Caring for Life), a title that mimics actual Daoist texts such as *Hôbokushi Yôjôron* (抱朴子養生論 Ch: Baopuzi yang sheng lun). Although Daoism was introduced in Japan as a school of philosophy, it was never widely institutionalized as Buddhism. By foregrounding this aspect of the source story, Teishô explored his fascination with such "authentically Chinese" motifs.

Another characteristic of this story that is representative of other adaptations by Tsuga Teishô is his usage of colloquial Chinese expressions. Although colloquial expressions were ubiquitous in Chinese vernacular literature, they remained a novelty to Japanese readers. To create a new prose style, Teishô experimented with vernacular Chinese expressions by appending *kun'yaku* 訓訳, a Japanese reading.[16] Below are a few examples from "Kurokawa:"

Vernacular Chinese	*kun'yaku* reading	English
只一打	ただひとうち	with one strike
遍身汗	へんしんあせ	body covered in sweat
真個	まこと	truly
偷漢	ぬすみをとこ	adultery

These expressions are of a different etymology from classical Chinese and are not common elements of *kanbun*. Retaining these foreign expressions inevitably resulted in a certain awkwardness. Yet this is obviously a creative decision by Teishô. His experimental prose style, a new *wakan konkôbun* (hybrid Japanese-Chinese language), intrigued later literary critics and inspired other major writers of narrative fiction such as Ueda Akinari and Takizawa Bakin.

3. "The Courtesan from Eguchi": Didacticism and Reversal of Gender Stereotypes

[16] *Hanabusa sôshi, Nishiyama monogatari, Ugetsu monogatari, Harusame monogatari*. SNKBT vol. 78, p. 593.

"The Courtesan of Eguchi Sinking Jewels to Denounce Her Heartless Lover" (*Eguchi no yûjo hakujô wo ikidôrite shugyoku wo shizumuru koto* 江口の遊女薄情を憤りて珠玉を沈むる話) is from *Shigeshige yawa* 繁野話, the second of Tsuga Teishô three *yomihon* anthologies. It is an adaptation of the Chinese story of Du Shi-niang 杜十娘. This story's rich narrative components justify its lasting popularity: a beautiful courtesan with a fiery personality, an ill-advised lover, hidden priceless jewels, and an extravagant tragic finale. It was frequently rewritten and adapted in other genres and languages since its appearance in the late Ming.[17] Two widely circulated Chinese versions of the story are both from the Ming dynasty, the earlier one in classical Chinese, 負情儂傳 "The Faithless Lover," by Sung Maocheng in his *Jiu yue ji* (九籥集 1612), and the later better known vernacular rendition by Feng Menglong, "Du Shi-niang Sinks her Jewel Box in Anger" (Du Shi-niang nu chen bai bao xiang 杜十娘怒沈百宝箱), collected in *Stories to Caution the World*.[18] Tsuga Teishô adapted and elaborated on Feng's vernacular version into a compelling narrative in elegant Japanese prose, with an additional side character, diversified main characters, and a modified ending.

A brief synopsis of the story "Du Shi-niang Sinks her Jewel Box in Anger" is as follows.[19] During the Wanli (r. 1572-1620) years of Ming, Li Jia, son of a provincial official, falls in love with a famed courtesan named Du Shi-niang in the capital. After he squanders away all of his allowance frequenting the pleasure quarter where she is based, the bawd tries to expel him by asking him for three hundred taels of silver to redeem her freedom, believing this sum would be well beyond his means. Shi-niang secretly gives Li half of the money and asks him to

[17] At least three plays were written based on the plot of Du Shi'niang, one soon after Feng Menglong's vernacular rendition and two more plays during the Qianlong period. See Barr's "The Wanli Context of the 'Courtesan's Jewel Box' Story," *HJAS* 57 (1997).
[18] For a detailed comparison of the two texts, see Patrick Hanan's article "The Making of 'The Pearl-Sewn Shirt' and 'The Courtesan's Jewel Box,'" *HJAS* 33 (1973).
[19] The English title here follows Shuhui Yang and Yunqin Yang 2000 in *Stories Old and New*.

borrow the rest. With help from a friend, Liu Yuchun, who is moved by Shi-niang's determination, Li manages to pay the amount and sets off home on a boat with Shi-niang. Other courtesans send them off with a dresser as a farewell gift. As they arrive at a southern port near Li's hometown, a wealthy traveling merchant notices Shi-niang's beauty and offers Li a thousand taels to hand over Shi-niang. Li's reluctance to go home penniless, accompanied by a courtesan wins over his love for Shi-niang, and he asks her to agree to this deal. On the day she is supposed to go over to the merchant's boat, she comes to the deck and opens the dresser drawer by drawer, revealing numerous priceless jewels inside. These are from her lifetime savings that are worth far beyond any sum they could ever possibly need. Shi-niang berates both Li and the merchant while throwing the jewels overboard. Holding the last case of gems Shi-niang drowns herself in the river. Afterwards, tormented by remorse, Li loses his mind and becomes a madman. The merchant soon dies haunted by Shi-niang's ghost. Later, Liu, the sympathetic friend, travels through this port he finds a case of pearls and gems by the river. That night Shi-niang appears in his dream to tell him it is meant to repay his previous generosity.

Teishô's adaptation, "The Courtesan of Eguchi," also centers on the theme of love and betrayal. As the name suggests, the female protagonist is the focus of the narrative and the highlight of pathos. Yet one can detect a number of differences between the two narratives that exhibit Teishô's deviations from Feng Menglong's story. The proximity and distance between these two narratives yield insights to the cultural differences between Tokugawa Japan and the late Ming China, most significantly in terms of the conflict between love and filial piety, and social obligations. To list some of the main plot differences between the two narratives:

(1) Historical setting

The story of Du Shi-niang, consistent with the Chinese prose narrative tradition of appearing as an anecdotal supplement to historical records, specifies the time of the story as 1592 (Wanli 20). In contrast, "Eguchi" is reminiscent of classical *monogatari* prose fiction which obscure the precise temporary setting of the story. It begins with "In the old days the pleasure quarter called Eguchi[20] was built along the riverbank…," resulting in a distancing effect that draws the readers into a nostalgic fictional realm.

(2) Portrayal of the female protagonist

Both Du Shi-niang and Shirotae, the heroine of "Eguchi," are depicted in similar language as famed courtesans with unparalleled beauty, but details reveal Teishô's intention of creating a subtlely different heroine. Du Shi-niang's fame as a sought-after courtesan is put as "in the seven years since her debut at age thirteen, only god knows how many young men, rich and noble, had fallen head over heels for her, even at the cost of their entire wealth and reputation." The introduction of Shirotae, although similar, underlines that in addition to her physical beauty it is her personality and wit that gains her the popularity, "After nine years of life in the pleasure quarter, [Shirotae] became a true expert in reading hearts. Noblemen and commoners alike wanted to be her generous patrons." As the story progresses, when traveling in a boat with her lover, Shirotae demonstrates her literary and artistic talents, exceeding those of her lover, who is an affluent young man from a samurai family. In the corresponding scene in the Chinese story, Du Shi-niang displays her singing talent to entertain her companion. Musical training was part of the basic criteria for women of the pleasure quarter. This detail, while completing the portrayal of an attractive and gifted courtesan, does not elevate the character above a stereotype. Shirotae's literary aptitude, particularly in the elite and masculine genre of *kanshi*, distinguishes her from the archetypal femme fatale. Besides highlighting Shirotae's

[20] A place name, located in modern day Yodogawa Ward, Osaka city.

intellectual sophistication, this detail also indicates a gender reversal between the two main characters.

(3) References to Buddhism

Compared to "Eguchi," the Chinese source story has more elements of karmic retribution, such as the sudden death of the wealthy merchant in the end, which "people thought […] was punishment from what happened on the river." However, the text does not directly refer to any religious concepts to justify such karmic retribution. This is also characteristic of Chinese vernacular stories, which differ from earlier classical narratives: while the vernacular stories are certainly didactic with discernible moral messages, supernatural and religious elements no longer function to drive the narrative. By contrast, "Eguchi" incorporates unambiguously Buddhist details, such as direct citations of *The Lotus Sutra*. These Buddhist references are significant elements in character development, which is discussed in detail below.

(4) The altered ending

After the heroine's death, "Du Shi-niang" ends with karmic retribution: Li loses his sanity out of guilt and regret, while the wealthy merchant becomes delusional, being haunted by Shi-niang, and dies in madness. Such poetic justice provides a resolution for the readers and complies with the concept of "rewarding good and punishing evil" (勧善懲悪 Jp: *kanzen chôaku*) agenda. This archetypical ending undermines the otherwise compelling tragic story. But in "Eguchi" the plot takes an unexpected turn after the climatic suicide. The wealthy man who makes an offer for the courtesan turns out to be a pirate on the run. He receives what he deserves and is soon arrested by officials. On the other hand, the lover Kotarô makes up his mind to "come back to his senses" and returns to his hometown to fulfill his familial and social duties as the heir of a local governor. This difference in ending is significant as it demonstrates

Teishô's interpretation of the essence of story was not betrayal but rather conflict between romantic love and filial piety.

Teishô elaborated on the original tale of love and betrayal, and transformed it into a more sophisticated story with complex characterization and elegant prose. Du Shi-niang's story demonstrates a number of characteristics from an earlier tradition of written oral narrative (*hua ben* 話本), with an obtrusive narrator and the pretense of a live audience. Teishô changed it to an unobtrusive omniscient narrator. He used a more elegant style (*gabun*) with classical intertextual references, and added details to create multidimensional characters. Teishô's story highlights the reversal of gender stereotypes of the two main characters by ascribing to Shirotae, the heroine, qualities associated with masculinity, whereas Kotarô, her lover, is depicted with weaknesses that are more often seen in female characters. The atypical gender roles of the characters are suggested in the source story, but the Japanese adaptation elaborated this aspect, depicting Shirotae as determined, educated, and gallant. Teishô's story lessens the didactic tone of the source texts, transforming the *kanzen chôaku* ("rewarding good and punishing evil") structure to create a less morally evident ending. Buddhist references in "Eguchi" such as quotes from the *Lotus Sutra* denote personal remedy, instead of functioning as a rhetorical device for karmic retribution. Finally, consistent with all of Teishô's other adaptation narratives from Chinese sources, the style of "Eguchi" is linguistically intricate, with Chinese vernacular expressions mixed with elegant Japanese prose, resulting in a recondite style even for those who were well versed in classical Chinese.

"Eguchi" is also a rhetorically more sophisticated narrative than "Du Shi-niang." While the plot of "Eguchi" remains close to the source. The references and allusions suggest Teishô's preference for a more elegant, erudite genre than that of vernacular stories, which often depict

lives of the urban commoners. “Eguchi” incorporates a number of references to classical Chinese and Japanese texts including poems by Li Po and Tao Yuanming, *Horikawa Hyakushu*, *Kokinshu*, *Man'yôshû, The Lotus Sutra, Fuboku wakashô, Shoku kokinshû*, and *The Tale of Genji*. These references are organically woven into the plot of “Eguchi.” Though “Du Shi-niang” includes a single allusion to a Tang poem, “River Snow” (江雪 Ch: Jiang xue) by Liu Zongyuan, it is unrelated to the plot. The poem depicts a lonesome fisherman in otherworldly isolation and is alluded to the scene of the two lovers traveling by boat on a snowy day and encountering another traveler. Other verses in “Du Shi-niang” include couplets from poems and more demotic, proverb-like idioms. As Patrick Hanan generalized in his article “The Making of ‘The Pearl-Sewn Shirt’ and ‘The Courtesan’s Jewel Box,’” “The couplets and poems have a technical function quite apart from the modicum of meaning they may contribute; they come at the end of the scene and help to sectionalize the narrative.” Using poems or couplets as a narrative section marker is a feature common in Chinese prose narratives. The woodblock printed pages have no indentations except for the couplets or poems, so they function as visual markers to indicate the start and end of narrative sections.

The insertion of verse in Japanese prose narratives of the *monogatari* tradition has a very different function from that of the Chinese narrative tradition. The *waka* poems are composed by the characters, which is not necessarily the case in Chinese narratives, to yield insights into their personality, talent, and taste, and they also highlight emotionally intense moments in the narrative, as in “Eguchi.”[21]

Teishô’s interpretation of gender roles is evident in the first half of “Eguchi.” In Feng Menglong’s story, after Li Jia pays off the brothel and redeems Du Shi-niang’s freedom, the two

[21] Long Chinese narrative novels where characterization is given more emphasis, as the case in *Story of the Stone*, are an exception to this generalization.

set off on a boat to return to his hometown. En route, when Li complains of their financial hardship, Shi-niang takes some money from her jewelry box to cover their expenses. This scene of money changing hands was rewritten by Teishô into an exchange of poems between the couple. After leaving the brothel behind, Kotarô and Shirotae depart for his hometown. They spend the Chôyô festival (the ninth day of the Ninth month) on board a boat. To mark the occasion Shirotae draws a chrysanthemum and composes a poem.[22] This type of exchange between lovers is common in the Japanese monogatari tradition, and *waka* poems are conventional for private, romantic scenarios. The unusual detail is that Shirotae composes a *kanshi* poem, which is more often associated with male writers. Her poem alludes to an earlier, well-known poem by the fourth century Chinese poet Tao Yuanming, "Picking chrysanthemum flowers by the eastern hedge, I gaze at South Mountain in the distance"[23] 採菊東籬下、悠然見南山. Shirotae's poem begins with "Returning after leaving the post, I long to rest at home; there are no chrysanthemums on the eastern hedge, I can only scratch my head." 解印帰来欲臥家、東籬無菊首堪爬 "Leaving the post" (literally parting with the official seal) which refers to Shirotae's renunciation of her previous life as a courtesan. It echoes Tao Yuanming's original poem about returning to a pastoral life after resigning an official post. Shirotae's poem suggests the female character's sophisticated literary talents. In contrast, Kotarô's reply is in the form of a *waka* poem, which is a genre more commonly associated with private exchanges, "To accompany you on this boat journey—it is all worth it, even just for seeing this exquisite white chrysanthemum coming from the dews of your brush pen."[24] 船の上にともなふけふのかひに

[22] Chrysanthemum is the flower traditionally associated with this festival both in China and Japan, as seen in the Tao Yuanming poem mentioned below. *Shirotae-giku* is also the name for a white chrysanthemum so the poem and drawing could be self-referential pun.
[23] Translation from Tian, Xiaofei 2005, *Tao Yuanming and Manuscript Culture*.
[24] The last part of this poem is a pun on the heroine's name, see footnote 22.

見る筆の露おく妙の白菊. This semi-feminine format of language mirrors Kotarô's irresolute and passive personality. The gender reversal is evident, to a lesser degree, in the source text, as the character settings and the main plot determine that the courtesan is the primary protagonist and focus of pathos, instead of her lover. Teishô's adaptation made this aspect more perceptible.

One key characterization of the character Du Shi-niang is the concept of *xia*, or gallantry. Teishô adapted and underlined this attribute to create a more dynamic and memorable character. In the ending of "Du Shiniang," the narrator comments,

> When people talked about this happening later, they thought Sun Fu (the merchant/villain) was squandering his wealth to seize a beautiful woman: he certainly could not be considered an honorable man; Li Jia failed to cherish Du Shiniang's love and devotion: he was too dimwitted to be worth mentioning. Only Shiniang is a woman with a rare gallantry that one can only encounter once in a hundred years. How lamentable she could not find a suitable mate.

Gallantry, 侠 *xia* or *kyô* in Japanese, has been an important topos in Chinese narratives that can be traced to Sima Qian's *Records of the Grand Historian* (91 BCE). In this early history narrative, which became a paradigm for biographical literature in both Japan and China, there is a section of biographies of "wandering gallants" (遊侠 Ch: *youxia*, Jp: *yûkyô*), also translated as "knight-errants." The English term "knight" indicates aristocracy or elite social status, while most characters referred to as *xia* in Chinese and Japanese narratives are usually from low social background, captured in the Chinese expression "gallants in shoddy clothes" (布衣之侠 *bu bi zhi xia*). Some of the well-documented *xia* figures were butchers, blacksmiths, martial artists, and assassins. Many had been outlaws persecuted by the law or authorities before they became known for their extraordinary talents, and eventual loyal service to a worthy patron. Although this attribute is mostly associated with male figures and masculinity, female gallants (女侠 *nü xia*) also make unforgettable appearances in the history of Chinese narratives. In a Tang *chuan*

qi tale, “The Curly-bearded Hero” (Ch: *Ju ran ke zhuan* 虬髯客傳), a wise and courageous woman named Red Whisk (*Hong Fu*) is a well known example of the female gallant type. Red Whisk was a private entertainer at a minister’s house when she encountered a young and obscure warrior Li Jing, a historical figure from the late sixth century. She recognized his great potential, eloped with him, and helped him in his military career. He eventually became a prominent general and founding statesman of the Tang dynasty. In the story “Eguchi” Shirotae identifies Red Whisk as an ideal for women, and compares her own background and life ambition with those of the Red Whisk.

It is notable that, in contrast to male gallants who generally exhibit physical strength or military skills, female *xia* figures typically exhibit qualities such as wisdom, determination, and loyalty. *Xia* is a code of honor that vindicates mavericks and their actions as just. Female gallants also demonstrate characteristics seen in the topos of chaste women and filial daughters (節婦孝女 Ch: *jie fu xiao nü*), but these two types of characters do not necessarily coincide. With a few exceptions, the latter is associated with higher social status and subscribe to traditional female gender roles and virtues exemplified in *Biographies of Exemplary Women* (列女伝 Ch: *Rie nü zhuan*) and other female conduct literature. They are paragons of good wives and wise mothers (良妻賢母 Ch: *xian qi liang mu* Jp: *ryôsai kenbo*) when life proceeds peacefully; and when a twist of fate turns circumstances into turmoil and disaster, they make extraordinary sacrifices, often giving up their lives, to avoid moral ruination. In contrast, *xia* female gallants often emerge from low background, making a livelihood outside of respectable social norms. In many Tang *chuan qi* tales and later adaptations, females slaves, nuns, assassins, women warriors, and courtesans display remarkable gallantry on a par with their male

counterparts.[25] Their behavior would have been inexcusable under normal circumstances: elopement, imposture, blackmail, vendetta, black magic, and sometimes murder. However, they are never portrayed as villains, but rather as charismatic anti-heroines. It is precisely because their conduct are vindicated by the honor code of *xia* that their unlawful actions are justified. Eccentricity makes them far more memorable than the good wife/wise mother characters. *Nü xia*, female gallant characters are not restrained by didactic preoccupation as models of the chaste women stereotype. Furthermore, in the stories where the female gallant protagonists sacrifice their lives, they do so not to submit to an existing social moral standard, but rather out of personal and emotional reason, or a self-defined code of honor. It is the profound sense of individuality in these socially marginalized female gallants that make them unforgettable and poignant characters.

"The Faithless Lover," the earlier rendition of Du Shi-niang's story by Sung Maocheng, ends with tangential comments from the narrator, who is also a character in the narrative. The comments tell how the narrator hears about the story from a friend, then encounters the ghost of Du Shi-niang in a dream warning him not to put her life story in writing since she was ashamed of misjudging her lover's character, yet he decided to write it down nonetheless, and later his maidservant drowns herself for no apparent reason. This somewhat digressive ending is omitted in Feng Menglong's vernacular story, presumably to refocus on the main plot.

The naming of characters in Chinese vernacular narratives traditionally carries great significance. The names often foreshadow the personalities or destinies of the characters, as seen in vernacular novels like *Plum in A Golden Vase* and *Story of the Stone.* The story of Du Shi-niang is no exception, and Tsuga Teishô used a similar naming scheme in his adaptation. The

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[25] For a list of notable female gallants in Chinese prose narratives and analyses of the literary archetype, see "Heroic Transformations: Women and National Trauma in Early Qing Literature" by Wai-yee Li, *HJAS* 59 (1999).

female protagonist and other courtesans appearing in the story are named after bodhisattvas. In the opening part of "*Eguchi*," "among the numerous courtesans' houses here, Monju, Fugen, and Shirotae were well known in the country...." Monju (文殊 Ch: Wen shu, "Gentle Glory") and Fugen (普賢 Ch: Pu xian, "Universal Worthy") are Bodhisattvas Manjusri and Samantabhadra. While it may appear unseemly to name women of the pleasure quarter after deities, Teishô in fact did not create these courtesans' names but rather appropriated them from earlier works. In a *noh* play attributed to Kan'ami (1333-1384) entitled *Eguchi*, the protagonist is a courtesan named *Tae* who is an incarnation of the bodhisattva Fugen (Sankirt: Samantabhadra). In spite of the similar naming, Teishô's story does not have any other textual connection to this play. In *A Record of Courtesans* (*Yûjoki*), the Heian scholar and poet Ôe no Masafusa (1041-1111) mentions courtesans with names such as Kannon, the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. The character name *Shirotae* may also refer to Kannon. Among the many styles of Kannon, one is *Byakue Kannon* 白衣観音, literally "Kannon in white." The characters *shiro tae* 白妙 can be translated as "the wondrous one in white."

The phrase *shirotae* has the following possible connotations: (1) *shirotae giku*: a type of chrysanthemum. This connection is relevant to Teishô's story as there are multiple references of chrysanthemums in the narrative. (2) *Shirotae-no*: a white fabric woven from mulberry bark fibers. The expression is often used in *waka* poems as *makura kotoba* referring to white clouds on top of mountains, snow, sand beaches or white clothing. The images of this expression are generally associated with purity and loftiness. The contrast between the Shirotae's lowly social status and her noble personality heightens the pathos of this narrative. The male characters in the source story are also given generic names such as Li Jia 李甲 "a so-and-so named Li" and his

other name Gan Xian 干先 "firstborn[26]" suggest his lack of agency in comparison to the female protagonist. The male character in Teishô's story is named Yasukata, although he is often referred to as Kotarô, "the Young Master." *Yasukata* 安方, often interpreted as abbreviation of *utô yasukata* 善知鳥安方, is a species of seabird known for parent-child bonds. When the parent bird calls out "*utô*," the chick echoes with "*yasukata*." The *noh* play *Utô* and a *yomihon* story *Utô yasukata chûgiden* (1806) by Santô Kyoden both focus on parent-child bonding. This choice of name points out Yasukata's subservient personality and foreshadows the ending when Yasukata returns to the calling of his father and abandons Shirotae.

4. "Different Accounts on The Sought-for Tombs—An Conversation With the Tomb Spirit"

Hitsujigusa, a collection of nine stories, published in 1786, twenty years after the previous collection *Shigeshige yawa*, is more abstruse than Teishô's other short stories. The stories in this collection are arcane in style and convoluted in terms of plot. Nearly all contemporary Japanese scholars have acknowledged its strenuousness.[27] Partially due to such syntactic obstacles, there has been little research conducted on this rich and challenging collection. Teishô's stories became increasingly intricate and experimental in his later years. The title of his first collection, *Hanabusa sôshi* 英草紙, as the English translation *A Garland of Tales of Valor* attempts to convey, suggests blooming greens or youthful heroes. The second collection is titled *Shigeshige yawa* 繁野話, suggesting thriving lushness of summer and tall tales. Finally, Teishô titled the last collection *Hitsuji gusa* 莠句册, literally "verses of foxtail

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[26] *Jia* 甲 the first of the ten heavenly stems, *tian gan*, and *gan xian* 干先 means the beginning of the *gan* cycle.
[27] Comments on the difficulty of *Hitsujigusa* can be found in publications by Tokuda Takeshi, Takada Mamoru, and Kigoshi Osamu.

weeds." The modest autumn plant suggests both humility and literary maturity. Some of the stories include lengthy discussions of subjects such as ancient philology, geomancy, exorcism rituals, and even irrigational construction.

As a literatus and linguist, Teishô had been groundbreaking in adapting Chinese vernacular stories and inventing a new narrative prose style. However in his later years, there is a noticeable tendency in his *yomihon* narratives of returning to an earlier Japanese prose style and incorporating parts of canonical Japanese texts. In *Hitsujigusa*, only one out of the nine narratives has identifiable Chinese source texts.[28] It is the third story, "Different Accounts of the Sought-for Tombs—An Conversation With the Tomb Spirit" 求塚俗説の異同塚の神霊問答 *Motomezuka zokusetsu no idôzuka no shinrei mondô* ("The Sought-for Tombs" henceforth). This story has three narratives, each of which can be traced to a different Japanese or Chinese source text. To analyze the intertextuality of this story and its unique narrative structure from multiple sources, it is necessary to first outline its complicated plot.

The story of "The Sought-for Tombs" consists of three structurally independent narratives conjoined with the common theme of three ancient burial mounds at Unai in the province of Settsu,[29] each one taking place near one of the tombs. The first section is narrated by travelers passing the site of the middle tomb. One day as two men pass by the unnamed tomb and offer a prayer, one of them becomes possessed by a grave-guarding spirit who reveals that the area is home to the descendants of a god of the sea (*umi no tsukasa*). Upon inquiry about the

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[28] The forth story, "Priest Gyokurin convinced Monk Kaitô in A Tête-à-tête," includes one poem from "Three times Wang Anshi tries to baffle academician Su," a story in *Stories to caution the world*, one of the Sanyan anthologies. The plot of "Priest Gyokurin" departs from the *Sanyan* story and does not contain enough in common to be an adaptation. The first story of Teishô's anthology *Hanabusasôshi*, "Emperor Go-Daigo three times disputes Fujifusa," is a faithful adaptation of the "Wang Anshi" story.

[29] Modern day Hyôgo Pref. The place name Ubara (also pronounced Unai 菟原) is an important narrative factor, as it is related to an early legend of the Unai Maiden 菟原処女 from the Nara period which is one of the source stories.

origin of the tombs, a local inn keeper tells the story of the maiden from Unai who would not choose between two suitors and drowned herself in the Ikuta River; the two men also committed suicide after her and the three were buried separately but near each other in the three tombs. The second narrative takes place near the western tomb and is an expanded recount of the Unai Maiden story. Additional side characters are added and the resolution to the love triangle is altered: the two rivals die in a duel; a surrogate bride commits suicide; the maiden becomes a recluse and spends the rest of her life attending the three tombs. The third narrative takes place near the eastern tomb and is told by a *Shugendô* hermit. The story is about a primordial king of the sea (*watazumi*) who indulges in the company of his queen consort and is negligent in his sovereign duties. A concerned courtier, in attempting to draw the king's attention away from his queen, introduces him to a beautiful maiden from Unai. The scheme works as planned and the king becomes infatuated with this new girl. The queen takes advice from another courtier on how to win back the king's affections; henceforth the queen and the Unai maiden serve the king together in harmony until his demise. The two courtiers, awarded for their services, are buried on two sides of the king's tomb and the three tombs became the legendary site.

Three *Manyôshû* poets, Takahashi no Mushimaro (poems IX:1809-1811), Tanabe no Sakimaro (poems IX:1801-1803), and Ôtomo no Yakamochi (poems XIX:4211-4212), composed on this legend of the maiden suicide and described lamentation at passing the three tombs.[30] The Heian period "poem tale" *Yamato monogatari* (947-957) includes prose narratives

[30] On the relationship of *Manyôshû* and *Yamato monogatari* regarding the Unai legend and Teishô's story, Tokuda Takeshi analyzed the textual cross references in his *Nihon kinsei shôsetsu to Chûgoku shôsetsu* (1987), in the chapters "Hanabusasôshi to Sangen" and "Teishô to Seiko kawa, Ryôsai shii."

based on these earlier legends, and the account of the Unai Maiden is expanded into a "charming but tragic" episode,[31] with an elegy by Lady Ise:

Kage to nomi	Our shadowy forms
Mizu no shita nite	Are now united
Aimiredo	At the river's bottom
Tama naki kara wa	But of what use to me
Kai nakarikeri	Is your soulless body![32]

This poem is included in the first section of Teishô's "Sought-after tomb." Interestingly, in contrast to the grief in this poem, Teishô's narrator, the traveler, is quite nonchalant: "[upon hearing the poem] the traveler thought of the long way he was to trek through the next day. Feeling that he had no time to spare over matters of the past, he poured himself a large cupful of sake." By keeping the narrator at a distance from the story, Teishô creates transition mobility to the next section.

"The Sought-after tomb" begins with a topographical account of the area. It is taken from *Goki'nai shi* 五畿内志, a gazetteer published in 1735[33] including information and anecdotes on the five provinces near Kyoto. This text is written in *kanbun* and provides detailed descriptions of landmarks and chorography. From *Goki'nai shi* there is a an anecdote titled "Ancient Tombs in Settsu":

> One (of the three tombs) is at Sumiyoshi Village and called the Sought-after Tomb (*Motome-zuka*). A man from Chinu is buried here and it is also called Oni-zuka. Another mount at Tômyô Village is called the Maiden's Tomb (*Otome-zuka*). The one at Midoro Village is also named the Sought-after Tomb, a man from Ubara is buried here. […] The anecdote in *Manyôshû* and *Yamato monogatari* happened at this location. These are ruins of ancient tombs, poets and writers of the past generations took the folklore and arranged it into stories.

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[31] *Dan* 147 of *Yamato monogatari*. For an English translation see Mildred Tahara's article and partial translation published in *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 27, 1972.

[32] Ibid. "There is a pun on the word *kai*, meaning '(no) avail' as well as 'shell.' *Kara*, meaning 'remains' or 'cast-off shell,' is an *engo* for the word *kai* (shell)." Footnote 81 of Tahara's article.

[33] Takada Mamoru 1995, "Aru kinsei shôsetsu no shikô sakugo: Tsuga Teishô no shigoto wo megutte" *Bungaku*, vol. 6.

一在住吉村曰求女塚、為茅渟男俗呼鬼塚。一在東明村曰処女塚。一在味泥村名求女塚、為菟原男。…万葉集大和談所載即此。按皆上古荒陵、騷客文人採取俚談述懐為藻尓[34]

Teishô's adaptation of this section keeps the language style close to this gazetteer:

> Since the old times there were three mounts all named sought-after tombs (*Motome-zuka*). The one in Sumiyoshi Village is called Chinu-zuka as well as Oni-zuka, the man (from Chinu) is buried here. Oni was perhaps a misspell for "man" (*otoko*). The one in Tômyô Village is simply called the Maiden's Tomb (*Otome-zuka*). The one in Midoro Villages buried the man from Ubara. These are dilapidated tombs from an ancient age. Many literati in the past have based their poems and stories on the Maiden from Unai.

The section based on the gazetteer emphasizes that this narrative centers on a specific locale and the lore of this place. It also imitates the style of the gazetteer and uses a highly Sinicized prose.

A *noh* play attributed to Kan'ami (1333-1384), *The Sought-for Grave* (*Motomezuka*), is a "gloomy and highly effective" theatrical adaption of the same story.[35] The ghost of the Unai Maiden tells a priest about the bleakness and torments of her afterlife. Her recount from the grave echoes with the desolate view described at the beginning of Teishô's story:

> Men seldom find their way
> To this wide and desolate plain.
> Except for my grave, there is nothing here,
> Only wild beasts roaming about
> And quarreling over my bones. […]
> "So many ancient tombs
> Are the graves of men who died young."
> Short is our life on this earth,
> And this place mocks its name, Field of Life![36]

The "field of life" (*Ikuta*) is an ironic pun referring to the name of the river where the maiden drowns herself. The same pun also appears in *Yamato monogatari* in Unai Maiden's last poem.

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[34] Ibid.
[35] Barry Jackman's translation of this play together with a brief introduction is included in *20 Plays of the Nô Theater* by Donald Keene 1970.
[36] Ibid.

This play does not focus on the idealized love triangle in *Manyôshû* or *Yamato monogatari*. Instead the love rivalry is portrayed as excessive, resulting in perpetual agony in the afterlife.

The first section in Teishô's story is a faithful adaptation of the Unai episode from *Yamato monogatari*; the second section gives an elaborate version of the Unai Maiden story by a different narrator. A summary of the second section is as follows: a man from Chinu sends love letters to a young woman of Unai and gains her affection, while she is also pursued by another man. An archery competition is set between the two and the man from Chinu loses. The young woman learns of this outcome and is distraught. A priest traveling through her village arrives and asks her family to spend the night. He hears about the situation and asks to see the love letters. The priest then discovers the letters are written by a ghost writer. He warns the young woman and her family of the man's dishonesty. Later that night, when the man from Chinu comes to coax the maiden to elope with him, the monk dressed up a maid as a surrogate to leave with the man. The other suitor, unaware of this switch, hurries over to intervene. The two men kill each other in a fight, and the maid drowns herself. The young woman, feeling responsible for the tragedy, takes the tonsure and spends the rest of her life attending to the three graves.

While the plotline of the second section remains close to the Unai Maiden legend, the tragic essence is adulterated by the irony of the heroine falling for the deceitful suitor and comical character of the intervening monk. This character and his role in the narrative bear a number of resemblances to a chapter from the Chinese vernacular novel *The Water Margin*.[37] Textual evidence indicates that Teishô transformed and added one of the main characters from the *Water Margin*, Lu Zhishen, into his adaptation of the Unai legend. In the fifth chapter of *The Water Margin*, Lu, a fierce monk with no tolerance for injustice, travels to a village and asks to

[37] This connection is mentioned in Tokuda's (1987) chapter on Teishô and *Ryôsai shii*, without further elaboration or textual analysis. This article mainly examines the adaptation from two other Chinese texts, *Liao zhai zhi yi* and *Xi hu jia hua*, which will be discussed in details later in this chapter.

spend the night at a farm. A local bandit has threatened to come that night to abduct the farmer's daughter. Lu sends the daughter away and hides in her room instead. When the bandit arrives Lu gives him a good beating and warns him to stay away from the family. Some of the similarities of the two characters are listed below:

	The Water Margin	Sought-for Tombs
Character's name and courtesy name	Lu Da 魯達 Zhishen 智深	Adachimaru 阿達池丸 Enjô 円性
Epithet	flowery monk 花和尚	fierce priest 荒法師
Traveling	From Wutai Monastery 五台山 to the capital	Taking a leave from Tendai Monastery 天台より下山
Reason for leaving the monastery	Expelled after getting drunk and assaulting others at the monastery	Driven out after hitting a senior priest in a rage 師長の法師も打たたかれければ、山衆一致して逐ひ出し
Deeds of extraordinary strength	Uprooting a willow tree by brute force; wielding an iron monk's spade of 62 *jin*	Uprooting a large tree, tossing heavy boulders 大石を飛ばし大木を抜き

In terms of prose style, Teishô incorporated a number of Chinese vernacular expressions into this section. The language of the first narrative section is archaic and reminiscent of regional gazetteers and the *Man'yôshû*, with names of deities and expressions such as *tonarishirazu* 隣不省, a term for saké used among *Shugendô* hermits. Changing the style and mirroring various source texts, the second narrative presents an elegant *wabun* prose similar to Heian period *monogatari*. The love letter sent by the man from Chinu is imbued with *waka* tropes: sleeves soaked by tears, white snow on a mountain peak, drifting algae by the shore, vanishing morning dewdrops. Later when the priest scrutinizes the letters and denounces the writing as "cliché imitations of the classics that does not appear to be words arisen from one's true feelings 文の詞も古きを襲ひて肺府より出るとも見えず," it is revealed that the overtly sentimental letter is intended to be parodic. Typical of Teishô's adaptations, there are also

phrases of vernacular Chinese origins incorporated into the classical Japanese prose. A few examples are listed below:

> *shushokuzaiki* 酒色財気: wine, beautiful women, wealth, and pugnacity
> *kujaku minami ni tobu* 孔雀南に飛: the peacocks fly to the south[38] (a woman to commit suicide because of unhappy marriage)
> *kamon aitatarazu* 家門相当らず: a mismatch between two households (for marriage)
> *tenshin* 点心: snacks or luncheon for Buddhist priests
> *fumi kaku shishô* 文かく四宝: the four stationery items (brush, ink, paper, and ink stone)
> *itsuwari wo mote itsuwari ni taishi* 詐りを以て詐りに対し: treat a fraud with fraudulence
> *fûryû engyô* 風流縁業: karmic retribution in love affairs

Incorporation of such expressions complements the farcical and eccentric character of the "fierce priest" and the second story.

The third narrative in this story also focuses on a love triangle but deviates completely from the Unai legend. It begins with a discussion of Five Elements geomancy and the relationship between esoteric cosmology (*onmyôdo*) and Shinto religion. This somewhat tangential prelude ends with a genealogy of a deity of the sea (*watazumi* 海伯), tracing him to Izanagi and Susano-o. In a recent article on Tsuga Teishô, *Nihon shôki* has been identified as a source of textual influence for this section, in particular, the terminologies of Five Elements and origin of the gods.[39] Such intertextual references to earlier Japanese classical texts such as *Yamoto monogatri* and *Man'yôshû* are evident in that Teishô's erudition was not limited to Chinese literature. However, the third narrative in "Sought-after Tombs" does have a primary Chinese source text, as pointed out in Tokuda Takeshi's article on *Hitsuji gusa*.[40] It appropriated from a story in *The Strange Tales from Make-do Studio* (聊斎志異 Ch: *Liao zhai zhi yi*; Jp:

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[38] This expression originates from a well-known long narrative folk poem, *Kong que dong nan fei* 孔雀東南飛, from the Han period. It depicts a martial tragedy that ends with a double suicide.
[39] See Hisaoka Akiho's 2011 "*Hitsuji gusa no Motomezuka zokusetsu no kaihaku to Nihon shoki no watazumi*," *Josetsu*, vol. 38.
[40] See footnote 36.

Ryôsaishii, hereafter *Strange Tales*). *The Strange Tales*, written and compiled by Qing literati Pu Songling 蒲松齢 (1640-1715), is a voluminous collection of over five hundred supernatural tales written in classical Chinese. It was published in entirety posthumously in 1776 in China,[41] only ten years before the publication of *Hitsuji gusa*. Since its first importation to Japan, this collection has been popular among general readers and also for writers to translate and adapt. A disciple of the mid Edo period fiction writer Hiraga Gen'nai, Dutch studies scholar Morishima Nakayoshi 森島中良 (1754-1808), wrote a collection of the nine stories in his *yomihon* anthology titled *Kogarashi zôshi* 凩草紙 (1792), of which the second story is a close adaptation of "The Painted Skin 画皮," a story from *The Strange Tales*.[42] Particularly evident during the Meiji period, the influence of this collection is seen in writings by prominent writers such as Ozaki Kôyô, Kunikida Doppo, and Sato Haruo. Akutagawa Ryûnosuke, Nakajima Atsushi, and Dazai Osamu also produced adaptations based on stories from this collection.[43] In the history of Japanese reception of *The Strange Tales*, Teishô's story is the earliest known adaptation.[44]

The source story for the third section of "Sought-after Tombs," from the tenth volume of *The Strange Tales*, is entitled "Madam Heng 恒娘 (Ch: *Heng niang).*" It is a story about a woman named Heng who advises her female friend on competing with a concubine to win back the husband's affection. Unlike the previous two sections with tragic endings, this story depicts the art of courtship and a romantic rivalry with a happy ending in which the two wives lived

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[41] Earlier partial publication exists such as the 1766 *Qing ke ting* 青柯亭. Tokuda considers this edition as the text read and adapted by Teishô.
[42] See Tokuda 1987 on *Kogarashi zôshi* and *Ryôsaishii*.
[43] Information here is based on Fujida Yûken's entry on *Ryôsaishii* in *Sekai bungaku daijiten* published by Shueisha. Fujida published comprehensive research on *The Strange Tales* and was frequently quoted for the Japanese reception of this collection. For Dazai Osamu's adaptation of "Huang ying" see Xu Mingzhen's 1993 "Qian xi Taizai Zhi dui *Liao zhai zhi yi/*Huang ying Zhu qing de fan an" included in *Zhong ri bi jiao wen xue lun ji (xu ji)*.
[44] See Tokuda 1987.

together in harmony. In Teishô's adaptation the central part of the narrative focuses on how the heroine, a queen consort, wins the king's affection by perfecting the art of enticement. The language style moves from elegant colloquial *wabun* prose to a formal *wakankonkô* style heavily embedded with Sinified expressions. "Madam Heng" is written in classical Chinese and some of its phrasing is directly alluded to in this section of the "Sought-after tombs," as shown in the excerpt below. The corresponding part from the source story is cited here for comparison. Madam Heng gives tips to a female friend on how to charm her husband.

> [Madam Heng] asked her to try to cast a glance, then said 'Not like that, the problem is the outer corners of your eyes.' [Heng] then asked her to show a smile, again said 'no, something is not right with the left side of the face.' Then [Heng] demonstrated a flirtatious sidelong glance, and then a charming smile just to show a little bit of her straight and white teeth like pretty seeds.[45]

Teishô, no doubt finding this vivid, detailed description intriguing, kept it close to the original in his adaptation:

> [Chinu the lady in waiting] taught the queen consort to narrow her eyes and cast a side glance, then said 'The outer corners are too taut,' then made [the queen] smile and said 'it is better to show your dimples in the front, if not that you should smile slightly to the right, and not to the left.' Then she instructed the queen in detail how to glance flirtatiously and to smile in such a way to show a little bit of teeth like seeds of a gourd.

The metaphor for the attractiveness of small and white teeth as "seeds of a gourd" (瓠犀 Ch: *hu xi*; Jp: *kosai*) is from *The Book of Songs*. Poem 57 of "The Odes of Wei" portrays a handsome noble bride: "Hands white as rush-down, skin like lard, neck long and white as the tree-grub, teeth like melon seeds 齒如瓠犀."[46] Although the description of female beauty is not uncommon in Teishô's writings, as this example and the story of *Eguchi* demonstrate, the third narrative in the "Sought-after tombs" describes the amorous aspects of courtship. Such narration, while frequently appearing in *The Strange Tales*, is rare in Teishô's stories. Perhaps to justify

[45] *Quan ben xin zhu liao zhai zhi yi*, p. 1417
[46] Arthur Waley 1960, p. 80,

the subject matter and prevent the work from being taken as a boudoir story, the love rivalry here is given by a political frame. The tension between the two female characters is a manifestation of a power struggle between two groups of political players. The queen consort's influence over the king is challenged by ministers who introduced the maiden of Unai. The queen then strategizes with the support of her loyal vassals. The two women finally reconcile and a power equilibrium is reached. In his article on the intertextuality of Teishô and *The Strange Tales*, Tokuda states that:

> It is generally thought that Chinese literature tends to contain stronger political implications in comparison to Japanese literature. This generalization is indeed endorsed by a great number of classical texts in both cultures. However, in this case [of "Sought-after tomb"] we must say this trend is reverted. "Madam Heng" and "Reminiscence of Xiling Bridge"[47] have no political implications, and yet Teishô's adaptation stresses such a context. In this sense, this is an unusual example of Japanese adaptation.[48]

While this view points out the unique characteristic of this text, it implies that Teishô's politicization of a love triangle story imitates a practice seen more often in Chinese narratives. However, projection of court political turmoil onto romantic relationships is not unique to Chinese narrative literature. In *The Tale of Genji*, for example, romantic relationships and power struggle are often intermingled. Desire, ambition, and contention are common motives. Considering the overall structure of "the Sought-after tombs" and its inheritance from earlier Japanese literature, Teishô's story is not necessarily an attempt to imitate Chinese but more likely a homage to the political undertones of the Japanese *monogatari* literary tradition.

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[47] "Reminiscence of Xiling Bridge 西泠韻蹟" is the sixth story from a 16 vernacular Chinese stories collection titled *Tales of Delight on the West Lake* 西湖佳話 (Jp: *Seiko kawa*) published in the late seventeenth century. It is another text from which Tokuda identified an intertextual connection with Teishô's story. Since it is of limited length, an appropriation of one sentence, it is not analyzed here. However, this collection has wide influence on Edo and later writers. Ueda Akinari's "A Serpent's Lust" is an adaptation from a story in this collection.

[48] Tokuda 1987, p. 235.

In summary, “The Sought-after tomb” is a complicated literary patchwork of a variety of sources and prose styles. To list some of the significant sources and genres:

1st section	*Yamato monogatari* [Mid Heian *uta monogatari*]
	Go-ki'nai shi [Edo *kanbun* gazetteer]
2nd section	*The Water Margin* [Chinese vernacular novel]
3rd section	*Strange Tales from Make-do Studio* [classical Chinese supernatural tale]
	Tales of Delight on the West Lake [Chinese vernacular short stories]

Erudition and hybrid prose with untranslated vernacular Chinese expressions are key characteristics of Tsuga Teishô's works. However, it is important to make a distinction between Teishô's display of linguistic expertise and the pedantry sometimes seen in literati's writings of the late Ming and Qing. The latter often insert poetry unrelated to the narrative. The protagonist is typically a talented scholar in obscurity whose life is drastically changed by some supernatural characters or circumstances. Examples of this genre include the collection of supernatural stories *New Tales Under the Lamp* (1378) and the more recent, voluminous novel *Flowers in the Mirror* (*Jing hua yuan* 1818). Bn contrast, Teishô's stories, consistent in all three *yomihon* anthologies, are more concerned with historical or pseudo-historical subjects and morality. There is less emphasis on intellectuals' discontent (不遇 Jp: *fugû*) or ostentatious display of poetic talents. Teishô's authorial self-indulgence lies in his keen interests in the art of translation and adaptation, and his fascination with Chinese language in its various forms. His usage of a broad and sometimes esoteric vocabulary is a trial-and-error model for creating translation literature, experimenting with new prose styles and a sophisticated genre of narrative literature. In an era when publishers were eager to cater to readers' demands through expanded production of printed texts, Teishô was not interested in producing stories of more widely popular genres.[49] Inspired by imported Chinese vernacular literature, he was committed to pursuing a sophisticated genre

[49] As stated in Teishô's preface to *Hanabusa sôshi*, cited at the beginning of this chapter.

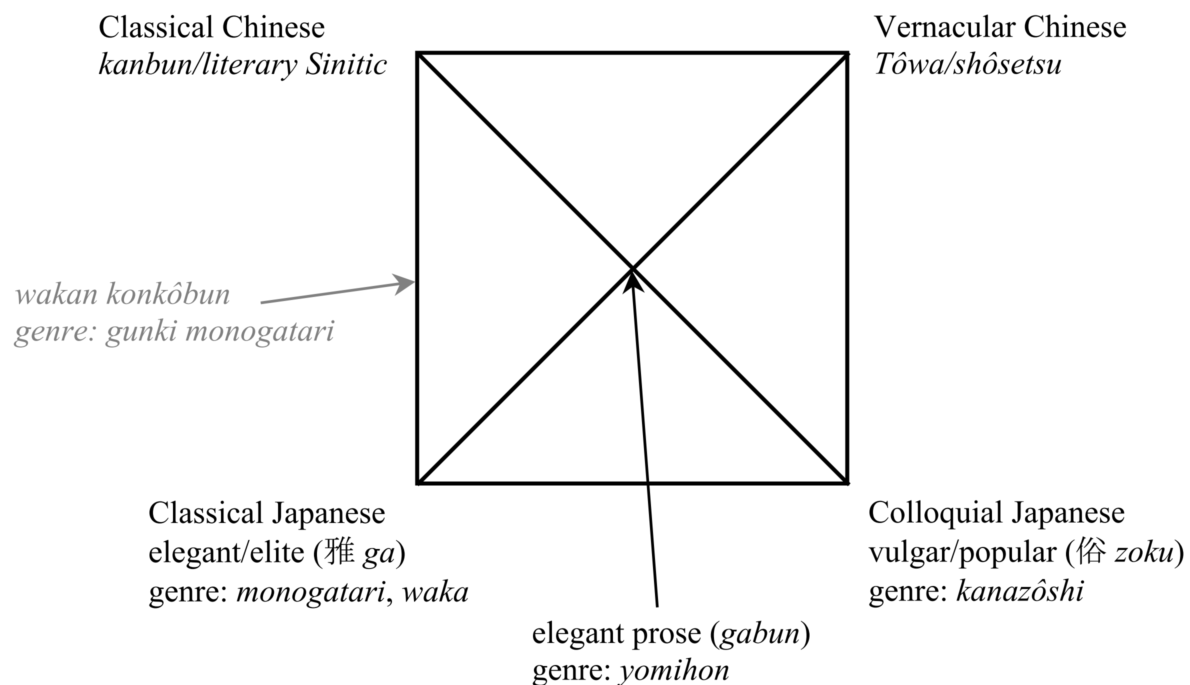
that merged the Chinese and Japanese narrative traditions, and mixed vernacular diction with elegant prose. *Yomihon* were intended for an educated and selective readership. This genre was later popularized by superior writers such as Santô Kyôden (1761-1816) and Kyokutei Bakin (1767-1848). The language of *yomihon*, arguably innovated by Teishô, had a profound and lasting influence on Japanese literature, from Edo popular literature to Meiji translations of European novels.

Conclusion: Languages, Literature, and Cultural Self-Identification

This dissertation examined the impact of Chinese vernacular language and literature in Japan from the mid seventeenth century to the early nineteenth century from three aspects: linguistic importation, popular literature, and cultural history. During the long history of importation and integration of Chinese language in Japan, this period holds unique significance in that vernacular Chinese for the first time was recognized as a foreign language. Since classical Chinese, *kanbun*, had been the official written language in Japan, it was never conceptualized as a foreign entity. In this sense, the appearance of vernacular Chinese marked a watershed in Japan's reception of China and assessment of its cultural proximity to China. Importation of this contemporary language generated wide interest in Chinese literature written in the vernacular register, in spite of the linguistic obstacles of translating vernacular Chinese. Translations and adaptations of these texts inspired Japanese writers to create their own response, experimenting with new genres and new prose styles. The popularization of vernacular Chinese was a platform from which new Japanese literary paradigms were created. Both in China and Japan, the vernacularization process was inseparable from the evolution of narrative literature. In this dissertation, all these issues were addressed through discussions of key figures and close readings of primary texts, with the intention to demonstrate the interactions of language, translation, and evolving cultural boundaries.

The graph below shows how the different elements are interrelated in the reception and nativization of Chinese texts in Japan. As both Chinese and Japanese language shifted from classical prose (left side line) towards vernacular prose (right side line), they interacted in

various ways and the interactions and fusions resulted in different styles and genres. First, classical Chinese and classical Japanese were combined in the *wakan konkôbun*, mixed Sino-Japanese style, which became prevalent in the medieval period. In the Edo period, Okajima Kanzan specialized in vernacular Chinese (upper right corner), while Ogyû Sorai stressed the distance between classical Chinese and classical Japanese (left-side line). Hattori Nakaku composed in classical Chinese (upper left corner) and claimed that the elegant (*ga*) language existed within the classical registers (left side). Through adaptation, Asai Ryôi demonstrated the new stylistic possibility of translating classical Chinese into fully nativized colloquial Japanese (lower right corner). Finally, Tsuga Teishô, choosing the most innovative stylistic approach, created a new hybrid prose genre that combined both Chinese classical and Chinese vernacular (as well as Japanese classical and Japanese colloquial), creating a new style that synthesized the elegant/vulgar dichotomy (represented by the point the middle of the graph).



The rising interest in spoken Chinese in Tokugawa Japan originated from Nagasaki where most trading between China and Japan took place. *Tsûji* translators used their spoken languages, including various region dialects of Chinese. Unlike the elite *kanbun* education which focused on reading comprehension of texts, *tsûji* translators were esteemed for their conversational ability and accurate pronunciation. Vernacular Chinese, *hakuwa* (literally plain speech), used by Chinese tradesmen in conversations was syntactically different from classical Chinese. The difference was so significant that, unlike classical Chinese, *hakuwa* was recognized as an entirely foreign language and the study of it emphasized pronunciation. Primers for vernacular Chinese had *kana* phonetic guides appended to indicate how the expressions were pronounced by Chinese; some even included additional tonal marks next to each character to simulate its native sound. Such phonocentric interest in Chinese language was unprecedented.

Vernacular Chinese spread beyond Nagasaki via texts and primers, as well as professional *tsûji* translators who relocated to other urban areas of Japan. Okajima Kanzan's contribution lies in connecting knowledge of real-time spoken Chinese, *kiyôgaku* 崎陽学, to elite scholars in Edo. Although he started his career as a commercial translator and not as a scholar, Kanzan's interests extended beyond linguistics, and it was his literary ambitions and talents that made him the unique and crucial connection between Nagasaki and the literati circle. Kanzan published the earliest Japanese translation of *The Water Margin*, a vernacular novel that was arguably the most influential Chinese text in the history of Japanese narrative literature. He also produced a bilingual edition of the Japanese medieval war tale *Taiheiki*, in both Japanese and vernacular Chinese. These ambitious and innovative literary achievements gained him recognition among some of the most important scholars of his time. Ogyû Sorai collaborated

with Kanzan and established the Translation Society (*yakusha*) which greatly promoted the study of vernacular Chinese.

Another aspect of the importation of vernacular Chinese was the increase of books from China that were written in this register, many of which were literary texts. This occurred during a time when Japanese popular literature was prospering and diversifying, spurred by urbanization, rapid increase in literacy, and advancement of printing technology. These imported texts were often first reprinted locally, and then appended with *kunten* marks to reach a broader readership. The most popular ones were translated or adapted into fully nativized versions. Adaptations, became an important constituent of Edo popular literature. How the stories are told by far surpasses in importance the content of the story itself. The distinction between translation and adaptation is one of the key issues this study has addressed. Close comparison of the adaptation and its source story yields a great amount of information on the two different cultural environments.

As in any language transformation, the vernacularization of Chinese prose was a lasting and gradual process. To analyze this transformation, its reception in Japan, and influence on Japanese fiction, chapters three and four looked at adaptations of different genres of Chinese texts, from earlier supernatural tales to Ming vernacular stories. What exactly is vernacular Chinese? Readdressing this issue in the framework of the Japanese reception of Chinese language, we are able to reach a coherent answer: vernacular Chinese is the style of prose that is so highly colloquialized that it has become incomprehensible to Japanese intellectuals who were fluent in classical Chinese. In other words, vernacular Chinese marks the limit of the *kunten* system.

Ogyû Sorai and the Ken'en school of scholars wrote a great deal questioning the *kunten* system as the optimal methodology to approach Chinese texts. Sorai advocated reading Chinese directly and bypassing *kundoku* reading. He argued that although the *kundoku* reading was developed as an aid or stepping stone for Japanese readers, in fact it had become an obstacle for understanding the original texts. The reason is that familiarity with *kundoku* reading obscures the fact that Chinese is fundamentally an entirely different language from Japanese. Sorai's argument marked the beginning of Japanese conceptualization of Chinese language as *foreign*, and thus the need for *translation*. "The term [*kundoku*] takes its meaning from the word 'annotation' but in effect it is actually a 'translation.'"[1] This re-conceptualization of Chinese language is also an indicator of ideological shift. A number of Tokugawa scholars including Sorai and Itô Jinsai challenged the official Confucian school led by the Hayashi clan that uncritically subscribed to Neo-Confucianism advocated by Zhu Xi. Sorai and Jinsai, from different perspectives, raised objections to Zhu Xi's canonization and commentaries of the Confucian texts. Sorai urged direct reading of the original Confucian texts, without the intermediation of later commentaries. By questioning the authenticity of the Zhu Xi school, Japanese scholars perceived themselves as equals to their Chinese contemporaries in relations to common cultural heritage.

Importation of vernacular Chinese literature/language stimulated diversification of Japanese popular literature and laid the groundwork for sophisticated genres of prose fiction. Meanwhile, re-conceptualization of Chinese as a foreign language by the Ken'en School and the new necessity of translation from Chinese to Japanese created two tendencies: (1) Japanese

[1] Sorai's essay *Yakubun sentei* ("A Tool for Translation"). English translation from Pastreich, *The Observable Mundane*.

intellectuals reacted to their Chinese contemporaries, repositioning themselves on a parallel instead of derivative level to Chinese scholarship, especially in Confucian hermeneutics and *kanshi* poetry; (2) identifying the Chinese canon as a non-native cultural heritage and recognition of vernacular Chinese as an entirely foreign language for the first time and defined unambiguously the cultural boundary between Japan and China, thus making possible the Nativist school and later linguistic reforms.

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Appendix I. Story of the Peony Lantern 牡丹灯記

Qu You 瞿佑 (1341-1427)

It was in the eastern region of Zhe River[1] where the Fang clan[2] lived. Every year in Ming-zhou,[3] from the fifteen night of the first month, people set up [decorative] lanterns for five days. All of the residents of the city, both men and women, are able to enjoy viewing them. In the twentieth year of Zhizheng's reign,[4] a young scholar named Qiao lived near Zhenmingling.[5] He was widowed and lived alone in idleness. He did not leave his house much, but often stood by the gate alone. On the fifteenth night, past midnight, the crowd eventually scattered. He saw a young maid holding a double-headed peony lantern[6] leading the way, followed by a beautiful woman. She was seventeen or eighteen, in a red dress with emerald sleeves. Slender and lithe, she walked slowly to the west. He looked at her and in the moonlight he saw her pretty face with radiant teeth. She was truly of extraordinary beauty. He felt his soul leave his body and he could not help but follow her. He walked ahead of her and at times behind her. After a while the young woman suddenly looked back at him with a simper, "We did not make an arrangement to meet under a mulberry tree, yet we have met on this moonlit night.[7] Perhaps it is fate?" He quickly walked up and greeted her, saying, "My humble dwelling is a few steps away. Would a handsome lady like you care to stop by?" The woman showed no reluctance, calling out to her maid, "Golden Lotus, hold up the lantern and let us go together." Thus Golden Lotus walked back [to join her mistress].

He held her hand and brought her to his home. They took great pleasure in each other's intimate company. He thought to himself that even the kings' assignations with the goddesses of Mount Wu and the River Lou[8] could not possibly surpass this. When he asked about her name and address she replied "My family name is Fu, given name Sufang, also called Liqing. I am the daughter of the late judge in Feng Hua county. Since the death of my father, the household has dwindled away. Without a brother or many relatives, I am all by myself, currently taking temporary residence with Golden Lotus on the west shore of the lake." He asked her to stay for the night. Her manners were enchanting, her speech soft and sweet. After the curtains were lowered and pillows laid side by side, they indulged in affections and pleasures. When dawn

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[1] Modern day Zhejiang province.

[2] Unknown. One possible interpretation is a reference to the Fang La Rebellion (1120) in the late Northern Song dynasty. Fa La was born in Muzhou 睦州 (close to modern day Hangzhou), although the rebellion took place more than two hundred years prior to the setting of this story, Fang La became a popular literary figure largely due to the fictional character based on him in *The Water Margin*.

[3] Mingzhou, 明州, modern day Ningbo City in Zhejiang province.

[4] 1360. Zhizheng (1341-1370) is the last reign of Yuan dynasty, under Emperor Hui-zong.

[5] 鎮明嶺, a main street in Ningbo City.

[6] 双頭牡丹燈, a lantern decorated with two peony flowers, likely made of colored paper.

[7] 桑中之期 "an assignation in mulberry field" from a line in *The Book of Odes*. 月下 "under the moon" here is a reference to the "old man under the moon 月下老人," a folk deity in charge of match making and love affairs.

[8] This reference is from Cao Zhi's "Goddess of the Luo River" and Song Yu's "Rhapsody on the Goddess," both *fu* included in *Wen Xuan* 文選.

arrived she bid him goodbye and left. The following night she came to him again, and thus they began seeing each other every night.

After two weeks, an old man living next door became suspicious so he peeped through a hole in the wall. What he saw was a skeleton, wearing rouge and powder, sitting next to Qiao under the lamp. The old man was astonished. The next morning, the old man questioned Qiao, but he refused to disclose anything. The old man said "Ay! You are in trouble! For humans are the flourishing of pure *yang*, while ghosts are the foulness of obscure *ying*. Now you are in the company of an apparition from the netherworld and are fully unaware of it, sharing the same bed with something foul without realizing. Once your true energy exhausts, calamities will fall upon you. How sad it is—that you would squander away youthful life and soon depart for the underworld!" Qiao was finally alarmed and told the old man of his affair. The neighbor asked, "She said she was taking temporary lodging at the west bank of the lake. You should go after her and you will find out more." Qiao did as he was told and went straight to the west side of the Moon Lake.[9] He walked back and forth on the Long Bank and searched under the Tall Bridge. He asked locals and stopped travelers. Nobody had anything to tell him. The day came to an end and he wandered into the Mid Lake Temple to take a brief rest. He walked through the eastern wing and walked to the western wing, and near the end he saw a dim chamber. It was a makeshift depository for a coffin. A note attached to the coffin read: "Coffin of Liqing, daughter of the late Judge of Feng Hua County in Fu Zhou." There was a double-peony lantern hanging in front of the coffin and underneath the lamp stood an effigy of a maid. On its back read: "Golden Lotus." At the sight of this, his hair stood on end and his skin crawled all over. Trembling, he ran out of the temple without daring to look back.

That night he took lodging at the neighbor's house. His face was ashen with terror. The old neighbor said: "Priest Wei of Xuan miao shrine was a disciple of the late Counselor Wang the Perfected. Nowadays, his incantations[10] and talismans are the most effective. You should hurry to acquire some." The next day Qiao paid a visit to the shrine. The priest took one look at Qiao and said in great surprise, "What are you doing here—clouded with such an ominous air?" Qiao bowed to his seat and told of his experience in detail. The priest gave him two incantation written in vermillion and instructed him to place one on the door and the other on his bed. He added that Qiao must not go back to the Mid Lake Temple. Qiao went back home with the incantations and followed the instructions. This calmed things down and he no longer received any visits. After over a month, Qiao went to Gunxiu Bridge to visit a friend. He was made to stay until he was quite drunk. All of the warnings from the priest escaped his mind, and he took the road by the Mid Lake Temple on his way home. When he arrived at the gate of the temple he saw Golden Lotus there. She greeted him, saying: "The mistress has been waiting for so long. How heartless of you!" Thus she brought him into the west wing and straight inside the chamber. The woman was indeed there. She complained and rebuked him, saying, "We had not known each other in the past and only met unexpected under the lantern. I was moved by your affections

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[9] Surprisingly, all places names in this narrative are still in use today, more than six centuries after the publication of this tale. The male protagonist's street, Zhenming, is located next to the Moon Lake in central Ningbo City.

[10] Incantation here is translated from *fu*, 符, a piece of paper with characters and/or drawings that supposedly have expulsive powers against evil and demonic spirits. Often consumed by either hanging at conspicuous places or burning and then ingesting the ashes mixed with water or wine. A simple example is the single character: 聻 (*zhan*). When a person dies, he/she becomes a ghost (鬼 *gui*), and when a ghost dies (?) it becomes the next lower level of existence, *zhan*. Thus ghosts are afraid of *zhan* as humans are afraid of ghosts.

so I served you as well as I could. Commuting to see you every night and leaving in the morning, I did not treat you coldly. How could you believe so easily the words of a lowly priest and distrust me so as to sever our relationship for good? Such a heartless man, I resent you deeply! Now fortunately I see you again, how can I possible let you leave?" She then held his hand and brought him to the coffin. The top of the coffin suddenly opened by itself. She held him and ushered him into the coffin with her. The cover immediately closed. He died inside.

The neighbor was surprised that Qiao never returned and he looked for him in nearby areas. When he found the chamber in the temple, he saw a corner of Qiao's clothing hanging outside of the coffin. He asked the monks there to help him opening the casket. Qiao had long been dead. Their bodies were together, one on its back and the other one facing down. The woman's face looked as if she was still alive. The monks sighed, saying "This is the daughter of Judge Fu of Feng Hua County, died at age seventeen. The family deposited the casket here supposedly only for a period of time, yet the entire family moved to the north and has never been in contact again. It was twelve years ago now already. Who could have known she would turn into such an evil spirit!" They buried Qiao together with her outside of the west city gate.

Afterwards, on cloudy nights when the moon was dim, people sometimes witnessed him wandering with the woman, holding hands. A maid guided the way in front of them holding a double peony lantern. Those who saw them would often become severely ill, suffering from fever and chills. The only cure seemed to be to commission elaborate services to pacify the souls and make ample offerings for their redemption. Otherwise the sick would not recover and only become worse. This brought great fright to the local residents, so they gathered and hurried to Xuan Miao Shrine to ask for help from Priest Wei. The priest responded: "My talismans and incantations are only capable of preventing the [evil spirits]. Now they have become true demons and that is beyond my knowledge. I have heard of an Iron Crown Priest living atop Mount Siming. He oversees gods and demons and his magic is powerful. You should go beg him for help." The crowd then traveled to the mountain and climbed great heights, crossing streams and cutting down vines. At the peak there was a thatched hut. A Daoist priest sat next to a low table, watching pageboys training cranes. The people bowed to him outside of the hut and explained the reason for their visit. The Priest said: "I am only a hermit in the mountain who might die any day now. How could I have any magical powers? You have heard too many rumors." He strictly refused them. But the people pleaded, saying, "We did not know of your powers, but Priest Wei at Xuan Ming shrine informed us." The Iron Crown Priest finally acknowledged this and said: "I have not left the mountain for sixty years. The youngster has a big mouth, I suppose I will take up this chore." Accompanied by a page he went downhill with great ease and swiftness. The priest arrived at the west city gate and set up a ten-foot square platform upon which he sat. The Priest wrote an incantation and lit it on fire. Instantly a great number of formidable deities, summoned by the incantation, congregated and lined up around the square platform. They wore yellow head scarves, golden armors over brocade robes,[11] carrying decorated spears. They made a deep bow to the Priest and waited for his commands. He stated: "There are certain evil spirits in this area causing harm and fear to the people. Have you not heard of this? Now bring them to me immediately!" They received his order and dispatched. In what seemed like an instant, they fetched the young woman and Qiao, together with Golden Lotus, all chained with shackles. They

[11] The appearance of these lower ranking deities (符隸) is a standard depiction. The yellow head scarf 黄巾力士 and golden armor 金甲神人 in particular are frequently associated with Daoist guardian deities, or "musclemen."

were whipped severely [by the deities] and covered with rivulets of blood. The Priest censured them for a long while and ordered a confession. They were given pen and paper and each gave a confession of roughly a hundred words. The main statements were copied and attached here.

Qiao confessed, "I beg to inform you: I had been widowed and was leaning against the door by myself. Giving in to temptations and lust was my misdeed. I failed to imitate Lord Sun taking determinate and swift actions with the double-headed snake[12] and went astray as Zheng-zi who felt affections for the nine tailed fox.[13] Now the situation is irreversible—how I regret everything!"

Fu confessed, "I beg to inform you: I have abandoned the world in my youth with no companion to go through the day. Although my spirits are scattered, the soul has not yet vanished. On that moonlit night, in front of the lantern I met my destined love—five hundred years of joy and anguish. In the world of men, we made a romance that would be talked about among thousands. Lost in this I forgot the returning path—how could I be spared from my sins!"

Jin-lian confessed "I beg to inform you: Severed green bamboo is what my bones are made of; dyed silk became my flesh and body. Buried and hidden in a grave, for whom are tomb figures made? With a face and eyes more delicate than a real person, I even have a proper name—only lacking a soul. Thus I had this plan—not that I dared to be an evil spirit!"

After the confessions were completed and written down on paper, they were submitted to the Priest. He wrote on them in bold brush strokes: "I have heard that Yu the Great had nine *ding* vessels cast and the secrets of ghosts and gods were revealed[14]; Wen Qiao lit a rhinoceros horn, every bit of the dragon palace became visible.[15] The difference between the netherworld and the human world is the various manifestations of phantoms. They harm humans and other creatures upon encounter. This is why soon after the Great Ferocious entered the gate, King Jing of Jin passed away[16]; when the monstrous boar cried in the wild, King Xiang of Qi lost his life. In this way the nine heavens dispatch envoys to abolish evil and all quarters of the land establish penalizing bureaus, so that ghosts have no place to hide and demons can do no harm. In a harmonious world and in this current peaceful period, [the evil spirits] manifest into other forms and attach themselves to plants and trees. On rainy nights and dark dawns after the moon has set,

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[12] Sun Shu-ao (6th century BC), a politician serving the kingdom of Chu. According to legends, when he was young he one day saw a double-headed snake, which was an inauspicious creature that would cause death to any eyewitness. Thinking he would no doubt die from this and in attempt to prevent other people meeting the same fate, he killed the snake with stones. Later he was spared from any harm for his selflessness and wise judgment. Biographical accounts about him are in *Mencius* and *Mengqiu* (蒙求 Jp. *Môgyû*). Here the "double-head" also resonates with the description of the lantern, "double-headed peony 双頭牡丹."

[13] Although the nine-tailed fox is an archetypal figure in fox related narratives, this specific reference in unknown. It is suggested that Zheng-zi is the protagonist in the Tang dynasty *zhuan qi* tale *The Story of Ren* 任氏傳, who had a romantic relationship with a were-fox. However that story does not yield any parallels to the context here.

[14] In ancient mythology, as documented in *Zuo zhuan* and *Shiji*, the nine *ding* vessels (九鼎) commissioned by Yu the Great were symbols of the imperial lineage as well as emblems for sovereignty.

[15] Wen Qiao (288-329), a Jin general and governor. In his biography in *Jin shu* there is an anecdote about him lighting a rhinoceros horn by the waterfront to see what is underneath the surface.

[16] **晋景公** (r. 599-582 BCE). He had an ominous dream of a gigantic ferocious demon breaking the palace gate and entering his sleeping chamber. When he woke up he became incurably ill and not long after that, he fell into a cesspool and drowned. See *Zuo zhuan* 春秋左氏伝・成公十年.

one can hear them groan over the roof but cannot see their shapes in the house. They flit around like flies and drift along like dogs; they are stubborn as oxen and gluttonous as wolves. They are as swift as a gust of wind and as furious as a flame. The young man Qiao was not awakened during his life, how could he be enlightened after death! The daughter of Fu longed for licentious pleasures even after death. What a [virtueless] life she must have had! The absurd spirit called Golden Lotus was an effigy, yet it committed transgressions by deluding and seducing people. Foxes appear obedient but some of them are lecherous, quails strut about but none of them are worthy. [You all] have filled your quota of evildoing, your sins are hardly pardonable. The entrapment to catch people will be sealed today and the machination to seize souls is disbanded from now on. The double light lantern shall be burned and [you three] will be sent under escort to the ninth depth of purgatory."

The sentence had been announced and it was carried out promptly. Right away people saw the three crying and unwilling to leave but escorted away by the deities. The Priest brushed his sleeves and returned back to the mountain. In the following day when people went to show their gratitude the Priest was nowhere to be seen. Only the thatched hut was still there. When they went to the Xuan Miao shrine to look for priest Wei, they found that he had become a mute, unable to utter a sound.

Appendix II Old and New Tall Tales of The Tall Grasses 古今奇談繁野話

Volume Five - First Half

The Courtesan of Eguchi Sinking Jewels to Denounce Her Heartless Lover

In the old days the pleasure quarter called Eguchi[17] was built along the riverbank.[18] Unlike the clustered blocks of later days, it used to be houses scattered in twos and threes, encircled by thickets of woven purple willows. Over the hedge gate, peach blossoms and willow branches reach over, reminding one of a charming smile. On Spring evenings people enjoy the delightful view and on the long summer nights, the cool breeze. The scene was so enticing and the passersby were enticed to make a stop—that was how things happened. Men who were lovesick felt feverish even on frosty nights. They commute here on moonlit and starry nights, sometimes through rain and snow yet fully unmindful of the toil. That indeed is what lovesickness is about. Hurrying the horses, low ranking officials dressed in unstarched trousers came and went in broad daylight.[19] Parting through layers of spring mist, noblemen presented themselves discreetly in order to see that special paramour. For those whose future were yet undetermined,[20] since it would have been a severe matter to visit here conspicuously, they came incognito and the sound of calling each other's alias echoed in this part of town. Some even brought their valets to such amorous affairs, a Jirô or a Saburô[21], quiet abominable indeed. All those who came here were labored by love, and it seemed that the charm of this place lay in between the secrecy and the divulgence.

The main fare of this quarter came from the river traffic. Ships on the way to the capital were invited for a stop, and the hand that knotted the mooring line could be tying up a love connection later on. From the far end of Tsukushi[22] to the yonder Kibi, countless ships set off for the capital. On their way here and back, although there were more courtesans' dwellings in Kanzaki[23] and Hashimoto, more ships made a stop here at Eguchi. An unacquainted face could later become the love of one's life, nothing is more directly rooted in destiny from previous lives. In ancient China, clouds of sing-song girls gathered outside the east city gate like flowering rushes.[24] Since the day Guan Zhong[25] opened seven hundred brothels, this profession was permitted in China and Japan until this day. Amassed women who gave up their virtues for their families, the pleasure quarters provided comfort for those traveled afar. Since women were few

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[17] A place name, located in modern day Yodogawa Ward, Osaka city.
[18] Yodogawa River
[19] Because of their insignificant position, they had no concerns of being seen visiting the pleasure quarters.
[20] Here referring to the sons of noblemen who have not inherited titles or obtained offices.
[21] Both generic names for male servants.
[22] Old name for Kyûshû.
[23] Modern day Amagasaki City in Hyôgo Pref., a river traffic hub on the Biwa Lake shore, known for its prosperous pleasure quarter since the Heian to Kamakura period.
[24] A reference to a poem from *The Odes of Zheng*, "I went out at the east gate, where the girls were in clouds. I went out by the tower on the covering wall, where the girls were like flowering rushes." *The Book of Odes*, Legge's translation.
[25] Guang Zhong (c. 720-645 BC), a Spring and Autumn Period statesman, was the prime minister of Duke Huan of Qi. Besides being instrumental in aiding Duke Huan and strengthening Qi, he was also recorded as the founder of the first state-run, taxed brothel, called 女閭, noted in his biography in *The Records of the Warring States* 戦国策.

in this world there always would be vying over them. It is a ruthless scheme to calm a ruthless world. The current of the flowing Kawatake River does not cease, and yet the life drifted away is not of the same person as before.[26] Among the numerous courtesans' houses here, Monjû, Fugen[27], and Shirotae were well known in the country as the crown jewels of this quarter. These establishments kept a custom of passing down the famed art-names.

It was during the Kamakura era, in Saigoku[28] region there were provinces held in proprietorship.[29] The provincial governors appointed district officials to administer regional affairs.[30] Among them there was a man from Hakozaki[31] named Masakata[32] with the court rank of a lord steward. His son Kotarô Yasukata was a fine young man with a gentle nature, unlikely for someone from such a remote province. Thinking that he had yet to see the real world, his attentive parents sent him for a journey to the capital so he could admire the majesty of the palace, get familiar with the manners at the governor's residence, plus leisure sightseeing. They equipped him with all that could be thought of and set him off. Once Kotarô settled at a lodge in the capital, he went to pay respect at the governor's residence, and went on to visit all the renowned sites. Everything seemed quite marvelous, the water was pristine and the people were refined and affable. Although Kotarô was captivated as someone who came to the capital from the rural country side, he often missed his hometown and he became acquainted with a fellow countryman who stayed at the same lodge. This man's name was Naritsura. He was originally from Harima province and was a regional officer of Kishi[33]. The two were frequently deep in conversations. When Kotarô asked Naritsura on assessing the pleasure quarters, he was told Eguchi had the most beautiful and sophisticated courtesans. Intrigued, Kotarô went off with Naritsura to pay a visit to Eguchi, while proposing an early return. To which Naritsura explained, "To only see a courtesan and have a chat with her—if that is the purpose of your visit, it is called 'eye-wenching" and people laugh at that; to babble about a courtesan that you have not met, as if you have seen her, that is called "mouth-wenching" and not even worthy of mockery. Lets indulge ourselves with blue chamber's[34] wine in the company of famed courtesans, now that would surely give us something to talk about back in our hometowns." Thus, Kotarô began frequenting one of the brothels ran by a bawd from Muronoki.

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[26] An allusion to the opening sentence of *An Account of A Ten-foot-Square Hut* (Hôjôki) by Kamo no Chômei (1155-1216).

[27] Monjû and Fugen are names of the bodhisattvas Manjusri and Samantabhadra. The Sanskrit names can be translated as "Gentle Glory" and "Universal Worthy." Using bodhisattvas' names for courtesans is not commonly seen in the Chinese sources texts or vernacular narratives of pleasure quarter theme. However precedence of such naming in Japanese can be dated early as Heian period. In Ôe no Masafusa's (1041-1111) essay *Yûjoki*, he noted courtesans with names such as Kanon, Avalokiteśvara

[28] Saigoku included modern day Chûgoku, Shikoku and Kyûshû regions.

[29] Chigyôkoku, a province held in "proprietorship" by a ranking Court noble or religious institution during Heian and Kamakura times. Provincial proprietors (chigyôkokushu) enjoyed the right to nominate governors, as well as the right to receive income from the cultivated "public lands" (kokugaryô). Translation from *Court and Bakufu in Japan: Essays in Kamakura History*.

[30] Provincial governers, *kokushi*, held residences in the capital and ran the provincial affairs through the district officers, *gunshi*.

[31] East of modern Fukuoka City in Kyûshû, historically a busy port town.

[32] The characters for his name, 正方, can be interpreted as "righteous and rigid."

[33] A place name in Innami county, Harima Province, modern Hyôgo Prefecture.

[34] Blue chamber, *seirô*, refers to brothels.

At the time in that house there was a courtesan named Shirotae, who started in this business since age thirteen. After nine years of life in the pleasure quarter, she became a true expert in reading hearts. Noblemen and commoners alike wanted to be her generous patrons. Even though there were more than one young man who committed sins out of desperation to be close to her, people still raced with the day to come see her. In this town there was a saying going around: drinking with Tae a teetotaler could finish a thousand cups; looking at Tae all other powdered women's faces seem like ash. When Kotarô met Shirotae for the first time, her face was tender as a lotus flower petal and her eyes were lustrous like an autumn lake. Her figures could be compared to the Moon Goddess[35] leaving her celestial palace, or Consort Feiyan of Emperor Cheng[36] freshly made up. Her complexion reminded one of flowers ingeniously sprouting from a blossoming hedge. Initially Kotarô was planning to see all of the reputed courtesans but his ambition ended with Shirotae. His gentle nature gained the girl's fondness, and his loose hands with money made him a bawd's favorite.

Since it was love at first sight for him and Shirotae, from the beginning they had been fearing the day to go separate ways. Shirotae had long considering leaving the pleasure quarter, so she was deeply moved when she felt Kotarô's love for her was not merely a fling. Yet when she hinted about the idea of a more permanent relationship, Kotarô could not give an affirmative answer out of fear for his father's wrath. Since even reeds in an icehouse would eventually grow and thrive, maybe his father's could have a change of heart one day.[37] Day and night the two became inseparable like the shepherd boy and the waver girl, and they addressed each other as husband and wife. Their love ran deeper than the ocean, and their vows loftier than the mountains. The two were so preoccupied by thrill of their love that when other wealthy merchants wanted to meet with Shirotae they were not granted an appointment. Kotarô used money lavishly and the bawd's smiles never ceased. While the bawd ran about serving this patron who was a money tree in the house, the lover's luggage was not necessarily a cornucopia of wealth.[38] Over the days his pockets began to run shallow and the bawd's smiling face gradually cooled off.

Since Kotarô went to the capital he rarely contacted home. His father back in the countryside had sent letters to summon him back, yet Kotarô kept pushing his return date from the middle of the month to the end of the end of the month with no serious intention to go back home. When he heard his father was enraged by this, he had less courage to deal with it, let alone going back. Since the old days relationships based on profit always faded out once the profits dried, but in their case, as Kotarô's resources ran shallow, their love seemed to deepened all the more. The bawd urged Shirotae to distant him but she would not lend her ears to it at all. The bawd then tried to treat Kotarô inhospitably in various manners, hoping he would be offended and leave. Yet Kotarô was a patient and gentle person by nature, so he became more considerate with his words not to displease the bawd. So the bawd could not pressure Shirotae, scolding,

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[35] Jôga, or Chang E in Chinese, the goddess who resides in the moon. This expression here is also seen in *The Water Margin*.

[36] Zhao Fei-yan (c. 32 BC – 1 BC), the imperial consort of Emperor Cheng of Han dynasty. There are numerous mentioning of her extraordinary beauty, particularly slender figure and dancing, in literature works. Among them is a poem by Li Po (*Qing ping diao*), which is where the expression here, *fei yan xin zhuang* 飛燕新粧, is from.

[37] This sentence is from a *waka* in *Horikawa Hyakushu* 「君が経ん御代ながさかの氷室にはうづむ氷のとけぬなりけり」

[38] The original expression here is *juhôban* 聚宝盤 "a flat bowl where treasures gather and multiply."

"People like us depend on our patrons for our daily food and clothes. To send off a previous customer at the back door and welcome a new patron in the front right away—that is our business. This man, since he showed up here more than a year ago, you have taken in no new patrons, completely neglected the old ones. It's like having an ogre in the house and not even a single pilgrim would come.[39] Other girls in the house are not old enough yet, the whole house is going to starve!"

Shirotae replied, "I know our business too well and don't need a reminder from you, Ma'am. He did not come here empty handed and squandered a decent fortune here, that's how he gained his place here now. We can't simply treat him coldly now all of a sudden. Even without doing that, people like us already have the reputation of being heartless and greedy."

The bawd then said, "If your heart is too weak to come up with a way to drive him out, where would all of us get food and clothes? Now I will simply negotiate with this broke guest of yours, if he is someone of decent caliber, just bring me a few strings of coins and some bolts of silk, you can leave the house with him. I would buy another girl to bring up and make a living with that. If that is over his caliber then nothing is going to work out no matter how much you think of him."

"Ma'am, you are being short sighted. Although he is poor right now he still has family in the countryside. When he really brings in the cash to you, it would be too late to take back your words."

The bawd had heard from the servants that Kotarô had already sold off his clothing, sword, and whatever belongings that could be pawned, as well as his family had broken off contact with him. Knowing there was no way he could gather any amount of cash, she promised,

"As long as he has the amount to redeem you I will not say another word."

Shirotae turned her face away, "I know he has little resources and it is hard for me to bring it up. Why don't you directly talk to him about it and get to the bottom of it."

"I will not hesitate at all to talk with him about it."

Afterwards when the bawd sat across the table from Kotarô and brought it up in the conversation, he blushed and could not come up with an answer. Shirotae was there too. With some feign chest pain, she asked, "Just name a number, Ma'am!"

The bawd calculated in her heart and said, "Even having passed the peak, a peony still has colors. For others I would surely ask for three hundred bolts of silk. This master here now is going through a difficult time so one hundred will do. But all in three days, one hand takes in the amount, the other hand lets go of the girl. After three days please do not pay an visit to my house."

Kotarô was lost in thoughts and did not utter a word. Shirotae intervened, "How could he get this done within three days? Please extend the due date to ten days."

The bawd thought, this penniless man could not get any cash even in a hundred days, and with an extension when he still fail to gather the amount that would deepen his shame. Then even if he's thick skinned as if masked by iron, he would not have the face to come here again. Moreover, as days go by, the girl might fall for someone new and get tired of him. Thus, she loosened the term.

"In that case lets say in ten days, if the amount can not be delivered then you will no longer be allowed in this house."

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[39] The original here, straight translation from the Chinese text, is "There is *Shôki* in our house and not even a single little demon (*ko oni*) would come." *Shôki* 鍾馗 is a Chinese mythological demon slayer.

Look at Kotarô, Shirotae replied "When the master does deliver the amount I'm afraid you will have a change of heart."

Thinking a hundred bolts was entirely out of question, the bawd was confident, "I am almost sixty years old and pious in front of the Buddha day and night. How could I ever break a promise?"

Kotarô thought to himself, although he had no prospects, maybe there is a slight chance if he puts down all pride and go to beg Naritsura for a loan. If he could get that money somehow but the promise was not kept, then he would really be the laughingstock of Naritsura. So he insisted, "I am afraid you are playing me, even if I show up with the money nothing is going to happen."

To which the bawd said, "Lets have it all on paper then," bold in her old days, she wrote a ten-day contract and handed to him.

Kotarô took the paper. Reluctantly, he stood up and left, not know how on earth he was to carry out the terms. When they parted, Shirotae told him "Please promise you will get back to me within five days and let me know how things are going. Don't hold anything back from me." With these words still ringing in his ears, Kotarô went to Naritsura's place. Choosing words humbly, he asked Naritsura for help with money to redeem Shirotae. Although Naritsura was a sincere man, he did not agree with Kotarô's squandering at the pleasure quarters. He thought to himself, Shirotae is a famous courtesan here in Eguchi. How could a mere hundred bolts of silk be enough to redeem her? This must be a scheme to get more money out of Kotarô. He simply replied with "Currently I lack the resources. Please try somewhere else." He treated Kotarô with wine and sent him home. Having no one else to go to, Kotarô went back to Eguchi and stayed for five or six days at an acquaintance's place. Shirotae heard about it through the grapevine and sent for Kotarô "Do not be anxious and please come to me before the due date." But Kotarô was too ashamed to call. So she send someone to bring him over.

"How is collecting the money going?" she asked.

Tears welled from Kotarô's eyes, "People of the world are hardhearted and I still have not be able to gather the amount."

"That is often the case, how disheartening! Lets have dinner together tonight and talk it over."

Shirotae hinted to the bawd that things were progressing smoothly. She dined with Kotarô and the two had a few drinks to console him. "So, you were not able to collect any amount? Or are you thinking the time has come for us to say goodbye, and did not ask people briskly?"

In tears, Kotarô replied, "There is an old family friend living near Tsukushi in Yamazaki,[40] but he is a boatman and can't be depended on. Besides that, Naritsura is the only one to ask yet he told me so and so."

They fell asleep at the end of this gloomy night. At dawn Shirotae woke up Kotarô, handing him the pillow she had been using,

"Inside the cotton padding I have hidden a few taels of gold nuggets. This is my savings from the past years. Master, take this to purchase half of the silk, and please ask Master Naritsura to help with the rest. Do come on the due date without failing!"

Pleased with this, Kotarô put away the pillow and went back to the capital to pay another visit to Naritsura. After he explained the situation and tore up the pillow in front of Naritsura,

[40] Modern day Settsu City near Osaka.

they calculated the hidden gold grains found inside the padding, it turned to be a total worth of fifty or sixty bolts of silk.

Naritsura said, "In the pleasure quarters, to enjoy oneself and then step back at the right times, those are the wise words from the Book of Wenching.[41] Yet, leave promiscuity aside, even the great men and heroes can not be spared from romantic entanglements. Fortunately this courtesan has true feelings for you and is not swindling you. I shall help you with this." He gathered the full amount for a hundred bolts of silk, and gave back Kotarô the gold nuggets to cover other miscellaneous expenses. Naritsura added, "Although I disapprove of your effeteness, this effort from me is out of sympathy for Shirotae." Kotarô thanked Naritsura and went back to Eguchi to meet with Shirotae, "It's done." He said.

Shirotae asked, "You could not acquire a penny a few days ago, how did you manage to get the whole amount now?" Kotarô told her about Naritsura's help and his words. Shirotae put her hands together in deep gratitude, "We owe it to Master Naritsura who helped our wishes come true."

That was the evening of the ninth day. Feeling more at ease, Kotarô spent the night in Shirotae's room. Shirotae said, "As soon as we finish the transaction, I will follow you and leave here right away. Please make arrangements for hiring a boat. And please exchange the gold nuggets into silver ingots that are easier to travel with." They thought over this and that through the night, and finally fell asleep before daybreak. Morning arrived and the sun was shinning high, the bawd walked over.

"Today is the due date. What about the promise?"

With the amount in hand, Kotarô replied, "Here are twenty pieces of sterling silver worth of a hundred bolts of fine silk."

Seeing that Kotarô actually had the money, the bawd began to regret her earlier words. Then Shirotae said, "It has been ten years since I came to this house. The money I earned must have exceeded a few thousands. Today is the day I will be redeemed and start a new life, you ought to be happy for me. The amount is exactly as you have decided and promised in your own words. If you breach the agreement then the master will leave with the money, and I will drown myself in front of your eyes. You would then lose both me and the money." Hearing such severe words from Shirotae which were quite unlike her usual self, the bawd was at a loss for words for a long while.

"Well then, I see that things have come this far, you must leave. But everything you wore and used daily belongs to this room—do not even think about leaving with a thread!" The bawd uttered in a rage. She pushed Kotarô and Shirotae outside of the room, and locked it up with a loud clash. With no further words the bawd left them and went back to her room.

The season was the beginning of September. Shirotae had not washed or dressed her hair since getting out of bed. Astounded and still in her nightgown, Shirotae bowed to the sight of the bawd's back, "After all, she raised me for years, I do not ask for anything other than redeeming my body. I have made close friends like sisters. Now let us go to them for consultation."

The two left the house, and walked downstream to the house of another courtesan whose name was Koyuki.

"We have come to bid our farewell."

Seeing Shirotae in her nightgown and hair undressed, Koyuki was greatly surprised.

[41] This book, 嫖経, is a fictional title on the know-how of pleasure quarters. It is also seen in other texts by Teishô, as well as in Ming vernacular narratives.

“What on earth has happened?”

Shirotae told her how the bawd drove them away in a fury, and took her time getting dressed at Koyuki’s place. Koyuki took out a dress for Shirotae to wear. The two talked and consoled each other. They ended up spending the night there. The next when other courtesans in the neighborhood heard the news Shirotae were to leave here to be with a countryman, they all gather to say their goodbyes. At the farewell banquet, they each displayed their talents to the fullest in singing and dancing to wish the couple happiness and fortune. Glasses were raised in a congratulation toast, “Shirotae is the first lady in our world, now she had found herself a fine gentleman!”

Koyuki asked, “Have you two made a plan for life after leaving here?”

Kotarô replied, “Recently my father’s disappointment in me has deepened. Now if he hears about me going home married to a courtesan, I can only imagine what a fit he would throw. Because of that, I have not come up with a competent plan.”

“The natural bonding between father and son will never cease to be. Now it is indeed inappropriate to offend him on a sudden. Why not arrange a temporary lodge near your hometown to settle for now? That way you can return alone first, and gain your father’s forgiveness with the help of close friends. Then you can bring home your lady, wouldn’t that be an option?” Koyuki said.

Pleased with this suggestion, Shirotae said, “It is awkward for me to propose that, but that is indeed a good idea.”

It is said that if one lingers for too long at one place, even a juniper would get impatient and snap.[42] When the night came to an end and dawn arrived, servants came in and hurried them, “The boat is here, please hurry!” Kotarô and Shirotae boarded the boat. Meigetsu, Kumoi, and other courtesans all came out to the riverfront. Putting their hands on the boat, they bid their goodbyes. Koyuki brought a small chest of drawers to send off the couple with,

“You two are setting off on a journey home, but you don’t know when you will settle down yet. To console the boredom of your long journey, here are painted scrolls, various types of incense and other games pieces.[43] Inside has farewell gifts from all the sisters here, please do accept it.”

Shirotae took the chest and expressed her heartfelt thanks, “All of you here, like me, live a life drifting along the currents.[44] Now I part with you to go to the countryside. Although I wish we would meet again, I do not know when that will be—this could be the last time I see you all. I hope everyone of you will be in good health, and that may your strength will be forever unchanging in this world.” her tears soaked with sincerity. Reluctantly, the boat started to take

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[42] The juniper tree (*muro no ki*) has poetic association with perpetuity, often appears in a *waka* poem together with the images of a boulder, seashore, a person waiting or something who is absent. The reference here likely comes from a poem in *Man’yôshû* (no. 2488), “Atop a boulder, a juniper stands deep in thought, what is it so intensely pondering over?”

[43] Painting scrolls (*emaki*) are narrative texts inserted among illustrations, an elegant format of reading material that was popular during the Heian and Kamakura periods. Various types of incense (*kurabe kô*), literally “incense comparison,” refers to a set of tools and different kinds of incenses for the appreciation of incense (*kôdô*), to identify a specific incense or a combination by the fragrances. These high-cultural items included in the chest suggest the refined tastes of the courtesans.

[44] A reference to a poem by Ono no Komachi, collected in *Kokin wakashû*, “I have sunk to the/ bottom and like the rootless/ shifting water weeds/should the currents summon me/ I too would drift away.” *wabinureba/ mi o ukigusa no/ ne wo taete/sasou mizu araba/ inan to zo omou*. (trans, L. R. Rodd). The reference to this poem here foreshadows Shirotae’s actions at the end of this story.

off in silence. It was a world where one could not even choose to stay or to leave, how lamentable!

In this way, the two departed for Daimotsu[45] and boarded another ship for Tsukushi. The journey paused here and there, waiting for the right wind. Since they missed celebration of the Double Ninth Festival,[46] Shirotae playfully drew a chrysanthemum flower and wrote a poem next to it. It was a manly gesture.[47]

Returning after freeing myself from the official seal, I long to lie down in my home;
There are no chrysanthemums on the eastern fence and I scratch my head.
Do not inquire so kindly after a seed from the dust,
It may be only a roadside flowers fawning over passersby.[48]

Kotarô Yasukata was impressed by the ink painting; a white chrysanthemum with frosted leaves.[49]

"Your poem is too modest—it does not do justice to this chrysanthemum flower, I shall add a verse,

The boat journey together is worthy—just to see this marvelous white chrysanthemum[50] from the dewdrops at the tip of your brush."[51]

Shirotae read aloud his poem, "Dewdrops at the tip of a brush? My brush is not that fancy at all. Thanks to your compliment, the drawing looks a bit lively now," she said with a smile.

A few days past and they arrived at Murozumi near Suhô[52] and disembarked. Kotarô said this town is a convenient place and close to his hometown, thus they picked a lodging here with a pleasant view. Kotarô furtively sent the message of their arrival to a distant relative living in Hakozaki and inquired about his parents' recent temperament. To kill time while waiting, the young couple took scenic walks nearby on sunny days, and stayed in when it rained, sharing a few cups of wine and chitchat. Little by little it began to feel like home.

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[45] A town near modern day Daimotsu Ward of Amagasaki City in Hyôgo Pref.

[46] *Chôyô*, or Chungyang in Chinese, is the ninth day of the Ninth Month of the lunar calendar. A festival that has been observed since the Eastern Han in China and the Heian period in Japan. Activities associated with the celebration of this day include drinking chrysanthemum wine and wearing dogwood flowers.

[47] The original text here is *otoko to miyu*, "it seemed quiet manly." Shirotae composed a *kanshi* poem which was a genre primarily produced by and associated with male writers at the time the narrative was set to take place.

[48] This poem alludes to a well known poem by Chinese poet Tao Qian (365-427) "I built my house near where others dwell/And yet there is no clamor of carriages and horses/You ask of me "How can this be so?"/"When the heart is far the place of itself is distant."/I pluck chrysanthemums under the eastern hedge/And gaze afar towards the southern mountains/The mountain air is fine at evening of the day/And flying birds return together homewards/Within these things there is a hint of Truth/But when I start to tell it, I cannot find the words." (Trans. by William Acker, *An Anthology of Translations Classical Chinese Literature*) Shirotae refers to herself as "a flower from the dust" reflecting her humble background, yet also chooses to self-associate with imagery of chrysanthemum that is austere and enduring.

[49] White chrysanthemum, *shiragiku*, could be a pun on the name Shirotae. *Shirotae-giku* is the name of a type of chrysanthemum.

[50] "Marvelous white chrysanthemum," *tae no shiragiku*, is a pun on Shirotae's name.

[51] Kotarô's verse is a *waka* poem.

[52] A place near modern day Hikari City of Yamaguchi Prefecture, also the location of a legend about a courtesan revered by priest Shôkû (910-1007) as an incarnation of bodhisattva Manjusri. A *setsuwa* anecdote of this legend is collected in *Senshûshô*.

But then there was a man. His name was Shibae Sakebenosuke, an unemployed samurai from a decent family in Kunigi no Shima,[53] west of Eguchi. He was temporarily lounging here at Murozumi for some obscure business, and happened to catch a glimpse of Shirotae coming out of a house accompanied by a man. Shibae was once a patron of Shirotae's, and he was not someone to pass up any chances of finding pleasure. Seeing Shirotae unexpectedly at this rural place with another man, he surprised himself by a sudden nostalgia for the old times and ended up following her, but could not find a way to enter the house. Becoming obsessed to find out about Shirotae's current situation, Shibae lingered around her house the next day from dawn. He finally saw someone coming out of the house and called to stop the person,

"Sir, may I have a word with you?" and invited the man to an acquaintance's place. "That couple you just visited, may I ask how are they related to you?"

"The gentleman is my cousin." The man replied.

"In that case, I shall inform you this for your interest. That young man does not look like an outlaw, but recently there have been many cases of piracy in this area and they are hiding among the residents. I am in fact here incognito under an official mission to detect and arrest them. Any new faces such as that young couple would arouse suspicion. That would be a pity—that is why I am telling you about this." Shibae talked with an air that could have fooled anyone.

The distant cousin was a countryman and quite trusting in nature. He bowed in gratitude,

"Sir, how kind of you to inform me of this! That young man is the only heir of the Lord Steward of Buzen.[54] Still, as long as he does not break off with his lady friend who was a courtesan, his parents refuse to see his face for the rest of their lives, let alone allowing him to inherit the title and family business. I have been here at this port for a few days to discuss the matter with him. He is an indecisive man by nature, although he seems to comprehend the situation he would not give a clear answer one way or another. I have to somehow convince him to give up the girl, and bring him alone back to his father. Only that would turn away the old man's wrath." Concerned to tears, he spilled his guts to Shibae.

Shibae put on a most sympathetic face and flattered the man, "You are truly considerate and devoted to your family. I shall do what I can to help with taking care of the girl. If there is a relative of mine who is in search of a wife, that could be a good solution. Please, by all means do not hesitate to let me lend a hand. And let us keep it hush-hush from the two just yet." After figuring which inn the cousin was staying at, Shibae bid his goodbye.

The cousin, whose name was Wata Tamekazu,[55] was a relative from Kotarô Yasukata's mother side. After hearing Shibae would help to find a settlement for the girl, he was quite relieved. After consulting with Shibae, he asked Kotarô to come to his inn one night,

"If you would not straighten out the situation at any cost, then the pedigree of you family at Hakozaki would cease to be, and all blame of being unfilial would be your burden alone. You father, a respectful lord, is known to be a strict man. I am afraid his fondness for you has already dwindled by the gossip about you in the pleasure quarters in the capital. If he found out you are wandering about with a girl, he probably rather disown you by having you killed. Although there are many relatives and friends, now your family is powerful and prosperous so no one would want to offend your father. Who is going to stick his neck out for you? Even if someone would say a word in your interest, your father's rage will no doubt turn him around and he will back out of it while scolding you. After that your family business would fall into someone else's hands, an

[53] Modern day Kunishima, an area in Higashi Yodogawa Ward of Osaka.
[54] An area in eastern Kukuoka Pref.
[55] The characters for his name can be interpreted as "prioritize harmony," which suits his role in the story.

adopted son perhaps, and you, my friend, will never be able to show your face again in your hometown for the rest of your life. You would be a perpetual traveler, from one temporary lodging to the next. Running out of resources and without any stable income, you would surely end up in spots—where would you go then?"

At the time, more than half of their saving were going. Clueless about how the future will unfold, Kotarô could not help nodding to Tamekazu's lecture and began to show some regret.

Tamekazu went on, "Women are by nature capricious, to begin with, changing their minds left and right. Not to mention women from the pleasure quarters, even they are truly in love with you it will never last, just as when they pretend to be fond you—that will be only be for the time being as well. That famous courtesan has countless admirers, she may have an old acquaintance here in the west as well. You took all the trouble of bringing her here, but who knows, you might have paved the way for some other man. Maybe you plan to entrust this unusual lady to someone to live on her own for a while, so you can go home to your parents alone and wait for the right timing to reunite with her. But there are many flirtatious men in the world who are eager to humor with their courtesy and show off their dapperness. They are good at loosening the guards in a woman's heart, plundering her chastity with making empty promises. Hopping over the hedge and sneaking in through a crack in the house—then it would surely be a great disgrace. If a man indulged in lust, abandoned his parents and ended up a vagrant, heaven and earth would narrow down on him and he would not be able to stand on his feet. Please, think of it over, and bring your heart back to the way of men."

As Tamekazu was going through all the words he know, Kotarô, who had been a docile man, bent to the rationale in the speech. Absorbed in thoughts, he advanced forward on his knees and said, "This is the consequence of my immorality and folly. Now is there a way that things can be helped?"

"There is no solution—except to part with the girl and to go home alone. That way I can pacify your father's wrath, and you should buy back the sword and saddle you pawned, then there might be some way to settle away with the girl."

Looking like he finally made up his mind, Kotarô said "Up to this day, this girl has been close to me and loyal like no one else in the world, it would be difficult to say goodbye all of a sudden. Let me bring it up gradually and see how she takes it."

Thoughts weighed like a mountain sitting on his chest, Kotarô went back to his place, barely feeling his steps.

<End of the First Half>

[56]古今奇談繁野話 Old and New Tall Tales of The Tall Grasses
Volume Five - Second Half

It is needless to mention Consort Ban's bitterness in abandonment. Just imagine the lament of a woman who spends her life in waiting, on top of that, how helpless she must feel waiting at a temporary lodging—that was Shirotae's situation waiting late into the night for Kotarô's return to the inn, keeping some saké warmed. When he finally came back with a sullen

[56] Consort Ban (? 48BCE-?6BCE), was a consort of Emperor Cheng of Eastern Han (r. 33BCE-7BCE). She was known as a court poet and her writings are collection in *Wen Xuan*. She was the great aunt of scholar and historian Ban Gu who compiled *The Book of Han*. Consort Ban lost the emperor's favor after the infamous Zhao sisters gained power in court. She then retreated to be a lady in waiting serving the empress dowager and spent the rest of her life in obscurity.

face, he went straight for the bed, skipping the nightcap. Shirotae went close to him and asked what was the matter, but he would only sigh deeply. Without answering her, he lied down in anguish trying to sleep. Shirotae was concerned and went to bed aware of his tosses and turns. When the night deepened she finally asked, "Did you have an argument with Mister Wada tonight?"

Kotarô sat up in bed. Holding the comforter close, he was about to speak but could not utter a word. After a few tries, tears started rolling down his cheeks and he lost his voice. Now getting even more uneasy and surprised, Shirotae rested his head in her lap and spoke in a gentle tone, "Since we first fell in love it has been two years, not exact a long time yet but we have overcome so much to be together here and today. I would follow you full heartedly into fire and water, now you are in such sadness, how could I leave you alone?"

With his voice trembling, Kotarô spoke, "How can I possibly forget—since the time we met you have placed me in your heart. I have been thinking this over and over, my father is a stern and unrelenting man, he would not yield. If I bring you home he would never allow that, then it will be hard for us to stay together as a couple and I will be renounced as a son. Tonight Tamekazu reproved me and I had no words for an answer. I felt so torn that my heart ached."

This came to Shirotae as a bucket of cold water pouring down her head,

"How do you feel then?" she asked.

"Of course you and I are close to each other with no one comes between us, but now with this situation I simply do not know what course to take. Tamekazu came up with a plan to help me, but I am afraid you would not approve of it."

"I do not understand, if it is a good plan why would I not approve of it?"

"Tamekazu has thought of this before—to look for an arrangement for you, and he found a man from Tsunokuni who is interested in taking you with him, for compensation he would buy back for me the ceremonial robes I had brought to the capital, the family heirloom set of swords, the jeweled saddle, all that stuff I had pawned off, he promised to fetch them back. Then I would bring those back home, and hopefully my father would calm his anger and forgive me on the account that I did not lose them. That is the plan, that way you can also find a permanent dwelling, and I can go home to face my parents. It is a plan convenient for both of us, it is just that I can not bear to be separated from you." he was weeping before he could finish the sentences.

Shirotae sneered and pushed Kotarô out of her arms, "Quiet a man of command, my master, exceeding my expectations, are you not? I heard that the Red Whisk[57] found the right man to entrust the rest of her life to; and Madam Liang chose to marry the great general Han when he was still an obscure solider,[58] these women had extraordinary insights in judging characters. Girls like me, our choices can not be compared to that level, all we wish for is to find a considerate and understanding man as a partner for the rest of our lives, and to live a life spared

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[57] Red Whisk (Ch: Hong Fu 紅拂) is the name of a character in Tang *chuan qi* tale "The Curly-bearded Hero" (*Ju ran ke zhuan*. English trans. by Cyril Birch). Named after the red whisk she carried (*hossu* or *fuchen* in Chinese, a ceremonial duster brush), Hong Fu was a private entertainer at a minister's house. She encountered a young Li Jing (571-649) and recognized his great potential, eloped with him and helped him in his military career to eventually become a great general.

[58] Madam Liang, Liang Hongyu (?1102-?1135), a Northern Song dynasty courtesan. She redeemed herself to marry Han Shizhong, who later became a legendary militant general in defending the Song court. According to history and anecdotes, she practiced martial arts and assisted her husband in various battles.

from too much stress and scolding. This might not follow exactly the traditional teaching for women, but after years of toiling away in uncertainty, all I pray for is to spend the rest of my life in peace. Now in order to retain your obligations to your father, you plan to hand me over to someone else for a settlement. That is indeed "to start from the emotions, and end with propriety,"[59] it is truly a convenient way out for both of us. Once dyed, it is hard for colors to go from dark to light; but it is easy for the connection between two people to go from deep to shallow. Very well then, this is time to accept this arrangement with good grace, you must not miss this opportunity. However, I will go over to the other man after the swords, saddle, and other items are smoothly delivered to your hands. Make sure you will not be swindled by him. From today on, I shall sleep in a separate room, and will bid my farewells to you before I leave."

She said these without showing the slightest sorrow, and locked herself up in another room without talking to others. During the daytime she kept herself busy copying The Louts Sutra by a lamplight.

Kotarô told Tamekazu that Shirotae had agreed to everything, "Please hurry up." Tamekazu went to Shibae's place right away and ask him to take care of the business, "I do not think his words are dishonest, but please do hurry and retrieve his swords, saddle, and clothing."

Shibae chuckled to himself and replied, "Please be reassured, I will immediately send someone off to find and fetch the items." And he dispatched a servant with detailed instructions to Tsunokuni. After twenty days he confirmed "All the items have been found and obtained." Tamekazu went to inform Kotarô, "The precious items have arrived." Kotarô walked over to the window outside of Shirotae's room and said "The things are ready."

Shirotae had been copying the sutra and at that moment, she was in the middle of the chapter of "Simile and Parable," and her brush had come to a rest at the phrase "Unaware, unknowing, unwarned, and unafraid."[60]

"If lost one loses the Lotus of Dharma; if awakened one gains the Lotus of Dharma. The words in the title encapsulate the rest of the sutra in eighty thousand characters,[61] I will not be expected to painstakingly copy the entire text." Saying this, she left her writings on the desk and took a look outside of the room. Tamekazu was in great discomfort and acted awkwardly, while Kotarô, in contrast, looked nothing but delighted. Seeing Shirotae coming out of the room, he has few words but saying, "In this way I have no more reasons to stay here by myself any longer. I shall hire a boat to go home on the same day." He walked out with a skip to make travel reservations. Shibae, wanting to avoid anyone having cold feet about this, also wanted to set off as soon as he gets the girl. "Since I have to depart for somewhere else tomorrow as well, make sure to send the girl over to my boat." He said as he left.

Shirotae spent the whole night making up under the lamp. "The morrow is beginning of my life in someone else's hands, this is unlike any other occasion." She carefully applied powder, rouge, and coated herself in fragrance. Shirotae's beauty, highlighted by the makeup, radiated like a goddess and illuminated the surroundings. She heard Kotarô was about to board the boat

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[59] A quote from "The Great Preface" to *Book of Songs*.

[60] This quote, 不覚不知不驚不怖, is from the third chapter of *The Lotus Sutra*, in the context of the expedient of the secular world as a rich man 's house on fire with young children inside unaware of their imminent annihilation, "I can escape safely through the flaming gate, but my sons are inside the burning house enjoying themselves and playing games, unaware, unknowing, without alarm or fear,.. [omit] Moreover, they did not understand what the fire was, what the house was." English translation by Burton Watson.

[61] *The Lotus Sutra* in fact contains 69,384 characters. Teishô approximated it as eighty thousand.

and she went ahead of him. Shibae's boat was docked a short walk away. Tamekazu also arrived at the wharf before Kotarô. He got on Shibae's boat as Kotarô boarded on his. Kotraô faced away from Shirotae and nobody could tell what his mood was. Who would have thought, when the two left Eguchi, that things would come to this stage. When the initial attraction fades away and love diminishes, the vows will be broken and the kindness is no more—it is not rare in this world where relationships end up opposite of how they were supposed to.

Tamekazu came over and said "Please send over the lady's trousseaus as a token of the agreement, then the treasured items will be delivered as the promised compensation." Shirotae pointed to a gold lacquered chest next to her, "I have no other belongings but this." A servant was ordered to carry the chest over to the other boat. Then right away Shibae sent over Kotarô's swords, saddle and his formal outfit, all placed atop the lid of a wooden case. Kotarô examined the items and made sure they were undoubtedly his valuables. In exchange, he signed a paper for formal separation. Shirotae also recognized the items from before and knew there was no mistake, she looked at Kotarô. He was only greatly relieved and was busy mumbling his thanks. Shirotae walked to one end of the boat and beckoned Shibae's boat to come closer,

"It is about time to board that boat. But in the chest I just sent over, there is a fragrance sachet, that is Kotarô's lucky charm, please wait for a while when I retrieve it." Shirotae said. Shibae sneaked a glance and found Shirotae not only as glamorous as before, but also more amiable. He heart skipped a beat and without any hesitation, he told a servant to fetch the chest.

Shirotae took out a key and opened the chest of drawers. She took out the first drawer, inside were two bound notebooks. She handed them to Kotarô, "These are the collections of the past Shirotae ladies,[62] *Another Book of Ancient and Modern Poems* and a private copy of *The Eight Fold Fence*,[63] I have kept them as a keepsake and now I want you to have them." When asked what else was in the drawer, Shirotae counted, "finest sandalwood from Antioch;[64] sedge roots[65] from Arakan;[66] Annamese agarwood,[67] and a few other kinds of incenses. Others are Nine-lotus pellets, magenta frost pellets, purple spirit elixir, and life-recovering pills.[68] All these are extraordinary medicines from overseas and rare to find. Now there is no use in keeping them." And she tossed these all into the sea. Tamekazu and Kotarô were taken by surprise and disbelief, Shiba too could not help but staring.

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[62] Shirotae, as the leading courtesan name of the house, passes down from one generation to the next, similar to the stage name of kabuki actors. Here Shirotae the heroine is referring to all the previous leading courtesans of the house she was affiliated with.

[63] Both fictional titles of waka poem anthologies.

[64] This special type of sandalwood, *gozukô* 牛頭香, was grown and harvested in West Ghats Mountain in India. It has been historically produced and traded as a priced fragrance. Teishô presumably put the place name Taishin 太秦, an archaic Chinese name for Byzantine Empire, to enhance the exotic and rare quality of the contents of the chest, as with the following items.

[65] *Jakunôkô* 雀脳香, most likely refers to 雀頭香 also named 香附子 *hamasuge*, Latin name *cyperus rotundus*, its dried roots or oil used as fragrant medicinal herb in China and Japan.

[66] Arakan 亜剌敢, a region near southern India, "two thousand nine hundred and forty *li* from Japan by sea," as recorded in *Kai tsushôkô* (1708).

[67] *Jinkô* or *jinsuikô* 沈水香 ("sink-in-water incense" for the high density of its resin), agarwood, also named eaglewood or aloeswood, is a fragrant heartwood widely used in Asia and Europe. The type referred to here is harvested in Vietnam and particularly prized for its aroma.

[68] These items are names of alchemist potions and pills often seen in Chinese Daoist scripts, as well as in vernacular stories of supernatural theme.

Shirotae then opened the second drawer and unwrapped a crimson parcel inside. She took out a gold inlaid jade ring, eight-treasures,[69] branches of coral.[70] There were also strung nephrite beads, different types of fine jade pieces, crystal beads, an exquisite Tartarian clock ticking away on the hour; a Mediterranean golden turtle swimming around in a small flask; a cowry shell picked from sea swallow's nest,[71] a divine mushroom from Fusang;[72] monkey gallbladder stones[73] and other articles of rarity. Shirotae held these together as if to put them back in the silk parcel, and she hurled these too into the sea. By this time, the view of a glamorous woman standing at the end of a boat had already attracted a crowd of spectators on the bank. "What a shame! What a pity!" they yelled, not knowing the story behind the scene.

Shirotae now pulled out the bottom drawer. There was yet another case inside, it revealed remarkable gems such as jewels that shine at night, lapis lazuli, carved jade pieces,[74] rhinoceros horns, a mermaid's gallbladder, a jade phoenix, a dragon's pearl,[75] and a number of other priceless items. Everyone was astounded by these precious treasure. As Shirotae was about to toss this case as well, Tamekazu tried to stop her. Kotarô stared at everything and knew its worth was more than enough for them to live the rest of their lives—he started to feel the bite of deep regret. Tamekazu too was amazed and at a loss.

Shirotae, facing Shibae's boat, berated in a loud voice,

"It had not been easy, for me and Kotarô to leave the pleasure quarters and come to this day. The man who severs others' love and break up a couple's pledge is a sworn enemy. Even if I die, if there is a god he will not set this man free. Although I do not want to even look at his face, today when I saw him my memories came back. When the reed leaves fall and the stalks become sparse, by the water marsh,[76] there was a man from *Kuki*[77] named Shibae Sakabenosuke.

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[69] "Eight treasure" often refers to the eight auspicious symbols in Tibetan Buddhism, including Dharmacakra ("the wheel of law"), shankha (conch shell), lotus, chattra (parasol), shrivatsa ("the endless knot"), golden fish, dhvaja ("victory banner"), and treasure vase. Since "eight treasure" often denotes the motif of the symbols, the reference here could imply a valuable item designed with this motif, such as hairpins, bangles, decorative items, etc.

[70] Precious coral preserved in its natural shape which resemble branches of a tree. It is more prized than smaller pieces.

[71] This shell, *koyasu kai* 子安貝 or 安達貝 as written here, is believed in Japan to have power that helps with childbirth. It is also one of the sought after treasures in *Tale of the Bamboo Cutter*.

[72] Fusô in Japanese, an archaic Chinese name for Japan, here refers to a mythical island inhabited by immortals in the sea.

[73] This item, 鮓答猴玉, with the *kana* reading *heisarabasara*, is not entirely clear. *Heisarabasara* refers to the gallbladder stones of animals such as horses, cows or sheep. They are believed to have medicinal effects in China and Japan. In certain parts of Mongolia, it also had shamanistic functions for praying for rain. *Heisarabasara* is etymologically from the combination of Portuguese words *pedra* (stone) and *bezoar* (kidney stone or bladder stone), the phonetically attached Chinese characters (*ateji*) are 鮓答 and does not include the last two characters which literally means "monkey beads." The English translation here is a speculative phrase from combining the four characters.

[74] Original phrases not clear: 剣玉 (jade sword) and 鐙玉 (jade stirrup).

[75] 竜珠 *ryûshu*, a mythological pearl that hangs underneath a dragon's jaw.

[76] A reference to a *waka* poem by Fujiwara no Akisue (1055-1123) collected in the anthology *Fuboku wakashô* (1310) "The leaves withered/the reeds too/ became utterly sparse/ near the stalks/ a desolate view." *Hagae seshi/ ashi mo mabara ni/ narihate te/ kuki no watari wa/ sabishi kari keri*. The word "stalk" (*kuki*) is a pun for the name of Shibae's hometown.

[77] A town in Settsu, modern day Higashi Ward and Tsurumi Ward in Osaka city.

He does not own any properties, but made his fortune in unclear ways. Holding others' estates and valuables as collateral, he amassed the interest year after year. Sometimes he came patronizing the pleasure quarter where I used to live. He thinks no one recognizes him but he is, without any doubt, the main culprit currently wanted by the government for piracy. I heard he has no permanent home and drifted from one place to another. Is it not fate that he would show up here and now? When I saw that the swords and saddle were relocated and obtained so soon, I thought it could have been this man. If I go with him the rest of my life will be in turmoil. Now Kotarô does not have his heart firmly set, and let me down when we are just at the beginning of our lives together. I certainly can not rely upon him for the future, and if it has to be a pity like this, so be it!

Things in this chest, I pretended they were gifts from my friends in the pleasure quarter, these are the treasures I have collected over the years from generous patrons in the capital and elsewhere. I have prepared this as means to support for me and my lover, to live the rest of our lives in comfort. At this moment there is no use in keeping them any more. Although I have pearls in my jewel box, my lover does not have pupils in his eyes. This is the limitation of my dim fate. After leaving the pleasure quarter, I no longer have any intentions of welcoming a new patron while parting with the previous one. If we can not be together then there is no life for me[78]—that was my initial thought when we first fell in love, and I have not changed. I have no betrayed you and you are the one who betrayed me."

While everyone looked on, Kotarô shed tears of regret and embarrassment. He turned to Shirotae and wanted to apologize for his mistake. Shirotae pushed him away and said "Now at this point I have no choice but to be in that boat." Holding firmly the jewel box, she walked out to the edge, "Then I shall board the other boat."

She jumped into the deep end of the water. People onboard rushed to rescue her but not even a shadow could be found in the midst of endless rolling waves. Alas!

"Beautifully made-up, she leapt into the sea, eyes dry without tears; her departure and gallant soul can be compared to that of the Green Pearl."[79]

These verses were written for her.

Enraged, the onlookers were grinding their teeth and scorning Kotarô. Shibae was under apprehension since he was disclosed as a pirate. He promptly took off in his boat and fled the scene. Although he intended to go the southern sea the wind was not in his favor, and his boat was washed up the shores of Ôsu.[80] An officer from Kamakura had been in the secret commission of search for pirate Shibae. This officer recruited countrymen to aid his search on both land and sea. When someone reported, "Just now a woman pointed out a man in a red shirt, standing at the front of a boat. That is him! Catch 'em!"[81] Shibae, together with rest of his gang, were all tied up in ropes and placed under arrest.

Back in his boat, Kotarô was lost in thoughts, regrets mixed with embarrassment. There seemed to be a pain sitting on his chest, yet he gradually came to his own realization, and he

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[78] A reference to a *waka* poem by ???? collected in the anthology *Shoku kokin wakashû* (1265) "If we can no longer see each other/ my life may as well no longer be/ such were my thoughts/ but life goes on despite my thoughts." (A*Aukotono/ taebe inochi mo/ tae namu to/ omoi shikadomo/ ararekeru mi wo*.

[79] Green Pearl 緑珠, was a concubine of Shi Cong (?249-?300), a wealthy man from Jin Dynasty. Anecdotal accounts have the story of her jumping off a high tower to keep her fidelity when Shi was imprisoned and another man tried to seduce her.

[80] Currently Ôsu city in Ehime Prefecture.

[81] The woman informer here is supposed to be the ghost of Shirotae.

thought to himself, "It was certainly a shame that I betrayed the girl's deep love, however, she came from a life made of illusions of love, and I was reckless in my naïveté and youth; she died gallantly for her passion, and I must return to my senses. Could I be the only one who lost himself while knowing it is all in vain? If I abandon the secular world now it will only be more laughable in the eyes of the world." He came to the decision that he must return home and try to regain his father's acceptance. Thus he packed everything, his swords, fancy clothes, and returned to his hometown looking not that different from the day he left. Tamekazu also lent a hand in talking Kotarô into forgiving the son. The father, Masakata, had been feeling the advancing of old age since that winter. As the saying goes, "Even a fleet horse slows down at Slope Gray; and even Confucius stumbles on Love Hill."[82] What his son did was due to youthful impetuosity. Once his rage calmed down, the father was back to a man of Kamigata[83] origin who enjoyed his tightly knitted family. Not long after, he formally announced Kotarô as the heir and delegated his title and duties to him.

Back in Kishi, Naritsura kept wondering what happened to Kotarô, since he did not receive any message from them. Finally it was the scheduled date for him to return to his hometown. On route when his boat made a stop at the port of Daimotsu, his dagger slipped and fell into the water. Though it was small object it was passed down to him in the family. So he hired a fisherman to make a dive looking for it. When the fisherman surfaced, he had in his hands not only the dagger but also a box. He thought it was Naritsura's belonging that had been dropped together with the dagger. Naritsura opened the box, inside were brilliant pearls, unicorn horn, fish gallbladder,[84] jade phoenix, dragon pearl and other priceless jewels. Naritsura awarded the diver with saké and the man soon was quite intoxicated. He kowtowed to Naritsura and his gestures became those of a woman's.

"I am Shirotae from Eguchi," the fisherman said, and went on to tell of Kotarô's betrayal and Shibae's scheme. "In the past when I was testing Kotarô's sincerity and asked him to obtain half of the amount, you took a pity on my true feelings and helped us immediately with the rest of the expenses. I wanted to repay your kindness, so I brought the jewels to you through the hands of a fisherman. This is a token of my gratitude." The words began to fade away, and the fisherman ceased to behave in a woman's manner, muttering only occasional drunken slurs. Naritsura understood that had been the ghost of Shirotae and he accepted the jewels. Later he commissioned a most elaborate service for the repose of her soul.

People who advocate love and fidelity would say there is no real love without madness; and it is not true gallantry if it does not end in death. That is indeed what happened to these two lovers. Those who are still lost in the game of romance should know this story by heart. Let it be a warning so people know not to indulge in love and avoid becoming the laughingstock of the world.

[82] The second half of the saying is from *The Tale of Genji*.
[83] Osaka-Kyoto region.
[84] These two items refer to the previously described "rhinoceros horns, a mermaid's gallbladder."