



## Bragging of Edo: The Capital in the Eyes of a Provincial Doctor (*Edo jiman*)

Annotated Translation, with Translator's Introduction

Perhaps in the 1850s, a physician named Harada (pseudonym Banraidō Kiyū-fuku) from Kii Province (Wakayama Prefecture) was sent to Edo on a turn of duty. During his stay in the shogun's capital Harada composed what may be counted as an example of early modern urban ethnography. The author begins with a summary of the physical and built environment of the city and then moves to descriptions of the social world, commodities (especially food-stuffs), language, and customs and habits of the populace. Although it does not present a systematic treatment of the metropolis, his writing supplies an unusually discerning and detailed account of life in early modern urban Japan.

Keywords: historical ethnography—early modern Japan—Edo—customs—food

## TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION

The establishment of ethnology as an academic discipline in Japan had to await the arrival of the twentieth century, but the roots of Japanese ethnographic writing can be traced to far earlier ages.<sup>1</sup> In part because the early modern or Edo period (1600–1868) witnessed a steep rise in travel, whether for business or pleasure, narratives that would today qualify as ethnography became increasingly common. Especially descriptions of conditions in the remote south and far north of the land, regions that readers were unlikely ever to experience for themselves, became a common topic of woodblock-print publications (see Winkel 2004). Rural customs and habits in other areas also became a subject of interest and inspired a number of important manuscripts and publications. Around 1815, for example, a group of Edo intellectuals initiated a remarkably systematic attempt to gather and collate information regarding rural Japan by sending out an ethnographic questionnaire to many provinces throughout the land (see *Shokoku fūzoku toijō kotae* [Response to a questionnaire concerning the customs of all provinces]).

From the late seventeenth century works resembling urban ethnography, often assuming the form of a *zuibitsu* (“essay” or “miscellany”), also experienced a boom in popularity, and after the mid-eighteenth century such publications were commonly printed with woodblocks. Many of these works were drafted by authors who resided in one town or city and had traveled to another. In 1781, for example, an Edo publisher issued *Mita Kyō monogatari* (Kyoto observed), a slender *zuibitsu* composed by an Edo native who had been sent to Kyoto and who used the opportunity to list the features of that city.<sup>2</sup> Similar pieces include *Kiryō manroku* (Random records of a journey, 1803) composed by the Edo-born Takizawa Bakin (1767–1848) after a four-month expedition to the Kyoto-Osaka area; *Tōjin* (A parting gift from the east), an account of Edo written by a Kanazawa samurai for a colleague about to embark on a stint in the shogun’s capital; *Zaihan manroku*

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1. Editors’ note: Normally *Asian Ethnology* articles follow the Asian Ethnology Style Guide, which specifies the use of endnotes rather than footnotes. However, we have decided to present this particular article with footnotes, because we felt it would better serve our readers in this case if the translator’s annotations and notes appear on the same page as the text.

2. Translated in Groemer 2019, 194–219.

(Random records of a stay in Osaka) composed by the Edo-based *bakufu* official Kusumi Suketoshi (1796–1864) while on duty in Osaka; and *Edo jiman* (*Bragging of Edo*), translated below.<sup>3</sup>

*Bragging of Edo* is the work of a writer from Kii (today mostly Wakayama Prefecture) who in the 1850s chanced to spend some time in Edo. The town of Wakayama (today Wakayama-shi) was a notable provincial center, but it could hardly hope to rival Kyoto, Osaka, or Edo in economic or cultural importance. The author of *Bragging of Edo* was a doctor surnamed Harada, who assumed the pseudonym Banraidō Kiyūfuku (approximately “a bat from Kii amusing itself on arriving in the evening”). According to the explanation the copyist Inagaki Yoshitsune offers at the end of *Bragging of Edo*, Harada stood in the service of the Tanabe domain of Kii Province. This relatively small territory, assessed at 38,000 *koku* (1 *koku* = 278 liters or *c.* 150 kilos) of rice, was a branch of the greater Wakayama domain, which boasted a revenue base in excess of half a million *koku* and ranked as one of the three senior collateral houses of the Tokugawa family.

Harada had apparently been dispatched to Edo to serve as the official physician of the Andō house, which headed the Tanabe domain.<sup>4</sup> While cooped up at his lord’s Edo abode waiting for someone to fall ill he drafted his *Bragging of Edo*, a piece in which he describes in luminous detail what a man of his sort might witness, experience, buy, savor, and hear in the capital. Harada frequently contrasts many of the facts of Edo—commodity prices, geographical characteristics, distinctive plants, human qualities, social customs, strange edibles, or idiosyncratic language—with those of his hometown of Wakayama. Some of his observations may strike modern readers as hopelessly arcane, yet precisely the emphasis on certain details reveals what minutiae contemporaries took as highly meaningful. Moreover, his meticulous account of what was available for purchase in the city indicates the extent to which commodities were being produced and circulating throughout the land. By the nineteenth century even the most isolated farmer knew the names of celebrated shops in the capital, while Edo residents appreciated the attributes of rural specialties sold in the city or obtainable on order. Thus when, for instance, Harada lost patience with the anemic Edo vinegar he was served, he did not simply curse his fate and despair, as an ancestor two centuries earlier might have done, but promptly sent for the more hearty stuff from Wakayama (see no. 27 below)—only to discover that he had already so habituated himself to the bouquet of the Edo item that he preferred its flavor over what he had troubled himself to procure from distant parts.

In general, Harada relates to Edo as a somewhat detached participant observer. He clearly never felt truly at home in the city—more than once he laments his loneliness—and did not take himself to be a social or cultural “insider.” Through

3. Kusumi’s ethnographic descriptions are translated in Groemer 2019, 299–324.

4. At the time of writing the lord of the Tanabe domain was Andō Naohiro (1821–85). In the introduction to the *Mikan zuihitsu hyakushū* edition (p. 6) Mitamura Engyo, without citing evidence, asserts that Harada served Mizuno Tosa-no-kami Tadanaka (1814–65). Mizuno was the head of the Shingū domain (35,000 *koku*), another branch of the Wakayama domain.

his painstaking description of his social and cultural context he perhaps sought to reattach himself to his environment and thereby counter his sense of alienation. In the process, he transformed the force of the unfamiliar into a treasure chest of souvenirs for his imagined readers, whether residing in Wakayama or elsewhere.<sup>5</sup> Anyone living in a small provincial city might thereby dream of regions where mobility prevailed, where everything was available for a price, and where the disadvantages of village life had been overcome. Rural readers could compare themselves to city slickers, assess differences among local and remote conditions, and ponder the meaning or desirability of uncommon habits and unfamiliar customs. By doing so they learned not just about Edo but about themselves as well.

The precise date of composition of *Bragging of Edo* remains unclear, but the historian Mitamura Engyo estimates the piece as having been written in the 1850s. The reference to the *Edo hanjōki* (Records of flourishing Edo, pub. 1832–36) and the fact that Harada's *zuihitsu* was copied by someone in 1860 indicates that Mitamura's guess cannot be far off. For my translation, I have taken into account both the copy of the text reprinted in *Mikan zuihitsu hyakushū* (One hundred unpublished essays) and a handwritten text, in the possession of the Tokyo University Library.<sup>6</sup> When the two versions differ in detail, I have generally relied on the latter. For the sake of convenience, I have numbered the entries and sometimes divided sections into paragraphs. Modern geographical designations, dates of historical persons, and other facts are indicated in parentheses. My explanatory additions are placed in brackets and all illustrations are my own selection.

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TRANSLATOR

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5. *Bragging of Edo* remained unpublished during the author's lifetime but may well have circulated in handwritten copies. It remains unclear whether Harada's autograph is extant.

6. No annotated or critical edition has been published in any language. It should be noted that several other works by the same title exist. The *Edo jiman* held by the libraries at Tokyo University (A90:645) and Waseda University (マ06 03158) consist of unrelated collections of ranked listings (*banzuke*). The *Edo jiman* included in *Kinsei bungei sōsho* is a work of comic tales by Sanshōtei Karaku dating from 1823.

## PREFACE

The prosperity of Edo, in the eastern land where the cock crows,<sup>1</sup> is described in detail in Ōta (Terakado) Seiken's *Edo hanjōki* (Records of flourishing Edo, pub. 1832–36). Since harping on the same string is tiresome, I shall not repeat his assertions.<sup>2</sup>

Because I had always lived like a carp in a well, when I came to Edo I noted that conditions here contrasted greatly from those of my worthy province of Kii, where I had resided for years, and I witnessed much that was entirely unfamiliar.<sup>3</sup> On arriving, I was dazzled by the city's size and stunned by its numberless remarkable features. Lamentably, I was called a country bumpkin, my transgressions became the subject of gossip, and I gained a reputation for harboring an old man's [stubborn] temperament.

On one occasion I was kept indoors by interminable spring rains. Instead of troubling myself to put on clogs and fetch an umbrella, I let my office and its hearth become my castle. My trips to the outhouse became long voyages of exploration; the sound of raindrops dripping off the eaves signaled the presence of imaginary visitors. Lazily I wiled away many a weary day, troubled by the thought that time is money. Waiting expectantly for something to occur, I yawned, propped my arms up on my desk, and cradled my head in my hands. I knew not whether I was awake or dreaming: was I Zhuangzi or his butterfly?<sup>4</sup>

At last I clumsily composed a piece I entitled *Bragging of Edo*. As a futile and untimely exercise it no doubt reveals my biased preferences and conceptions. In writing I simply let my worn-out brush follow its aimless course as it scuttled around the page, shamelessly unperturbed by its own insufficiencies.

Banraidō Kiyūfuku

1. This phrase refers to the opening of poem no. 1807 of the eighth-century *Man'yōshū* (book 9): *tori ga naku azuma no kuni ni*. See *Man'yōshū*, 2:417.

2. A reference to the poem of parting composed by Minamoto no Yoshitsune's lover, Lady Shizuka: "Shizu, Shizu, you called me, repeating the word like the thread on a *shizu*-cloth bobbin—oh if only yesterday would come again." See *Gikeiki*, 296 (book 6; in English see McCullough 1966, 234).

3. What I render "worthy Kii" includes the "pillow word" *asamoyoi*, a term often attached to "Kii," where high-quality hemp (*asa*) was produced. Following, too, countless similar words, puns, and allusions are present, but their adequate translation remains as impossible as their explanation is tedious.

4. According to a famous legend, Zhuangzi once woke up wondering whether he was a butterfly dreaming that he was Zhuangzi, or Zhuangzi dreaming that he was a butterfly. See the last section of *Zhuangzi*, Inner Chapters, "The Adjustment of Controversies" (*Qi wu lun*).

## BRAGGING OF EDO

1. “May your reign last for a thousand years, for eternity, until pebbles grow into boulders and become immovable.”<sup>5</sup> The notion that Edo extends four *ri* (c. sixteen kilometers) in all directions and that it contains 808 wards (*chō*) is an anachronism, stemming from the [mythical] times when [a baby crab went to] “Monkey Island” to seek revenge for murder.<sup>6</sup> Today the city has grown to ten times [*sic*] that size. In fact, the wards of the city must be nine *gui* (J. *ki*) in size.<sup>7</sup> Some 60 percent of the city is occupied by warrior-class residences, 20 percent by commoner homes, 15 percent by Buddhist temples, and the remaining 5 percent by Shinto shrines. The grounds of Edo Castle (Marunouchi) stretch about two *ri* (c. nine kilometers) from north to south, and one *ri* and a half (c. six kilometers) from west to east.<sup>8</sup> The largest residence in the city, on grounds some nine *chō* (= 981 meters) square, belongs to the lord of Kii Province.<sup>9</sup> Next in size is that of the lord of Mito, at Koishikawa, on grounds seven *chō* (763 meters) square. The residence of the lord of Owari at Ichigaya is six *chō* (654 meters) square. The residences of Lord Arima (lord of the Kurume domain in Chikugo, Fukuoka Prefecture) at [the southern end of] Akabane [Bridge], of the lord of Satsuma (Kagoshima Prefecture), and of the lord of Kaga (Ishikawa Prefecture) at Hongō are somewhat smaller. Besides these complexes, so many warrior residences stand on property two to four *chō* in size they do not bear enumeration.

5. A reference to the poem “Kimi ga yo,” a *waka* written during the Heian period (included as an anonymous poem in the *Kokin wakashū*, no. 343; see *Kokin wakashū*, 169; in English, McCullough 1985, 83). Today this verse serves as the text of the Japanese national anthem. It is probably cited here as a metaphor for the timeless solidity of Edo and perhaps to suggest unswerving loyalty to the rulers of the land.

6. A reference to fairy tales, mixing the story “Monkey-Crab Battle,” in which a crab slays the monkey that murdered its parent, and the story of Momotarō, the “peach boy,” who is born from a peach and then travels to an island (usually “Demon Island”) where with various implements and animal assistants he kills an ogre.

7. In the “Dongguan Kaogongji” (Office of winter), the sixth book of the *Zhouli* (Rites of Zhou), a classic from the mid-second century BCE, the width of streets in the Chinese capital, and thus by implication the ideal for any capital, is given as nine *gui* (one *gui* equals the space between the two wheels of a chariot, or about 2.4 meters). Perhaps the author of *Bragging of Edo* meant that Edo streets were nine *gui* wide. The size of Edo wards (each of which might contain several blocks) varied according to topography and history, but a block was typically more than one hundred meters square.

8. This figure too is highly exaggerated. In fact, the compound measured a little more than two kilometers north to south and two and a half kilometers west to east. Even the entire area lying within the outer moat only doubled these dimensions.

9. In 1632 the lord of Kii (Tokugawa Yorinobu, 1602–71) was awarded a plot of land measuring c. 429,780 square meters in size for his “middle residence” at Akasaka (today the site of the “Geihinkan”). In 1823 the “upper residence” of the Kii domain at Kōjimachi burned down, and the Akasaka residence functioned as the lord’s “upper residence.” The grounds of the “upper residence” of the Mito domain were 336,042 square meters in size. The dimensions of the other residences mentioned below are also inflated.



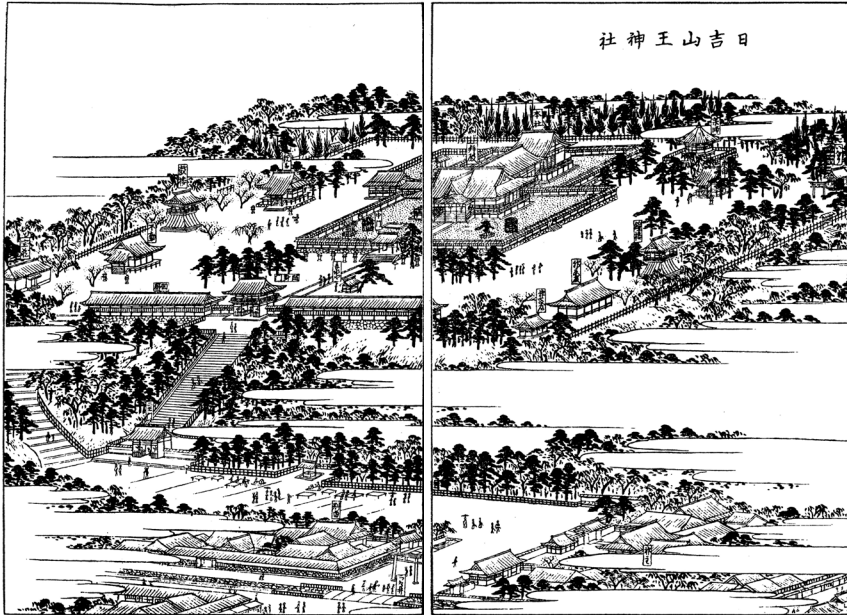


Figure 1. The Sannō Shrine. From *Edo meisho zue* (pub. 1834–36), which notes that it is the largest shrine of Edo.

Among temples, the grounds of Kan'eiji at Ueno and Zōjōji at Shiba each cover more than ten *chō* (i.e., *c.* one million square meters).<sup>10</sup> Next in size are the Kannon at Asakusa (Sensōji) and Denzūin at Koishikawa.<sup>11</sup> Gokokuji at Ōtsuka, Kichijōji at Komagome, Saishōji at Ushigome, and others are slightly smaller.<sup>12</sup>

The greatest shrines are the Sannō Shrine (Sannō Gongen) at Akasaka, the Hikawa Myōjin Shrine, the Nezu Shrine (Nezu Gongen), the Hakusan Shrine in Koishikawa (Hakusan Gongen), the Yushima Tenjin Shrine, the Kanda Myōjin Shrine, the Ichigaya Hachiman Shrine, and the Hirakawa Tenjin Shrine.<sup>13</sup> Even though the

10. During the late Edo period Kan'eiji stood on property roughly this size, but Zōjōji covered only about 825,000 square meters. The Pure Land temple Zōjōji, which was relocated in 1598 to what is today Shiba-kōen 4-7-35 in Minato-ku, was the Tokugawa clan's family temple in Edo and contained many of its mausolea.

11. Denzūin, a Pure Land temple originally called Denbōin, was founded at Muromachi in 1414. It was renamed Denzūin in honor of Tokugawa Ieyasu's mother and rebuilt in 1608. Today it stands at Koishikawa 3-14-6 in Bunkyo-ku.

12. Gokokuji is a Shingon-school temple that today stands at Ōtsuka 5-40-1 in Bunkyo-ku. Kichijōji is a Sōtō-school temple founded in 1458 under the auspices of Ōta Dōkan. After the great 1657 fire it was relocated to what has become Hon-komagome 3-19-17 in Bunkyo-ku. Saishōji is a Rinzai-school temple that is found today at Enoki-chō 77 in Shinjuku-ku.

13. The Sannō Gongen (Hiyoshi-no-Jinja, today Hie Jinja) today stands at Nagata-chō 2-10-5 in Chiyoda-ku. The Hikawa Myōjin, today Hikawa Myōjin Jinja, is now found at Akasaka 6-10-12 in Minato-ku. The Nezu Gongen (today Nezu Jinja) is located at Nezu 1-28-9 in Bunkyo-ku. The Hakusan Gongen (today Hakusan Jinja) stands at Hakusan 5-31-26 in Bunkyo-ku. The Yushima Tenjin is located today at Yushima 3-30-1 in Bunkyo-ku. The Ichigaya Hachimangū (today Ichigaya Kamegaoka Hachimangū) is found at Ichigaya Hachi-

Buddha was an Indian troublemaker while the *kami* are Japanese natives, shrine grounds are small, occupying less than a third of the space taken up by temples. It is as if one rented out one's property to others in order to reduce the size of one's own home.

2. Since Edo soil is thin and the water table high, the climate is very humid. The consistency of the soil resembles ash, so traversing the streets after a shower feels like slogging through mud. Daytime temperatures in summer are so hot one thinks one is being roasted alive. On the other hand, it cools down in the morning and evening, and on rainy days unlined clothing does not suffice to keep one warm.

Edo winters are three times colder than those of Wakayama. In the uptown (Yamanote) area the ground freezes, and each morning frost columns six or nine centimeters tall appear. After seven o'clock in the morning the ground that has swelled up begins to thaw, and unless one wears clogs it is difficult to pass through the streets.

Most clear days are windy. When the wind is strong, dust fills the sky. It soils one's clothing and socks, and one can hardly walk with the eyes open. Perhaps for this reason Edo natives wear dark blue socks and low-brimmed woven hats. Here and there crude dust goggles are sold for thirty-two coppers. Fires probably spread so widely because of the wind. Few fires break out on calm days and none at all on rainy ones. Thus Edo citizens are terrified by a series of fair-weather days, whereas Wakayama residents fear the rain [because of floods].

3. The soil is black and rich in humus, so grasses, trees, and vegetables thrive. Immense cherry trees are common. The grand patriarch of such Edo trees stands on the grounds of Denzūin. Its branches extend thirty-six meters in all directions. Compared to this specimen, the famous cherry at Dōjōji in Hidaka County of Kii Province hardly ranks as its grandchild.<sup>14</sup> Pine trees do not grow well in a humid climate, so in Edo one sees few large ones. Some have been planted on the banks of Edo Castle moats, but they look like garden trees and are rarely even six meters tall. No winter daphne is found.<sup>15</sup> Paulownia exists in abundance and boxes are all made from its wood. Cedar (*sugi*) grows strangely tall. A tree with a trunk twelve to fifteen centimeters thick at the bottom may stand eight to ten meters high. For this reason, poles for streamers are typically cedar rather than bamboo. Common Japanese bamboo (*madake*; *Phyllostachys bambusoides*) and black bamboo (*hachiku*; *Phyllostachys nigra*) are extremely rare, but thick-stemmed bamboo (*mōsō-chiku*; *Phyllostachys edulis*) is especially common. The size of its patches rivals [those of] the vast reaches of China. Trees used for firewood are planted on the ridges of rice paddies. Because they do not grow naturally, their wood, though hardwood, is

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man-chō 15 in Shinjuku-ku. The Hirakawa Tenjin (today Hirakawa Tenmangū) stands at Hirakawa-chō 1-7-5 in Chiyoda-ku, somewhat to the north of the Sannō Shrine.

14. Dōjōji, a temple famous from *nō*, puppet, and kabuki plays, was founded in the eighth century. Initially it was of the Hossō school, but it later changed to the Tendai school. Today it stands at Hidakagawa-chō Kanemaki 1738 in Wakayama Prefecture.

15. The author glosses the ideographs of this plant (山礬), whose Sino-Japanese reading is *sanban*, with the syllables “mu-ha-be.” In question is probably the *Daphne odora*, a fragrant evergreen shrub standing about one meter tall and better known in Japan as *jinchōge*.



weak and does not burn as well as lumber from mountain trees floated downriver in Wakayama.

4. No mountains are visible for sixty kilometers in any direction. Rice paddies stretch endlessly into the distance, and one cannot discern how many thousands of acres exist. Although I cannot estimate exactly how much rice and wheat is harvested [per unit] compared to the Wakayama regions with which I am familiar, the productivity of the land is insufficient to fill demand. Rice must be imported from the Kamigata area, because natives of all provinces who converge in Edo consume so much. Hither and thither property could be turned into farmland, but this is not done, perhaps because the local [farming] population does not suffice. Or else the residents chase after profits earned from what should be marginal enterprises, rather than focusing on their principal occupation of farming. Something ought to be done about this.

5. Residential dwellings are crude, incomparably inferior to those of the Kamigata area. Walls are made of foul and insufficiently adhesive mud that poorly resists wind and water. [Roofs, constructed simply by] setting wooden planks on top of walls, are tiled only at the edge with no [supporting bed of] clay. If you kick a building, the tiles all come tumbling down.<sup>16</sup>

High-quality clay is used to fashion hearths, but it is so expensive that it one may well say it costs as much as an equal measure of coppers. Edo houses burn down ten times more easily than Kyoto ones. These tiny homes seem to be built with chopsticks and plastered with manure.

Roof tiles are triple the price of Wakayama ones. Even for buildings within the grounds of major daimyo residences, tiles imported from Kyoto are used only for the roofs of row houses and entryways. In addition [tiles are used on] “twisted back” [roofs] (*hinerigaeshi*) on the main building of the main women’s quarters [of Edo Castle, *goten-muki*]. The houses of lesser retainers, humble bannermen (*hatamoto*), and back-street residents have untiled roofs with one side longer than the other. In the commoner-class districts some residents own storehouses, but this is highly unusual. These storehouses are well constructed and rarely burn down.

6. The middle and lower classes always live in duplex housing units. Nobody owns equipment for pounding glutinous rice or mortars for hulling rice.<sup>17</sup> [In their houses] they have no heated baths or braziers for guests to warm themselves. Visitors are granted no seating cushions nor do residents make their own *miso*. They possess no boards for pounding things, no oval wooden food buckets, and no laundry poles. Laundry is taken apart, lightly starched, and set out on a wooden plank to dry. This would seem to be an impediment for escape during a fire.

7. Fires break out most frequently from the ninth month to the following year’s fourth month. At least two or three fires occur every night, and on some nights there are as many as five or seven. Minor fires consume from two or three dwellings to five or six wards; major ones burn four to eight kilometers. A drum is kept at the headquarters of [each] fire brigade; wooden clappers are stored at the head-

16. Regarding roof tiles and the roof construction see Coaldrake 1981.

17. The machine in question is the *kara-usu*, a mortar with a pestle worked by foot.

quarters of assistant inspectors (*o-tsukaiban*); and fire bells are found at commoner houses.<sup>18</sup> The first three strokes [on the fire bell] are known as the “announcement” (*oshirase*); this is followed by a proclamation of the direction of the fire. At a double stroke, known as “prepare to go” (*de o kakeru*), assistant inspectors ready their horses. When the requisite number of firemen have assembled, the bells suddenly turn silent and one would hardly imagine that a fire has broken out. After the fire has been extinguished, five strokes sounded at both headquarters signal “all quiet” (*shizumari*).

The boxes used for [transporting] the firemen’s meals measure more than sixty centimeters in length, forty-five centimeters in width, and eighteen to twenty-one centimeters in height. These shouldered cases have hinged doors at the front. The name of the ward and fire brigade is emblazoned on top of each container in bold letters. A case has five partitions filled with lunch-boxes, each of which has separate compartments [for an assortment of edibles]. Such cases are astonishingly convenient.

8. Akasaka, Yotsuya, Ichigaya, Ushigome, Koishikawa and similar areas are known as “Yamanote” (“the foothills”) because they have so many slopes. These areas retain a bit of a rustic feeling and the speech heard there differs slightly from the language of the downtown area. It is difficult for country bumpkins like me to comprehend.

9. Nearby seashores are all muddy rather than sandy. Extremely crude muddy fields are found near these shores. Only the Tama River yields sweetfish (*ayu*), because it is sandy. All the other rivers are muddy and their water murky rather than clear.

10. Wells are found throughout Edo, but drinking water comes from the Tama River. The source of the water in the Tama aqueduct is in Kai Province (Yamanashi Prefecture). From there the water traverses the land and finally ends up in the ocean. The city areas of Azabu, Akasaka, Ichigaya, the region outside the Yotsuya Gate, Sakurada, and Shiba all use water from this aqueduct.

The Kanda aqueduct draws its water from the pond at Inokashira (today in Mitaka-shi). This water joins that of the Tama River around Yodobashi and serves the Koishikawa, Hongō, Yushima, Kanda, and Shitaya areas.<sup>19</sup> This softly flowing water tastes sweet and pure. When Edo residents speak of “tap water” (*suidō no mizu*), they are referring to the water from these two streams.

11. Within the city, carts are always used for hauling rocks, dirt, and grain, or for [transporting personal effects] when changing residences. Pack horses are only used for conveying produce, flowers, and wild boar and deer meat into the city, or night soil out of it.

12. Businesses offering palanquin transportation are found in most wards. At well-traversed spots in the suburbs carriers of five or six palanquins wait for customers. When a carrier runs along he shouts “*hoi-hoi!*,” so his palanquin is known as a “*hoi-hoi*.” Palanquins are used by people hurrying home or on trips, or by

18. Such bells were suspended from fire lookout towers, some of which were built on the roofs of commoner houses or shops. On the role of assistant inspectors see Beerens 2000, 392, 394–95.

19. Yodobashi is a bridge near Shinjuku, today Kita-shinjuku 2 and Nishi-shinjuku 5.

frivolous types who ride for fun because they enjoy the fact that *o-ashi* (“leg,” or “means of transport”) also means “coppers” (*zeni*). If one loses one’s way at dusk or is caught in a downpour far from home, one does well to pay for a palanquin ride.

13. Rice is perhaps not quite as expensive as jewels, but firewood is as dear as the [rare and fragrant wood of the] *katsura* tree.<sup>20</sup>

14. Buckets, floor mats, standing screens, and porcelain are all very expensive. Paper and sugar are extremely cheap.

15. Replacing the supports of wooden clogs is the job of impoverished home-based sorts. Repairing leather-soled sandals (*setta*) is the work of *hinin* outcasts. *Eta* outcasts have short haircuts and never come into the commoner wards. Unlike the *eta* of the Kamigata area, they all belong to the Hokke (Nichiren) school of Buddhism.<sup>21</sup>

16. In Edo many people adhere to the Hokke school. Sites dedicated to the Myōken bodhisattva or to “the founder” (Nichiren, 1222–82) flourish.<sup>22</sup> Very few make pilgrimages to spots associated with Daishi (Kūkai, 774–835).<sup>23</sup>

The highly popular Kannon Buddha at Asakusa (Sensōji) draws the largest crowds of worshippers of all sects and is the kingpin of contributions. Other [popular pilgrimage sites] include the following: on the fifth day of the month, the shrine of Suiten (Skt. Varuṇa, a deity of water) on the grounds of the residence of Lord Arima;<sup>24</sup> on the tenth day of the month, the shrine of Konpira (Skt. Kumbhīra, a protector god) on the grounds of the residence of Lord Marugame;<sup>25</sup> on the third

20. This is an allusion to the Chinese four-character phrase read in Japanese as *shokungyoku suikei* (“eating jewels, using *katsura* to cook”), which refers to the high cost of living in urban areas.

21. People of the so-called *eta* class (less-discriminatorily known as *kawata*) in the Kamigata area usually adhered to Jōdo Shinshū Buddhism.

22. The Myōken bodhisattva, a deification of the North Star, was a protector-deity and curer of eye diseases, typically worshiped by adherents of the Nichiren school of Buddhism.

23. Kūkai was the originator of the Shingon school of Buddhism in Japan.

24. The residents of the “upper residence” of Lord Arima, near the Akabane Bridge, were charged with guarding Zōjōji. The tallest fire lookout tower of the city stood upon a hill within this domain’s property. In 1818 a Suitengū (a shrine dedicated to Suiten) was built at the northwestern end on the grounds and became a faddishly popular destination for Edo citizens searching for divine boons. This shrine was a branch of an identical shrine in the Arima clan’s home domain of Kurume (Fukuoka Prefecture). The latter shrine was supposedly founded in the 1190s and is today located at Senoshita-machi 265-1 in Kurume-shi. Suiten, one of the twelve Devas (guardian deities) commonly found in or around Buddhist temples, was believed to be effective in promoting easy childbirth, freedom from water damage, and profits in the “water business” (i.e., prostitution). In 1871 the shrine was relocated to Aoyama and in 1872 to today’s spot at Nihonbashi Kakigara-chō 2-4-1.

25. The Kotohira-gū, on the grounds of the Marugame residence at Atago-shita, was a branch of the famous Kotohira-gū in Kagawa Prefecture. Its Edo branch was first built at Mita in 1660. In 1679 it was moved to its present location (Toranomon 1-2-7 in Minato-ku), in tandem with the relocation of the Marugame residence. The shrine was opened to the public one day per month and was believed to foster good harvests, safe voyages, and much else of value.

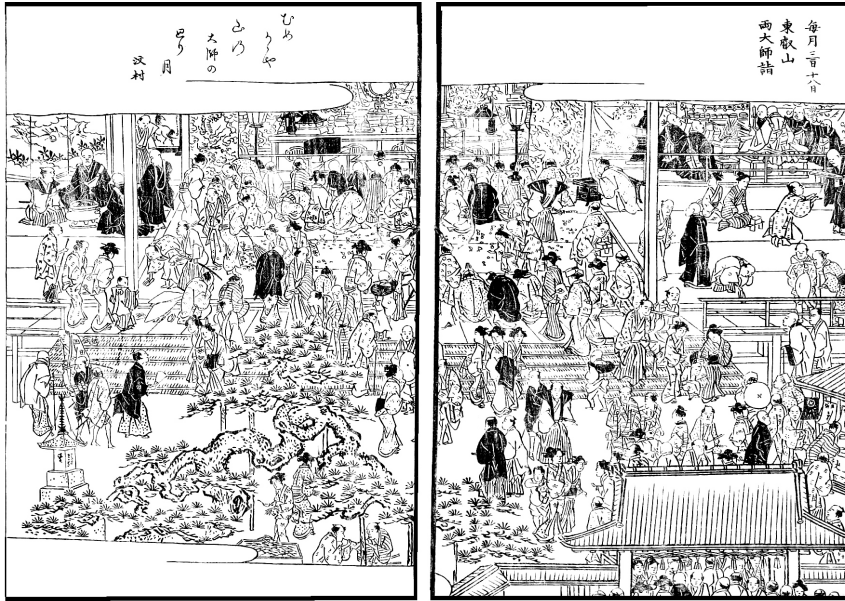


Figure 2. The festival of the two “great founders” of Kan’ei-ji at Ueno.  
From *Tōto saijiki* (pub. 1838).

and eighth days of the month, the “Awashima moxibustion” at Kitazawa;<sup>26</sup> on the last day of the month, the two “great founders” (*daishi*) [of Kan’ei-ji at] Ueno;<sup>27</sup> and on *kinoe* days of the rat, the Daikokuten at Denzūin.<sup>28</sup> But all of these are of secondary importance.

17. The most popular shrine festival music (*kagura*) appears to be the so-called *baka-bayashi* (“fool’s music”). It is played on small drums, big drums, and an instrument resembling a *nō* flute. The extremely crude costumes and the masks also resemble those of the *nō*. Like the *Mibu kyōgen* of Kyoto, no singing or speaking accompanies the movements.<sup>29</sup> Its exceedingly old-fashioned elegance, its

26. An “Awashima Shrine” dedicated to Awashima Daimyōjin stood within the grounds of the Shinganji (Pure Land), a temple at Shimo-kitazawa (today Daizawa 3-27-1 in Setagaya-ku). The divinity worshiped here was the same as the one enshrined at the Kada Awashima Shrine in Wakayama and was believed to be effective against women’s illnesses. The founder of the latter shrine was said to have worked miracle cures through moxibustion, so the Edo branch, too, became a source of faith in this medical practice.

27. The “great founders” of Tōeizan were the Tendai-school priests Ryōgen (912–85) and Tenkai (1536?–1643). A monthly ceremony took their statues on a tour of the thirty-six halls of the temple.

28. The deity Daikoku or Daikokuten (Skt. Mahākāla) is one of the “seven lucky gods,” often portrayed standing on a bale of rice while shouldering a hefty sack on his left side and wielding a small mallet in his right hand. The *kinoe* day of the rat, a calendrical designation occurring once every sixty days, was considered Daikoku’s special day.

29. *Mibu kyōgen* is a masked, pantomimed folk theatrical stemming from the lineage of *sarugaku*, one of the main sources of the *nō*. Today such *kyōgen* are performed annually in April at the Mibudera, a temple in Kyoto (Nakagyō-ku Jōfukuji-dōri Bukkōji-agaru Mibu Naginomiya-chō 31) in conjunction with a grand prayer (*nenbutsu*) ceremony.

charm, and its comic silliness well suit the rhythm of the accompaniment. It is not at all foolish.

18. Bath houses have separate tubs for men and women. The entrances, too, differ. The men's side has a second floor, where one finds *shōgi* and *go* game boards, braziers, and tobacco trays. Samurai and worthy townsmen ascend to this floor and a manservant brews tea and offers it to guests. Sweets of one's choice may be purchased for eight coppers apiece. Eight coppers for the bath and eight more for the second floor result in a total expense of [a mere] sixteen coppers. Renting a rice-bran pouch [for scrubbing the body] sets one back four coppers, and a "grime scraping" [having dead skin removed with a rough washcloth] costs four more. Bathhouse tycoons pay to have their bucket of hot water brought to them. For one hundred coppers a month one is relieved of the task of fetching water and scrubbing one's own body. Most samurai on duty visit these bath houses. Every day the man in charge of heating the water scours the town for all kinds of kindling: splinters of old wood, urine buckets, or outhouse boards. Oddly enough, such a man collects scrap wood just like the outcastes (*eta*) of Wakayama. Some bath houses burn pine, but they are exceptionally rare.

19. Prostitutes known as "revolvers" (*mawashi*) accept three or four customers a night. As the woman circulates from one man to the next, and from him to yet another, each man rides and dismounts her like a ferryboat passenger. Even the three holiest Amida Buddhas would find it hard to save such an Edo whore. Only low-ranking, cheap prostitutes do this, not courtesans of higher rank (*oiran*, *chūsan*). The practice of "revolving" is particularly common when a prostitute begins to be popular. The customers are inferior to those who devour dregs and slurp their soup. They resemble beggars who thrive on trash tossed aside by others.

20. Poems have it that "I turned to look to the direction of a cry, but only saw the lingering moon of Ariake (= early dawn)"<sup>30</sup>; or, "go and cry, if you can, until it disappears, *hototogisu*"; or else, in the case of a haiku, "[Oh, did the] moon cry?—or was it a *hototogisu*?"<sup>31</sup> These verses must all refer to the Kamigata area, for in the uptown region of Edo *hototogisu* cry so noisily and incessantly day and night that one pines for a respite from their song.<sup>32</sup> In the olden days the *hototogisu* was cherished more than the Bush Warbler (*uguisu*; *Cettia diphone*), and its song was esteemed higher than a thousand pieces of gold. Since the Bush Warbler does not

30. From a poem by Fujiwara no Sanesada (1139–91), verse no. 81 of *Hyakunin issbu* (A single poem by a hundred poets, comp. Fujiwara no Teika): *Hototogisu nakitsuru kata o nagamureba, tada Ariake no tsuki zo nokoreru*. The *hototogisu* is a kind of cuckoo (*Cuculus poliocephalus*) with a cry whose tone is perceived as melancholy.

31. I have not been able to identify the second verse. The last verse, *sate wa ano tsuki ga naita ka hototogisu*, is found in various volumes including *Haikai: Imayō sugata*, p. 96 (vol. 1, *natsu no bu* of the original), a book of poetry by followers of Matsunaga Teitoku (1571–1653), published in 1672. According to Andō (1959, 1171) it also appears in *Shin hyakunin ikku* (pub. 1671), *Makibashira* (pub. 1697), and *Shakubikan* (preface 1717).

32. Similar sentiments are voiced by Ishihara Masaakira (1760–1821) in his *Nennen zuibitsu*, p. 24; in English see Carter 2014, 277.



shy away from humans, its song was commonly audible; but the *hototogisu* lives in the forest and does not venture near the city, so its cry was rare.

Frivolous sorts who relish something merely because it is the first of the season and take pleasure in the exceptional have evidently not heard and properly assessed the call of the *hototogisu*, for it is dull and crude, nothing at all like the melodious and pure song of the Bush Warbler. It is akin to the “murderous cries of the north.”<sup>33</sup> Had Confucius ever heard the *hototogisu* he would have stopped his ears and rejected it, as he did the “zither of You.”<sup>34</sup>

21. Black-eared kites (*tobi*) and crows are plentiful; sparrows are rare.

22. Restaurants serving cooked-rice meals in bowls, buckwheat noodles, or sweet bean soup with glutinous rice cakes are ubiquitous. So are tea houses with seating areas. The price for tea is usually sixteen coppers. One should not casually enter teahouses on the grounds of Asakusa (Sensōji) or at the riverbank at Yoshiwara (i.e., Nihon-zutsumi), for anyone who fails to order something priced at more than one hundred coppers is snubbed or effectively ignored. Many establishments in the commoner districts advertising “Kasugano for forty-eight coppers” or “Nara tea for sixty-four coppers” try to hoodwink their customers, so one should take care not to make the mistake of heedlessly patronizing them.<sup>35</sup> On days when I am not on duty I dislike staying at home, so I scuttle about the city alone, guided only by my eyes and palate. I limit my daily budget to one hundred coppers. When I am hungry I make do with buckwheat noodles followed by five or six cups of hot water. Or else I go to a bath house and economize by drinking the tea offered there. If I buy half a cup of *shōchū* [a distilled spirit] I do not need to eat anything with it, and it relieves my loneliness and momentarily leaves me tipsy. This is more economical than eating *miso* scraped from the bottom of an earthen jar.<sup>36</sup> Otherwise I would find it difficult to make outings into the city or venture to the suburbs—and then I could not brag of Edo!

23. A world of difference separates the courtesy and respect shown by Edo merchants and those of Wakayama. Edo merchants bow and repeatedly express gratitude for a purchase costing but a copper. Even fishmongers and greengrocers who make daily rounds to one’s home never fail to present summer and winter gifts. During the first seven days of the New Year, customers of all Edo shops are granted

33. A reference to the chapter on music (35, *Bian yue jie*, section 2) of *Kongzi jiayu* (The school sayings of Confucius), probably dating from the third century. The warm, harmonious sounds of the Chinese south are compared to the brutish, discordant sounds of the north.

34. The “zither of You” refers to music rejected by Confucius, as recorded in chapter II (*Xian jin*) section 15 of the *Lunyu* (*Analects*). It is often mistranslated as “the lute of Yu.”

35. “Nara tea rice” (*nara-cha meshi*), often abbreviated as “Nara tea” (*nara-cha*), consisted of a dish of green tea over rice to which beans and chestnuts were added. The item was apparently popular in Edo from the 1650s. In the late eighteenth century a “Kasugano” is listed as the name of a restaurant at Shinbashi specializing in “Nara tea” (see the 1777 *Fukijizai*, 367). Kasugano (“Kasugano manjū” or “Kasugano mochi”) sometimes also referred to rice buns or cakes into which the design of a white-cedar leaf was baked. These were sold, for example, by the “Segawa” shop at Ningyō-chō (see the 1787 *Shichijūgo-nichi*, 141). The author may have confused these names.

36. A reference to no. 215 of Kenkō’s *Tsurezuregusa* (p. 262; in English see Keene 1981, 177).



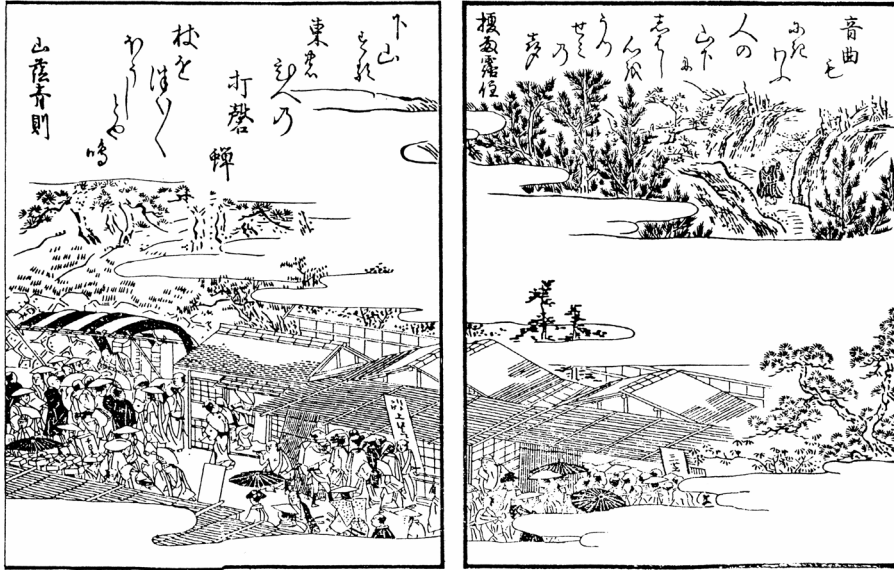


Figure 3. Booths at Ueno Yamashita offering theatricals, *jōruri*, and refreshments.  
From *Ehon azuma karage* (pub. 1795), illustrated by Kitao Shigemasa.

a gratuity in proportion to the size of a purchase. All wares are marked with a price tag, so one does not have to haggle or worry about being overcharged.

Yet one ought to fear the street stalls at Yanagiwara, the second-hand shops at Shiba Hikage-chō, and local hawkers operating at [Ueno] Yamashita or at riverbanks.<sup>37</sup> They present crows as herons, claim that tattered jackets are magical robes, and charge mountains of silver for a cheap straw hat. Here one must be on one's guard.

24. Edo women have fair complexions and their feet and necks are particularly beautiful. Perhaps because they are so proud of their feet, even in winter they do not wear socks. When they walk, they all turn their feet outward, like men, so their hips look narrow and their figures slender. Even the old warrior-monk of yore, Musashibō Benkei, might have regretted his vow of chastity had he spied such women from behind.

Many Edo women wear wooden clogs; only few wear leather-soled sandals (*setta*) or straw sandals with thick soles (*uratsuke-zōri*). Women here have such strong legs even a courier would be put to shame. Their clothing is entirely plain and subdued: a kimono with navy-blue stripes or delicate dark-blue patterns. Even in the summertime they never wear white outfits with dyed fine patterns or kimonos with white stripes.

Edo women do not apply hair oil. Rather they wash their hair and fashion it into a tight *marumage* [a married woman's hairdo] with the bun pulled forward as far as the forehead. Warrior-class and commoner-class clothing and hairstyles are iden-

37. Yanagiwara lay along the Kanda River, today approximately Suda-chō 2, Iwamoto-chō 2, and Higashi-kanda 2. Shiba Hikage-chō is today Shinbashi 2 to 6.

tical. It is difficult to distinguish between the wife of a bannerman and the wife of a townsman.

Some women wear kimonos with dyed designs covering the entire outfit (*sō-moyō*); others wear kimonos with designs dyed only from the waist down (*suso-moyō*). Yet others wear kimonos of rough silk crepe with undyed stripes, a fabric that looks like bedding.

One can always identify a daimyo's lady-in-waiting: rotund and plump, her rear end hefty and imposing, dressed up like a reincarnation of Uzume-no-mikoto.<sup>38</sup> With her hair styled like a mushroom (*shiitake-tabo*) and strutting around as pigeon-toed as a duck, she kicks up dust and shakes the ground. Such matrons are brazen examples of bad taste.

25. Despite the brusque demeanor [common among Edo residents], when one asks for directions, even the lowliest rascal stops his doings and politely offers instructions. His thoughtfulness and respectful speech are truly admirable.

26. Perhaps because the city is so vast, locals are big-hearted. Warriors are polite rather than officious. Bannermen and their sort are especially congenial and display none of the specious dignity of Wakayama warriors.

Yet [Edo warrior-class men] tend to be proud and superficial. When one first meets them, they seem daunting, but this is just a matter of phrases and appearances. In fact, many of them are surprisingly shallow and resemble sterile flowers.

27. High-grade sake is very expensive. It tastes good but inebriates one only briefly and does not leave one with a hangover. Daimyo employees who drink heavily end up quickly emptying their wallets and probably even fall into debt.

"Sweet sake" (*amazake*) resembles the water floating on top of rice gruel. It is not the least bit sweet.

The taste of Edo vinegar is faint and diluted. After a few days such vinegar starts to stink like tooth-black and is nauseating. A year and a half after I arrived here, I ordered vinegar from Wakayama. When I tried it, it tasted so intense and firm that I choked and could not consume it. To my own amazement, I immediately demanded Edo vinegar. How true it is that "transplantation makes for transformation."<sup>39</sup>

28. Even though miso is called "red miso," it differs from its Kamigata counterpart. It is exceedingly sweet, perhaps because it is flavored with ample syrup from cooked soybeans. Because it is so sweet, the flavor remains on one's tongue long after one eats it. "White miso" is also available but expensive. It is never consumed at middle- or lower-class homes.

29. Confections do not compare to those of the Kamigata area. Signboards and shop curtains announce "Kyoto sweets"—this speaks volumes. Buns (*manjū*) filled with bean jam are particularly bad. The plumpness of the wrapping is worse than a whore's underbelly or a geisha's cheek. But glutinous rice cakes (*mochi*), including

38. Ame-no-uzume-no-mikoto was the corpulent deity that lured the sun-goddess Amaterasu out of her cave.

39. Literally, "when a mandarin orange tree is moved, it changes to an [inferior] trifoliate orange," an expression taken from a tale in the *Yanzi chun qiu* (Spring and autumn of Master Yan, inner part [*nei-pian*], part 3 [*za-pian*], section 2 [*za-xia*]), a collection of stories attributed to Yan Ying from the Warring States period.

those not of top quality, are delicious. “Otetsu dumplings,” “Eitai *dango*,” and “Imasaka [buns]” are attractive and elegant.<sup>40</sup>

30. Sushi in Edo is the hand-formed sort (*nigiri*). “Pressed sushi” is nowhere to be found.<sup>41</sup> Edo sushi is well flavored and better than the Kamigata variety. Moreover, it is inexpensive.

31. Broad beans (*sora mame*) are of an extremely poor quality and unfit for consumption. Since no large adzuki beans are found, cowpeas (*sasage*; *Vigna unguiculata*) are used for cooking with rice. To differentiate normal wheat (*tsune no mugi*, i.e., barley) from wheat (*komugi*), the former is called “great wheat” (*ōmugi*). It is split [for faster cooking], probably because of the high cost of firewood. Corn (*nanba*) is called *tō-morokoshi* (literally, “Tang-China China”), a redundancy like “packhorse horse-drover” (*uma no mago*), or “writing-paper paper” (*hanshi no kami*).

32. Buckwheat noodles are made without egg. Since the dough is rendered viscous by adding wheat flour, the noodles are tough. They stick in the throat and one cannot even down three small bowls of them. The flavor of the soup is exquisite, so if the buckwheat noodles of Wakayama were combined with the soup of Edo, this would be the best of both worlds. One would eat it until one’s stomach burst. When soup is added after the noodles are placed into a bowl, the dish is known as *kake* (short for *kake-soba*). When the noodles are heaped onto a small “steaming basket” (*mushikago*, a square wooden frame containing a bamboo screen-like bottom) and eaten like fine wheat noodles (*sōmen*, i.e., by dipping them into the soup by mouthfuls), this is known as *mori* (short for *mori-soba*, i.e., *soba* heaped up). When one enters a buckwheat-noodle shop, one is always asked “*kake* or *mori*?” I relegate the decision to my mood at the moment and answer without hesitation. The noodles are placed in attractive dishes and noodle shops all offer sake, in fact high-grade sake. [Before serving], the noodles are placed onto trays rather than into a container.<sup>42</sup> Several dozen portions are heaped on the tray, which is carried around on the palm of the hand or on the shoulder in an extremely precarious manner.

33. Food is prepared very deftly, and the skill with which the cooking knife is wielded is truly impressive. Food is flavored with sugar, sweetened sake, or plain sake, so it is as sweet as candy and goes poorly with sake.

Because daimyo congregate in Edo, high-class flavors must naturally have spread to the lower reaches of society. It is said that during the days when Lord Oda

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40. “Otetsu” was a famous brand of *botamochi*, dumplings in which a core of glutinous rice is covered with sweet adzuki-bean paste. “Otetsu” were sold at a shop in Kōjimachi and could still be had until around 1887. “Eitai *dango*” were small round balls made of rice flour. They represented a specialty of the “Sawara-ya,” a shop on the western end of the Eitai Bridge. “Imasaka *mochi*” are round glutinous rice buns filled with sweet bean-jam. Today they are often divided into red and white colors. The red ones are filled with a white bean-paste, the white ones with red bean-paste.

41. For “pressed sushi” (*oshi-zushi*) a square wooden tub is filled with rice, topped with seafood, and pressed with a lid.

42. Literally “something like a *yubon*.” The *yubon*, also known as *wakibiki*, was a rectangular tray with a rim. It was commonly used in the tea ceremony.



Figure 4. Harvest time at an Asian-pear orchard not far from Edo. From *Edo meisho zue* (pub. 1834–36).

Nobunaga (1534–82) became shogun [*sic*], a certain cook from the Miyoshi house prepared a meal flavored in line with the exquisite Miyoshi tradition.<sup>43</sup> It was sweet and Nobunaga did not care for it. Since Nobunaga was displeased, the cook prepared another meal, flavored according to rural tastes. Nobunaga greatly enjoyed this fare. The cook had first prepared a sweet dish because the Miyoshi house was a great Ashikaga-period (1392–1573) family, one that had basked in luxury and imitated the ways of the shogunal house. Nobunaga, on the other hand, had started out as a rear vassal, and endured much hardship and distress as he went about conquering the land. He was well acquainted with privation but knew nothing of elegant tastes.

I too am a country bumpkin, but I find satisfaction that at least regarding my palate, if in nothing else, I resemble the valiant Nobunaga.

34. Because Edo is a great city where people from throughout the land assemble, volume is always assessed with a standard measure (*honmasu*, about fifteen centimeters square and eight centimeters deep). This holds true for sake, vinegar, soy sauce, lamp oil, and even yams or corbicula. Unlike the fools of Wakayama,

43. The term I render as “exquisite” is given as *daisanban no chōmi*, which I take to be a reference to the third piece of a standard *nō* drama program, usually featuring a beautiful high-class woman or courtier. The source of this twice-told tale is *Jōzan kidan*, 1:102–3. In fact the cook first offered Nobunaga the light and elegant cuisine of the aristocratic Miyoshi house, and Nobunaga was so angry he ordered the chef be put to death. The latter pleaded for a second chance and offered Nobunaga more vulgar, sweeter fare the following day. This cuisine so pleased the great general that he spared the cook’s life.

Edo locals never use measures they fabricate themselves in a self-serving manner: “twelve-unit measures,” “thirteen-unit measures,” or even “yam and corbicula measures.”

35. Tangerines are imported not just from Kii but from other areas as well. They are available in abundance and are not at all expensive. Bitter oranges (*daidai*) are also plentiful and cheap. Kumquats are elongated and stringy; no round ones exist. “Buddha’s hand citron” (*bushukan*; *Citrus medica* var. *sarcodactylus*) is abundant and is favored for cooking. Citron (*yuzu*; *Citrus junos*) is bountiful, but bayberries (*yōbai* or *yamamomo*; *Myrica rubra*) are nowhere to be found. Asian pears (*nashi*) are common and inexpensive but tasteless. Peaches are bitter. Persimmon are delicious but expensive. Chestnuts are plentiful and inexpensive, but the majority are infested with worms. Loquats (*biwa*; *Eriobotrya japonica*) are few and not highly prized. Grapes exist aplenty and make a choice gift.

36. The yellow chrysanthemum is a must for garnishing raw sliced fish. It is pickled in salt water and stored for later use. Boiled fish is normally garnished with ginger sprouts, which can be obtained throughout the year.

37. Watermelon, *kabocha*—squash—eggplant, and other melons/squashes cost the same as in Wakayama. Eggplants, all of the sort known as “juicy eggplant” (*mizunasu*), are long and thin. Giant white radish (*daikon*) and carrots are not delicious but three times dearer than in Wakayama. What is known [in Wakayama] as “Edo daikon” is not found in Edo. Turnips are long, like daikon. They are bluish in color and not round. Small turnips are round. So-called true greens (*mana*) have wide leaves rounded at the tip, some as long as sixty centimeters. What resembles Wakayama rape (*abura-na*; *Brassica campestris*) is called *komatsu-na* and is tiny. Green onions (*hitomaji*) resemble the ones grown in the Kyoto area but are inferior in quality. Arrowhead (*kuwai*; *Sagittaria trifolia*) is of high quality, just as good as the kind cultivated near Kyoto. Lotus root is very inexpensive but extremely light in flavor. Even the young lotus root of Edo does not equal the taste of the mature plant in Wakayama. Fine specimens of burdock, light in taste, can be as long as ninety centimeters and are as straight as bamboo. Thick ones are a rarity. Wasabi (Japanese horseradish, *Eutrema wasabi*) is very plentiful and is sold in bundles, up to ten plants per bundle. The price is lower than that of leafy ginger in Wakayama. Shoots of “thick-stemmed bamboo” (*mōsō-chiku*) are abundant but other varieties are rare. *Hatsudake* mushroom (*Lactarius hatsudake tanaka*) are very plenteous, but *matsutake* mushrooms (*Tricholoma matsutake*) are scarce and command the price of pearls—daimyo employees cannot even dream of savoring them. Sweet potatoes command only half the price they do in Wakayama and are delectable. With everything else in Edo being as expensive as it is, the low cost of sweet potatoes is a heavenly blessing for humble daimyo employees of my sort. These potatoes cost only eight coppers, and eating them provides relief from the boredom of never-ending winter nights or long spring days. If one calls for “O-satsu” one feels like one had Miss Yam as a companion, but this is hardly improper. It dispels even the loneliness of an autumn evening.



38. On some days birds stop singing, but no day goes by without the cry of a vendor of *nattō* (fermented soybeans). No doubt this is because *nattō* is such a local favorite.

39. Herring roe is kept in water and is available year round. It is very cheap and represents the greatest luxury a daimyo employee can afford to eat with his rice. Many species of shellfish are available. Tiny short-necked clams (*asari*; *Ruditapes philippinarum*) and larger clams (*hamaguri*; *Meretrix lusoria*) are particularly bounteous. They are sold shelled, are cheap, and taste good. They represent the secondmost luxurious item a daimyo employee can afford to eat with his rice. Oysters have much meat but are anemic in flavor. They are far less tasty than the ones caught in the bays of my home province of Wakayama. Scallops are soft in texture and delicious, worthy of being called “Xishi’s tongue.”<sup>44</sup> Yet they are so costly they ought to be savored alone, together with sake. Eating them with rice is a contemptible extravagance.

40. Gray mullet (*ina*), sardines, and gizzard shad (*konoshiro*) are abundant and very inexpensive. Horse mackerel (*aji*) is extremely dear and pike conger (*hamo*) exceedingly scarce. Harvest fish (*managatsuo*; *Pampus argenteus*) is nowhere to be had. Octopus and stingray (glossed *ebuta*, Wakayama dialect) are so expensive that a poor samurai can hardly hope to relish them. Fresh salmon is delicious and of high quality, but its flavor seems lighter than that of salmon trout (*masu*). Raw cod is most delicious when eaten lightly salted. Whitebait is large and delectable, incomparably better than *menjōgyo*, the whitebait produced at Yuasa in Kii Province.<sup>45</sup> Prawns (*shiba-ebi*, *Metapenaeus joyneri*) are of a high quality and delicious. In general, other types of seafood are light in flavor and taste almost like vegetables. This is because in Edo fish are caught far away in Kazusa and Awa (Chiba Prefecture) and are not fresh. Similarly, even though fish hauled in to Wakayama from Shikoku, Ise, or the Kumano area are fresh, they also taste very different from fish caught in the nearby Wakayama ocean. Yet if one considers that octopus, flathead (*kochi*; *Platycephalus indicus*), or flatfish (*karei*) from the sea near Izumi Province (southern Osaka-fu) are delicious, and horse mackerel and mackerel (*saba*) from the sea at Yuasa in my home province are tasty too, the reason may be the sort of rocks, sand, and mud in the ocean and the speed of the current.

41. Urine buckets are entirely absent from rural villages skirting Edo, to say nothing of the city itself, with the result that urine runs into the streets. From what I have seen, night-soil collectors only scoop up the solid waste in the outhouses, leaving the urine behind. The only explanation for this is that so many dwelling houses saturate urban regions, which extend fifteen kilometers in all four directions, that not everything can be collected. The lack of dry-sardine fertilizer shops

44. Xishi was a legendary Chinese beauty, the concubine of Gou Jian, the King of Wu. After being sent to seduce Fuchai, the King of Yue, and thereby aiding in bringing down Yue, she returned to Wu. Back home she was then supposedly thrown into the sea by the wife of Gou Jian to prevent her from seducing the king. A precious shellfish was found in the area where she drowned and this was said to be her tongue.

45. Today Arita-gun, Yuasa-chō in Wakayama Prefecture.



in town well indicates the oversupply of solid waste. What a waste, so to speak! When one thinks of Aoto Saemon scolding an ox, one can only heave a sigh.<sup>46</sup>

42. At New Year's each and every commoner-class family displays ornamental pine-branch [assemblies] at the entrance.<sup>47</sup> At warrior residences as many as five or ten stalks of bamboo are used. For the pine branches the lower twigs are pruned away, perhaps because they would otherwise block the entryway. The straw ornaments are crafted so nicely that one would not think them made of straw. At the Nabeshima residence at Soto-sakurada (today Kasumigaseki 1) a huge hour-glass-drum-shaped object is fashioned [of straw] and hung up for display outside the entrance.<sup>48</sup> At the Mōri residence the entryway features so many decorations that from afar it looks like fabric dyed with graffiti-like patterns (*hoguzome*). The Satake residence at Shamisen-bori (today Kojima 2 in Taitō-ku) exhibits no pine-branch ornaments. Instead, twelve men, apparently foot soldiers (*ashigaru*), wear formal trouser-skirts (*hakama*) and official jackets while sitting on rush matting with a border, six to the right and six to the left [of the entrance]. This is called "Satake's human pine." What could the source of this be? It is certainly an unusual house tradition.

43. On the tenth day of the New Year nobody goes to worship at Ebisu shrines. Instead, everyone visits a shrine located in that year's "lucky direction."

44. All areas of warrior houses and even those of commoner houses have Inari shrines here and there. During the night before the "first day of the horse" during the second month [the day on which Inari is said to enter its shrine] drums are sounded, and the noise ascends to heaven and echoes throughout the land. Even the most dimwitted fool cannot hope to sleep that night.

45. Residents take pleasure in flying kites. In order to entangle and intercept one another's kites they tie tiny blades or sickles to the base of their kites, at the spot where the string is attached. Everyone seeks only to sever the string of someone else's kite.

46. During the cherry-blossom season Edo residents cheerfully go blossom viewing at Mt. Asuka (today Kita-ōji 1) on one day, Ueno the following day, and Mukōjima or Nippori the day thereafter. They play the shamisen, dance, and indulge in drunken revelry. Yet the food they bring along for the picnic is altogether plain,

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46. What I render "what a waste" is literally, "the wastefulness of throwing away the edible dough wrapping of a bean-jam bun, so to speak." Aoto Saemon-no-jō Fujitsuna was a warrior (probably fictional) and paragon of thrift of the late Kamakura period. He supposedly scolded an ox for urinating in the river rather than onto a field, where it might do some good. Aoto appears in the fourteenth-century *Taiheiki* (Chronicles of the great peace), chapter 35 (*Taiheiki*, 3:324–35).

47. So-called *kadomatsu* were elaborate assemblies often including, as indicated, auspicious bamboo, pine twigs, plum blossoms, and straw ornaments.

48. The Nabeshima house was that of a daimyo in Hizen Province, today in Saga Prefecture. The Mōri house was that of a daimyo based in Nagato Province, today Yamaguchi Prefecture. Its main Edo residence stood at what is now Roppongi. The Satake house was that of the daimyo of Dewa Akita, today Akita Prefecture. For more information on these odd New Year customs see *Yūteki zakki*, vol. 5, *jō* (vol. 7 of *Edo sōsho*), 27–29 (from 1829); and Kikuchi 1965, 18–20.

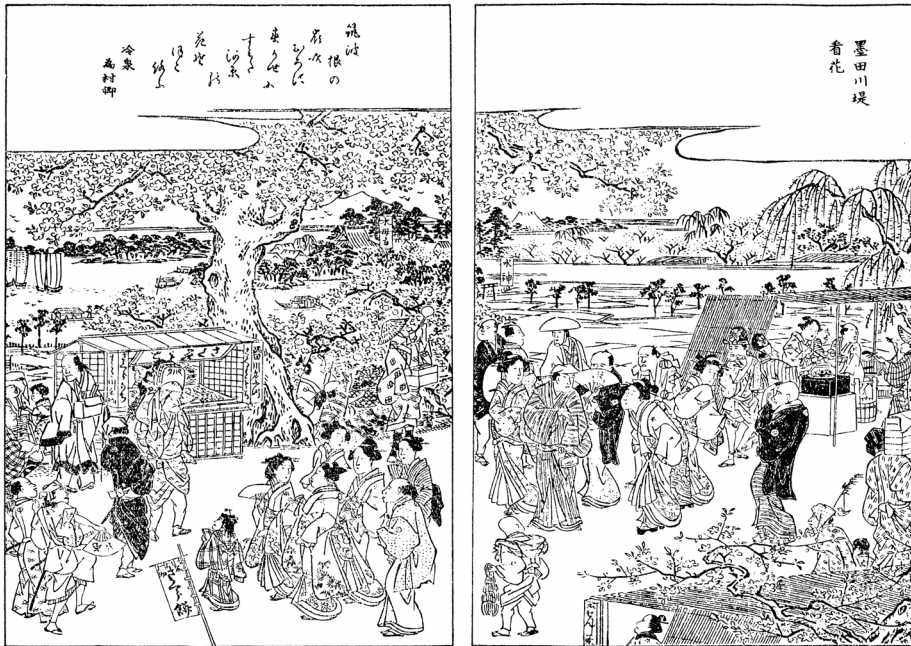


Figure 5. Cherry-blossom viewing on the banks of the Sumida River. From *Tōto saijiki* (pub. 1838).

often just vinegared rice mixed with seafood (*kakimaze sushi*), or ordinary items boiled in soy sauce. They apparently consider the cherry blossoms the greatest delicacy of all.

In fact, this is the proper way to view cherry blossoms, for one cannot truly appreciate them while busily gorging oneself. Such a custom also prevents boors from blaming cherry blossoms for leading to such high costs that debts cannot be paid off. If the cherry blossoms could speak, they would laugh at such sorts and retort with, “For Wakayama natives like you, cherry-blossom viewing seems to mean stuffing yourself rather than looking at us.” In Edo, daimyo employees like me fill a cheap wooden container costing only thirty-two coppers with sake and pack sushi into a little box. When taking such items along, one can enjoy oneself and relax the whole day for a mere three hundred coppers.

47. The deutzia displayed on Buddha’s birthday festival on 4/8 (*kanbutsu-e*) is placed into a bamboo tube and hung onto fences and walls.<sup>49</sup> The display is not suspended up high, like in Wakayama. The Buddha was a being of this world, one who entered the mountains to engage in meditation. One hears nothing of sutras claiming that he ascended into the heavens like the blast of a conch shell. There is no reason to display them sky high.

The *waka* poems written by Edo residents for *kamisage-mushi* are well contrived, with their first and second halves pleasantly complementing each other.<sup>50</sup> The

49. The fourth month is *uzuki* or *unohana-zuki*, the “month of the deutzia” (a kind of sunflower, *Deutzia scabra*).

50. The term *kamisage-mushi* is usually written with the ideographs “paper-lowering bug,”

verses used in Wakayama are lopsided, as if their backs were broken. I doubt that even a devout Buddhist would find much joy in a broken back on a birthday. Here is an example of an Edo poem:

The “kami-suppressing bugs” have for ages  
passed judgment on the eighth day of the fourth month<sup>51</sup>

48. Neither minor samurai families nor of course the townspeople celebrate the fifth-month (5/5) festival by flying streamers suspended from poles set up at their gates. Instead, they only display little streamers on small elevated trays within the house. This custom may be the result of fire regulations.

49. Long bamboo poles are used at the *tanabata* festival (on 7/7). Streamers in five colors are tied to the top and are visible from a distance as they flutter in the sky. Everyone vies to exhibit the tallest display. The streamers are thought to be the brocade stretched out by the celestial weaving maid [Vega], who is said to meet her cowherd lover [Altair] in the heavens. It makes sense for such streamers to be raised high, for one does not hear of these celestial deities descending into the sublunary world. Wakayama natives erroneously reverse low and high for the Buddha’s birthday and *tanabata*, as if wearing their shoes as hats.

50. Regardless whether someone has recently died or not, during the seventh month Edo citizens set up altars (*tamadana*) for the spirits. On the night of 7/15 (*o-bon*) destitute back-street dwellers parade around town shouting, “Welcome back! Welcome back!” (*omukai omukai*). Residents award these persons the offerings on the altars along with twelve coppers. One hears that cucumbers and pickles [used as offerings] are sold [cheaply] to pickle vendors, and that rush seating-mats are sold [cheaply] to those who go to Takanawa for moon-viewing on 7/26.<sup>52</sup> This provides succor to the penurious, demonstrates charity and compassion, and increases one’s good karma. Most importantly, the practice conforms to the wishes of the spirits of the dead, which have arrived from distant regions.

51. Similarly, on the nights of 8/15 and 9/13, yams, green soybeans, and dumplings are offered [on domestic altars]. It is taboo to view the moon on only one of these two occasions. The offered dumplings are spherical and come in small and large sizes, corresponding perhaps to “small” months [of twenty-nine days] and “large” months [of thirty days]. It is interesting to see that the dumplings are fashioned into spheres that resemble the moon. In Wakayama they are thick on one side and thin at the end, like a boy’s penis. They are identical to the dumplings produced for the fifth month festival. Even though the moon is Yin in nature, it is inhabited by the man in the moon, so it makes sense to shape them like that, but since the

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but the author uses the ideograph for “deity” instead of “paper.” In any case, the “bug” in question is a maggot at the bottom of latrines. On the morning of 4/8, ink ground with hydrangea tea was used to write auspicious words on pieces of paper hung up for display. The custom derives from a practice of writing magical spells designed to keep maggots from ascending.

51. *Chihayaburu kamisage-mushi wa mukashi yori uzuki yōka ni seibai suru.*

52. On 7/26 Edo residents crowded to the shore at Takanawa to watch the moon rise from the ocean in what was known as the “vigil of the twenty-sixth night” (*nijūroku-ya machi*).

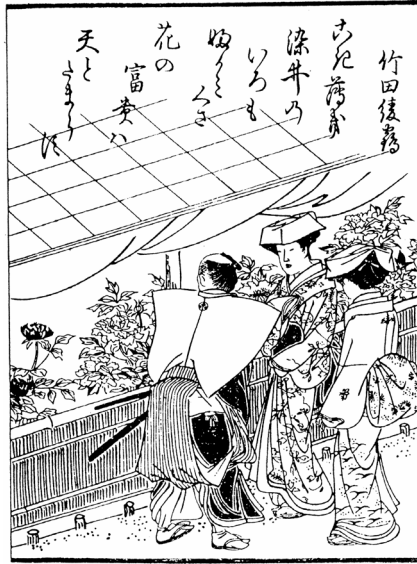


Figure 6. Viewing potted flowers at Somei. From *Ehon azuma karage* (pub. 1795), illustrated by Kitao Shigemasa.

fifth month falls in summer and the eighth month in autumn, festival practices ought to take into account the difference in the moon-viewing season.<sup>53</sup>

52. The chrysanthemums grown by the florists at Sugamo and Somei are said to be of the “Sugamo style.” One stem is made to yield two or three hundred blossoms, all identical in size. It is an extraordinary sight. But the examples are inferior to those of the Kamigata area, where two or three blossoms are cultivated to grow from one stem, and through various sorts of transplanting are brought to resemble a spread of multicolored brocade. The Edo style soon becomes tiresome. Some Edo chrysanthemums are arranged to look like a flat fan, a folding fan, or a sailboat. In extreme cases tiny chrysanthemums, white, red, and yellow, are fastened to mannequins in the manner of clothing. This is truly the height of vulgarity, less endurable than for Tao Yuanming (365–427) to kowtow for his salary of five bales of rice.<sup>54</sup>

53. Edo *sekizoro* do not wear red aprons.<sup>55</sup> Instead, they wear rags and tatters and don old plaited straw hats (*amigasa*), which are embellished by cutting red and blue paper into strips and attaching them to the hat’s mesh. The performers boisterously chant their song to beats produced by striking together sections of bamboo. They are unsightly, ragged, and dirty.

53. The Tokyo University Library copy gives “seventh month,” instead of “eighth month,” no doubt in error.

54. Tao Yuanming (Tao Qian) was the most important pre-Tang poet. He grew up in poverty but at age forty-one succeeded in becoming a government official. Shortly after taking office he was ordered to wear formal clothing when meeting a local auditor. Rather than enduring this insult, he resigned his post.

55. *Sekizoro* were auspicious street performers arriving around the turn of the year. See Groemer 2016, 76–79.

54. The residences of the “three senior collateral houses,” and the “three junior collateral houses” do not display their family crests at their gates.<sup>56</sup> Among bannermen, those designated as “high-ranking families” and “alternating attendants” do display their family crests.<sup>57</sup> Except for the house of Honda Tsushima-no-kami at Kagurazaka, regular bannermen refrain from doing so.<sup>58</sup>

55. A person’s tone of voice naturally adjusts itself to the environment. Since Edo residents speak in a shrill voice and roll their tongues, Bungo-style *jōruri* and Edo songs exhibit an abundance of high pitches and a dearth of low ones.<sup>59</sup> When one hears such vocal music for the first time it strikes one as remarkable and fascinating. But compared to Kamigata songs and *gidayū*-style *jōruri*, Edo melodic lines are vulgar and lack fullness. They are just loud and strident, and one soon tires of them. Since low notes are the basis of musical scales with their five pitches, melodies with few low notes strike the ear as vulgar.

56. [Edo residents] use starched paper to wrap gifts.<sup>60</sup> Beautiful paper of this sort is made in Sugihara.<sup>61</sup>

57. Salt is very expensive. It sells for one hundred coppers for two or three *shō* (c. 3.6 or 5.4 liters). Tofu lees (*tōfu-gara*) are very cheap. An amount equal to three lumps of it in Wakayama sells for two coppers in Edo.

58. Food is arranged by filling up an oversized bowl. It looks elegant, like dew drops on a lotus leaf. In Wakayama, food is stacked high in a small bowl and looks unattractive, like a pile of ox dung.

59. Vendors of rat poison walk around calling, “Have you got little rascals?” (*itazura-mono wa inai ka*). Hawkers of soap-bubble kits for children ply the streets calling out, “Bubble man! Bubble man!” (*tamaya tamaya*). Repairers of leather-soled sandals shout “*dei dei*.”

60. The wives of bannermen are called *okusama* (“honorable interior”). Wives

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56. The “three senior collateral houses” (*gosanke*) were the houses of the daimyo of Mito, Owari, and Kii. The “three junior collateral houses” (*gosankyō*) were the Tayasu, Hitotsu-bashi, and Shimizu families.

57. High-ranking families (*kōke*), sometimes translated as “masters of ceremonies,” were twenty-six families hereditarily placed in charge of *bakufu* ceremonies and relations with the Kyoto court. They ranked higher than regular bannermen. “Alternating attendants” (*kōtai yoriai*) were landholding bannermen with annual stipends exceeding 3,000 koku of rice but no specific *bakufu* duties. They were required to participate in “alternate attendance” to Edo.

58. The house of Honda Tsushima-no-kami (Tadamasa, also known as Shuri, 1629–92) was located on the northern side of Kagurazaka (see *Gofunai enkaku tosho*, vol. 11, frames 185–86). This area, at Shinjuku Kagurazaka-3, is still called Honda Yoko-chō.

59. I translate *shō-u* (glossed as *kan*) as “high pitches” and *kyū* (glossed as *otsu*) as “low.” *Kyū* was the pitch that served as the basis for calculating the other pitches of the pentatonic scale. If *kyū* is taken as C in the Western system, *shō* and *u* become D and A, respectively. Bungo-style *jōruri* was developed by Miyakoji Bungo-no-jō (1660–1740), a chanter who had arrived in Edo from Kyoto in 1734. Most *jōruri* genres developing in Edo thereafter derived from his style. See no. 62 below. *Gidayū*-style *jōruri*, by contrast, was always considered fundamentally a Kamigata style of recitation.

60. In processing this soft paper (*noriiire-gami*) rice flour is added to the paper-mulberry pulp.

61. Today Taka-chō in Hyōgo Prefecture.



of other officials are addressed *go-shinsama* (short for *go-shinzō-sama*, “honored young consort”). Townspeople’s wives are termed *naigi* (“interior affairs”), and all daughters are referred to as *o-jōsama* (“honored Miss”).

61. What is written as “taken with the mouth” (*okuchi-tori*) refers to coarse sweets. “Juicy sweets” (*mizugashi*) are peaches or Asian pears sold at fruit shops. The term *moromi* signifies “unfiltered sake.”

62. The term *yose* (variety hall) refers to venues where *jōruri*, theatricals, and the like are performed. In Edo, *jōruri* means Bungo-style *jōruri*.<sup>62</sup> Kamigata-style *jōruri* is called *gidayū*. Perhaps because the melody of Bungo-style *jōruri* is not fixed, puppet theater is always accompanied by *gidayū*.

63. Letting a child ride piggy-back is known as *onbu*; an embrace is called *dakko*. An infant’s *odori* [the pulse visible on the head before the cranium has fully fused] is referred to as *hiyomeki*.

64. Sliced raw fish (*tsukuri-zakana*) is termed *sashimi*. Finger-food for drinking (*tori-zakana*) is called *tsumami* (literally, “pinched”). All dishes fried in oil, with the exception of tofu, are known as tempura. *Zenzai-mochi* [cakes made of pounded glutinous rice floating in a sweet-bean soup] are called *shiruko*. *Yanagi-kage* (literally, “willow shade”) sake is known as *naoshi* (literally, “remade”).<sup>63</sup> Winter cucumbers (*kamo-uri*; *Benincasa hispida*) are labeled *tōgan*, perhaps because the term is a local pronunciation of *tōkan* [from the Chinese characters for “winter” and “melon”]. Pickles made from daikon stalks are called “light pickles” (*asazuke*). Mung beans (*ryokutō*; *Vigna radiate*; glossed *buntō*, Wakayama dialect) are termed *yaenari*.

65. The gates around the shogunal castle compound are known as “lookouts” (*mitsuke*). Additional sentry stations throughout the city are called “street watch posts” (*tsuji-ban*). When a fire breaks out, the sounding of drums, fire bells, and wooden clappers is known as “banging” (*buttsukeru*).

66. Wooden clogs (*geta*) are called *ashida*. A woven bamboo basket (*ikaki*) is a *zaru*. Portable braziers (*anka*) are known as *bandoko*. Firewood (*shiba*) is called *maki*. Puddles are labeled *numeri*. Gutters (*suidō*) are *dobu*. Going to the toilet is known as *habakari* (literally, “hesitation”).

67. Those who have died on the street are covered with rush matting to conceal them. The corpse is set upright and outfitted with a lantern covered with white paper. The person’s features, age, and color of clothing are written on a note asking if anyone possesses information regarding the identity of the deceased.

68. Tilling paddy fields (*ta-zukuri*, glossed as *saru*, probably Wakayama dialect) is known as *gogatsu-biki* (literally, “fifth-month leveling”). A fool (*aho*) is a *baka*. Women (*onna*) are referred to as *tabo* (“back hair”). Thieves (*nusubito*) are *dorobō*. For “falling in love” (*horeru*) they say *okkochi*. Porters are referred to as *karuko*.

62. “Bungo-style” here refers to *tokiwazu-bushi*, *kiyomoto-bushi*, *tomimoto-bushi*, *shinnai-bushi*, and similar genres. These styles of recitation were often heard in the kabuki theater or presented as concert music in parlors.

63. *Yanagi-kage* was an alcoholic beverage made by mixing and processing *mirin* (sweet sake) with *shōchū* (a distilled spirit).



Brokers who mediate in finding positions for apprentices are known as *kean* [more correctly: *keian*].

69. To signify “inexpensive” they say *kakkō*. Bargaining (*ne o biku*) is called *hataraku* (literally, “to work”). Cirrus clouds (glossed *abunai*, Wakayama dialect) are known as *ken’un*. Being surprised (*bikkuri suru*) is termed “crushing one’s liver” (*kimo o tsubusu*). When something is unbearable (*kotaerarenu*) they declare it is “un-standable” (*tachikirenu*). For “enduring something” (*shinbō suru*) they say *gaman suru*. Something odd (*kawatta koto*) is called a “secondary thing” (*otsuna koto*). Frustration (*rachi no akanu*) is referred to as *jiretei* [an Edo pronunciation of *jirettai*]. Having no guts (*kaishō naki*) is termed *ikuji nashi*. Throwing something out (*sutete oku*) is *uchiyaru* [or *utcharu*]. When something is damaged (*yaburu*) it is said to be broken (*kowareru*). When they are swindled (*damasareshi*) they say they were “carried away” (*katsugareta*). A joke (*odoke*) is a *jōdan*. Something hard to bear (*kitsui koto*) is called “severe” (*hidoi*). For “great” (*eraī*) they say “strong spirit” (*gōgi*). For “no problem” (*kizukai naki*) they state, “it’s very strong” (*daijōbu*). Those who cannot have their way (*ijō ni tsukanu*) are called “willful” (*gōjō*). Things that taste bad (*aji naki*) are labeled *mazui*. Something futile (*mudagoto*) is referred to as *dame*.

70. Shops advertising “foreign laundering and stretching” (*ikoku araihari*, i.e., wrinkle removal) specialize in laundering imported woolen cloth (*rasha*) or scarlet woolens (*shōjōhi*).

71. Loach (*dojō*) is available throughout the summer but vanishes completely in winter. Fish thriving among seaweeds are known as “offshore snappers” (*oki tai*).<sup>64</sup> Young yellowtail (*hamachi*; *Seriola quinqueradiata*) is called *inada*. Still younger ones are *wakanago*.

72. Florists can be recognized by the willow tree planted at the shop entrance. Camphor wood, rather than juniper (*toshō* or *nezu*, glossed as *morondo*), is used for mosquito-repelling incense. Such incense is called *ka-yari* (literally, “mosquito chaser”). How odd that it is sold by florists!

73. Processions of the branch families of daimyo who hold a province or of the “three senior collateral houses” include two horsemen and three lance bearers. The procession of the Echizen house [of the Fukui domain] is distinguished by the long cords attached to double boxes [carried by porters in a procession]. [The parade of the lord of] the Ōmura domain (Hizen Province, Nagasaki Prefecture) may be identified by the double boxes of white wood carried by the parade leaders. The chests of the lord of Kaga Province (Ishikawa Prefecture) are marked with a crest containing the ideographs for metal (金, *kane*, because the domain was based in Kanazawa) and “one” (一). Red wicker cases and a gold crest distinguish the lord of Akashi (Harima Province, southern Hyōgo Prefecture). Lesser nobles ride shabby palanquins with the screen down, rain or shine.<sup>65</sup>

64. Probably rockfish, seawife, grouper, or scorpionfish.

65. “Lesser nobles” are here referred to as “daimyo of the *karinoma*.” The *karinoma* was the “wild-goose chamber” (named after the painting on the sliding doors) in Edo Castle, the lowest-ranking room, in which *kōke* (bannermen often in charge of *bakufu* ceremonies) and

74. If one inadvertently loiters around the lookout of an Edo Castle gate, the guards shout loudly “Pass on!” just as beggars are scolded in Wakayama.

75. Edo widows and wives are hard to tell apart because both have identical rounded hairdos (*maruwage*).

76. Trifling gifts are described as *waza to* (“a formality”). Joking around (*botaeru*) is called *fuzakeru*. Making mischief (*waru-agaki*) is termed *itazura*. Window shopping (*zomeku*, often the practice of looking at prostitutes on display in the licensed quarters) is called “cooling off” (*biyakasu*). To mean “inopportune” (*oriwaru*) they say *ayaniku* (= *ainiku*). “Nothing at all” (*nan de mo nai*) is “no reason” (*wakenashi*). A “cripple” (*chinba*) is called *bikko*.

77. Because songs voiced by lumber carriers (*kiyari*) are sung at a high pitch, the melodies resemble the cries of earthworms [i.e., are long and thin]. The words are hard to grasp. When firemen in the commoner quarters go out on call, they always sing such *kiyari* songs.

78. At variety halls (*yose*), where *jōruri* and puppet theater are staged, only sweets, no sake, is available for purchase. No matter how bad the artists are, nobody disparages them. Everyone behaves remarkably well.

79. Reciters of battle tales, storytellers, and performers of [street] theatricals all resemble the outcaste actors (*eta shibai*) in Wakayama. [Edo street] actors spread matting on the streets and perform only when someone stops to watch. Only rarely do they play indoors.

This text was written during an Edo tour of duty by one Harada, house doctor of Lord Tanabe. Harada’s colleague, a certain Matsuo, borrowed and copied the volumes *Azuma no iezuto* (A present brought back from the east) and the above *Edo jiman* (*Bragging of Edo*).<sup>66</sup> I have copied the latter from his duplicate.

1860/5, year of the monkey, Inagaki Yoshitsune.

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castle-holding *fudai* daimyo (hereditary vassals), whose domains were established after the founding of the *bakufu*, were seated.

66. *Azuma no iezuto* apparently remains unpublished. It contains a preface from 1816 and is written by one Tatsuami-an Gofuku. The original is in the possession of the Takekiyo Bunko at Nishōgakusha University in Tokyo.

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