Volume XVI

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The editors welcome preliminary inquiries about manuscripts for publication in Early Modern Japan. Please send queries to Philip Brown, Early Modern Japan, Department of History, 230 West 17th Avenue, Columbus, OH 43210 USA or, via e-mail to brown.113@osu.edu. All scholarly articles are sent to referees for review.

Books for review and inquiries regarding book reviews should be sent to Carol Richmond Tsang, Review Editor, Early Modern Japan, 45 Sunset Drive, White Plains, NY 10604. E-mail correspondence may be sent to emj4reviews@verizon.net. Readers wishing to review books are encouraged to specify their interests in an e-mail to the Review Editor, Carol Tsang.
From the Editor:
編纂者のメッセージ

This issue of Early Modern Japan: An Interdisciplinary Journal presents essays on a broad array of subjects. We begin with Roger Thomas’s exploration of the role of sound in thinking of poets and Nativists in the eighteenth century. In contrast to the classical Mediterranean world and ancient China, Japanese interest in the sound of poetry came quite late. Nonetheless, Thomas argues that the early modern efforts at developing a systematic understanding of sound in poetry was so closely tied to the Nativist world view that it did not effectively survive the Restoration transition.

EMJ has a long-standing interest in proposals for thematically linked essays and with this issue we publish one more project of this sort. Three articles focus on daily lives of Tokugawa era samurai. Coordinated and introduced by Morgan Pitelka, the essays by Eric Rath, Constantine Vapori and Laura Nenzi take up food, banquets, and consumption habits on the one hand, and attitudes toward Japan’s increasing contact with international visitors in the mid-nineteenth century. I hope that our readers will take inspiration from this effort and submit other thematically-linked sets of papers in the near future.

We conclude with Peipei Qiu’s study of Bashō and Nampo and Wilburn Hansen’s exploration of Chinese herbal medicine in the Nativist tradition.

As always, we welcome submission of individual scholarly articles, but in addition, we are also interested in translations, discussions of teaching and other professionally oriented materials that do not normally appear in scholarly journals.

EMJNet at the AAS. The Early Modern Japan Network was first formed to support the presence of panels and papers on early modern Japan at the Association for Asian Studies. To that end, we act as sponsors for panel proposals submitted to the AAS Annual Meeting Program Committee as well as sponsoring our own meeting in conjunction with the AAS Annual Meeting. People interested in having EMJNet support for proposals submitted to the AAS or proposing panels at the EMJnet meeting held in conjunction with the AAS should contact Philip Brown (brown.113@osu.edu) early in the process of developing the panel proposal.

For our own meeting we have typically sponsored one or two panels, but we have been able to get time for as many as four. This year’s presentations focus on new media and coverage of earthquake disasters (see below for a full description and abstracts). Hope to see many of you there!

Philip Brown

“Natural Disaster, Media and Modernization: New Media and Two Kanto Earthquakes”

Mark the Date!

Once again the Early Modern Japan Network will present an independent panel session in conjunction with the Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies.

Panel details are noted below. PLEASE MAKE A NOTE OF THE DATE, TIME AND PLACE. Like all "meetings in conjunction" this panel will not be listed in the formal AAS Program (announcements listing the panel will be available at registration).

The Early Modern Japan Network is a subcommittee of the Northeast Asia Council of the Association for Asian Studies. To promote the field of Early Modern Japanese Studies it sponsors panel proposals for the Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, holds its own independent panel sessions in conjunction with the Association, and publishes an refereed journal, Early Modern Japan: An Interdisciplinary Journal. For further information on any of these activities, contact Philip Brown brown.113@osu.edu.

See you in Chicago!

Phil Brown

Natural Disaster, Media and Modernization: New Media and Two Kanto Earthquakes

Date: Thursday, March 26, 2009
Room: Colorado
Time: 2:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.

Earthquakes have long been an impetus for cul-
tural production in Japan. Emperor Shomu, for example, ordered the construction of Kokubunji and the Great Buddha of Todaiji immediately after he toured the area between Nara and the Naniwa Shrine following a major earthquake in the fourth month of 734. From the late Tokugawa Period onward, the presence of mass media complicated and magnified the social impact of earthquakes and other disasters. Exaggerated accounts of destruction in the popular press, for example, amplified the psychological impact of a relatively modest earthquake that shook Kyoto in 1830. The 1855 Ansei Edo Earthquake produced a vast quantity of broadside prints, journalistic documentary accounts, works of fiction, diaries, poems, and didactic tales. Many of these works sought to define the disaster, explain its significance, and to posit connections between the human and natural worlds. Some of these works commented on politics and society in ways that prompted bakufu attempts to control popular readings of the earthquake.

The papers in this panel examine popular media portrayals of the Ansei Edo Earthquake, with comparative perspective from the 1923 Great Kanto Earthquake. The basic pressing question in each earthquake was similar: What is the significance of this event? These three papers examine ways of answering this question from the standpoint of the bakufu, popular writers, and film.

ABSTRACTS

Hidemi SHIGA (Department of Asian Studies, University of British Columbia), "A Time to Ban? A Study of Ansei Edo Earthquake Yomiuri and the Response of the Tokugawa Government"

Soon after a huge earthquake struck Edo (now Tokyo) on the second day of the tenth month of the second year of Ansei (November 11, 1855 in the western calendar), large numbers of yomiuri (a type of print-block newspaper) were published despite government regulations forbidding their release. Survivors of the earthquake disaster received the yomiuri as useful disaster reports and as media to share and communicate their feelings of anger and sadness for their losses. Aware of the illegal publications on the earthquake, the Tokugawa government did not take action—in the form of banning the publications and destroying the print blocks—for two months. The government could have taken action earlier if their intent was to control the illegal actions of the publishers. In this paper, using the Ansei Edo earthquake yomiuri, I explore the reasons for the delayed response of the Tokugawa government and the issues that they could not tolerate.

Gregory SMITS, (Department of History, Pennsylvania State University), "Authentic Lessons from Ansei Edo Earthquake"

The opening sentences of the 1856 Ansei Kenmonroku explain that "Amidst the emotions of joy and anger, sorrow and elation, people's thinking is apt to become disordered and they lose their ordinary states of mind. By constantly being thoughtful and aware, even at times of extreme danger or ill fortune, we will be able to act without forgetting our social obligations. Thus we present here exemplary tales that even women and children will be able to understand." What follows are 17 episodes, ten of which are morality tales and 7 explanations of natural phenomena. Published the same year, the Ansei Kenmonshi discusses 30 episodes, 24 of which are human interest tales. The Kenmonshi seeks to create a sense of on-the-scene reality among readers and claims to have been compiled within three days following the main shock. This paper examines representations of the 1855 Ansei Edo Earthquake in popular literature and strategies for imparting meaning and a longer-term significance to the event.

Alex BATES, (East Asian Studies, Dickinson College), "Melodrama and Authenticity in Post Quake Cinema"

Melodrama is an apt genre for disaster narratives: the suffering is spectacular, the cause external and the pathos palpable. Melodramatic elements often appear in the texts that dealt with the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923, and especially in the fiction films. About ten fictional films were made with the earthquake as a major plot event by the end of 1923, though none have survived the eighty-five years since. Though these films have been summarily dismissed by critic Hazumi Tsu-
neo as "uniformly bad," their interest lies not in the quality of the filming (no longer ascertainable), but in the way they were tied to other discourses of the disaster.

In this paper I examine the earthquake melodrama, Facing Death (Shi ni menshite) through reviews, stills, stories, and plot summaries. These external paratexts show how this film, like others, was tied to the "true" melodramatic stories that were circulating at the time. This connection is deployed to lend an aura of authenticity to the film, an authenticity that is reinforced by stories about the actors actual earthquake experiences in contemporary fan magazines. Facing Death shows how an attempt by a studio to assert a real connection to the disaster to differentiate itself from the others, resulting in what was advertised by contemporary critic Itami Saburo as not just a film, but "a living memory of the quake."

Discussant:
Gerald FIGAL, Vanderbilt University
Sound and Sense: Chōka Theory and Nativist Philology in Early Modern Japan and Beyond

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Poetry simply must attempt to elevate its arbitrary signs to the status of natural signs; only in this way does it differentiate itself from prose and become poetry.

[Die Poesie muß schlechterdings ihre willkürlichen Zeichen zu natürlichen zu erheben suchen; und nur dadurch unterscheidet sie sich von der Prosa, und wird Poesie.]

Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781)

By the end of the Heian period (794–1185), waka poetics had already achieved a high degree of sophistication with various schools whose arguments demonstrated carefully honed sensibilities in matters of diction and association of imagery. Such works as Fujiwara no Shunzei’s 藤原俊成 (1114–1204) Korai fūtei shō 古来風躰抄 can even claim a well-developed periodization and sense of history. One thing conspicuously absent from most early poetics, however, is the question of how a verse should sound. Although the fixed syllabic prosody did produce a sort of rhythm, “alliteration, consonance, and assonance [which] are found in the earliest Japanese songs and were used by poets of all periods … never became obligatory in any poetic form, nor were any rules ever formulated governing their use.”


pitch stress, one of the salient features of Japanese phonetics, ever play a role in traditional schemes of versification. This relative disregard becomes all the more conspicuous when one considers that twenty-four centuries ago, Aristotle had already articulated a fairly complex prosody, and that in fifth-century China such theoreticians as Shen Yue 沈約 (441–513) had established rules for the rhyme schemes, tone patterns, and caesurae of what came to known as “regulated verse” (lüshi 律詩).

In terms of practice, certainly no previous age was richer in auditory imagery than the early modern period, and this has been noted by many careful readers and commentators. ³ In spite of the proliferation of such imagery and techniques, attempts to codify them or even to describe the phenomenon on any level were a relatively late development and, it could be argued, one that remained incomplete. When concern with sound finally did enter poetics in the early modern period, it did so with imprecise taxonomies, using terms and concepts that often conflated rhythm of sound and rhythm of sense, responses corresponding roughly to what Roland Barthes described as “hearing [as] a physiological phenomenon” contrasted with “listening [as] a psychological act.” ⁴ The frequently resulting ambiguity complicates attempts at analysis.

One such imprecise taxonomy, used by poets and theorists in a wide spectrum of schools, is shirabe (tone, tuning), a word originally employed to describe musical effects and therefore indisputably laden with auditory associations. Various theories of shirabe proliferated beginning in the latter part of the eighteenth century, most addressing waka in general or tanka in particular. In the second year of Meiwa (1765), the nativist Kamo


no Mabuchi 香川景樹 (1697–1769) authored a
concise introduction to the art of waka entitled
Niimanabi にひまなび, which opens with: “In
ancient poems, tuning (shirabe) was the main con-
cern, because [the verses] were sung.” In his cri-
tique of Mabuchi, the non-nativist Kagawa Kageki
香川景樹 (1768–1843) took the concept of
shirabe in a more abstract direction when he wrote
that “poetry that arises from … sincerity of feeling
is an expression of the tuning (shirabe) of the uni-
verse and … the objects of such poetry cannot fail
to resonate in response.”6 Mabuchi’s pronounce-
ment marks a new direction in kokugaku thought:
a quest to recover lost, primeval sounds and har-
monies. On the other hand, for those in Kageki’s
school, the Keien-ha 桂園派, shirabe straddled
the entire spectrum between sound and sense, and
was not something that had ever been lost.7

In addition to shirabe, one of the most impor-
tant terms describing the accord between sense
and sound is kaku 格, a word borrowed from Chi-
nese poetics where it refers to established “types”
or “poetic frameworks.”8 Kaku had been impor-
tant in kanshi poetics in Japan as well, having ap-
peared as early as Kūkai’s Bunkyō hifuron 文鏡秘
府論 (820), but although other concepts from
Chinese theory were adapted to teachings on na-
tive poetry, kaku did not appear in waka poetics
until the latter part of the Tokugawa period, where
it is especially common in nativist treatments of
chōka.9 Moreover, the “types” and categories de-
scribed in chōka poetics are often evaluated in
terms of the resulting harmony of sense and sound.
The link between kaku and auditory effects is par-
ticularly evident when writers describe the kaku-
chō 格調, or “tone,” of a verse; it is here that kaku,
though a term of ancient Chinese provenance, as-
sumed some of the semantic burden of shirabe.
Relatively more important in chōka poetics than
shirabe, kaku will be described throughout this
study.

As Susan Blakely Klein has ably demonstrated,
belief in “the essential underlying unity of lan-
guage and reality” remained very much alive in
certain quarters throughout the medieval period.10
Such ideas, however, became pronounced in poet-
ics only in the early modern period. In general, an
emerging preoccupation with auditory effects was
manifest in sundry theories and among various
schools, and was arguably one aspect of a growing
general consciousness of the presumably unique
qualities of the native language. Over the course
of the eighteenth century, a reciprocal—one would
be tempted to say “symbiotic”—relationship grew
between poetics and the emerging study of histori-
cal linguistics; there were few works on etymol-
ogy—or even on grammar and syntax—that were
not somehow related to poetry and poetics, and as
the present study illustrates, the connection was by
no means unilateral. Significantly, this marriage of

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5 From Niimanabi, in Nihon kagaku taikei (hereafter NKT), ed. Sasaki Nobutsuna, vol. 7
6 From Niimanabi iken, in NKT8:216.
7 Some of Kageki’s pronouncements on the acoustic qualities of the Japanese language sound
very much like the nativists he denounces. For example, in his Kokin wakashū seigi sōron 古今
和歌集正義総論 (NKT 8:226), he links the
sounds of Japanese to the supposed purity of the
native character, which in turn arises from the land
itself:

In the various foreign countries, their vocal
sounds are turbid and impure because they are
born of natures that are turbid and illicit. Their
natures are turbid and illicit because they are
born of water and soil that are turbid and
unclean.

For a general treatment of Kageki’s use of shirabe,
see Roger K. Thomas, The Way of Shikishima:
Waka Theory and Practice in Early Modern Japan
(Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America,
2008), 114–117.

8 John Timothy Wixted renders the term thus in
his translation of Yoshikawa Kōjirō, Five

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Hundred Years of Chinese Poetry, 1150–1650: The Chin, Yuan, and Ming Dynasties (Princeton:
9 Hisamatsu Sen’ichi, “Kakaku gaisetsu,” in Tanka
kōza, ed. Yamamoto Mitsuo, vol. 9 (Tokyo:
Kaizōsha, 1932), p. 50.
10 Susan Blakely Klein, Allegories of Desire: Esoteric Literary Commentaries of Medieval Japan (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University
Asia Center, 2002), 18–19.
poetics and linguistics was consecrated for the most part by nativists; the fascination with the supposedly unique acoustic characteristics of the Japanese language was part of their broader quest to rediscover a verbal realm whose purity and freedom from foreign taint was worthy of the “lofty and upright heart (takaku naoki kokoro)” that was thought to characterize the people of ancient Japan.\textsuperscript{11}

I. The Quest for Kotodama

H.D. Harootunian has described what he calls “the sovereignty of sound” in nativist thought of the early modern period, citing numerous examples both of the pride of place accorded by prominent kokugakusha to the acoustic qualities of the Japanese language, and of their denigration of the written word as having distorted the purity of the Yamato tongue.\textsuperscript{12} But what gave rise to this “sovereignty of sound”? This study will suggest some different avenues in addition to those proposed by Harootunian.

It may strike one as odd that a founding figure of the nativist movement—an intellectual current that eschewed foreign systems of thought—should be the Shingon priest, Keichū 契沖 (1640–1701). But it is perhaps not so strange after when one considers that his sect bore Kūkai’s 空海 (774–835) legacy of mantras, dharanis, “seed” syllables, and ideas roughly corresponding to modern notions of “sound symbolism,” or phonosemantics.\textsuperscript{13} Keichū’s contributions to recovering lost meanings in the Man’yōshū were accompanied by a drive to reconstruct the sounds of the ancient language. The publication in 1695 of his Waji shōran 和字正濫鈔, in which he demonstrates the incompatibility of contemporaneous theories of kana with the phonetic conventions of Nara-period writing, sparked scholarly interest in the sounds of early Japanese. As Kuginuki Tōru has cogently argued, it was with Keichū’s work that the study of kana moved beyond the prescriptive approach that had prevailed since Fujiwara no Teika 藤原定家 (1162–1241), introducing not only a systematic methodology of historical inquiry but also reasoned speculation about how the ancient phonemes might actually have sounded.\textsuperscript{14} In this same work, Keichū also speaks of kotodama 言霊, or “word spirit,” defining it as “a miraculous virtue (reigen 霊験) that follows blessing or cursing according to will.”\textsuperscript{15}

Figure 1. From Waji shōran shō.\textsuperscript{16}

It was over the century following Keichū’s death—a century during which, according to Naoki Sakai, “a typically phonocentric view of language developed”\textsuperscript{17}—that attempts to recon-

\textsuperscript{11} This characterization of the ancient Japanese is seen in Kamo no Mabuchi, Niimanabi, in NKT 7:219.


\textsuperscript{14} See Kuginuki Tōru, Kinsei kanazukairon no kenkyū: gojūonzu to kodai Nihongo onsei no hakken (Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai, 2007), especially 47–63.

\textsuperscript{15} Cited in Toyoda Kunio, Nihonjin no kotodama shisō (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1980), 185.

\textsuperscript{16} Reproduced in Kuginuki, 55.

struct the sounds of the ancient tongue were carried out in earnest. Analysis of the sounds of early Japanese reached a methodological high point in Motoori Norinaga’s 本居宣長 (1730–1801) Kotoba no tama no o 詞の玉緒 (1785), Kanji san’ôn kô 漢字三音考 (1785), and Mojigoe no kanazukai 字音仮字用格 (1776), in which he attempts to characterize the auditory qualities of the Japanese Ursprache. In the second of these, he argues that attempts to imitate the sounds of continental speech when Chinese ideographs were introduced had distorted the original phonemes. His argument in the third of these works that the “ya” and “wa” lines each anciently included five distinct sounds drew much commentary and criticism. Norinaga’s preoccupation with the sounds of ancient Japanese is also evident in his famous argument with Ueda Akinari 上田秋成 (1758–1813) as recorded in Kakaika 呵刈葭 (1786), where Norinaga insists that the syllabic “n” (ん) and voiceless labials (handakuon 半濁音) not only were non-existent in the archaic tongue, but that their presence in the modern language bespeaks degeneration rather than mere change. The worldview of an idealized remote past and its subsequent degradation echoed through much of the research on historical phonology of the early modern period.

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18 See Harootunian’s treatment of this source, 56–62.
20 This exchange is discussed in Kawamura Minato, Kotodama to takai (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2002), pp. 7–13. Kuginuki (pp. 157–174) maintains, however, that in spite of the fame of the Kakaika controversy, in terms of its intellectual content it pales in comparison to the debates spawned by one of the chapters of Norinaga’s Mojigoe no kanazukai.
21 Not unlike other areas of investigation, after Norinaga’s generation studies of ancient phonetics tended away from empiricism and toward a quasi-mystical and essentialist cultural nationalism, including an ever-increasing confluence of phonology and cosmology. As an outgrowth of their exegetical tradition of the Man’yōshū, nativists came to be fascinated with the belief that purportedly obtained among the ancient Japanese that sincere poetic utterance possessed an incantatory or mantric quality that could affect physical reality, that poetic benedictions or maledictions could bring things to pass. Scores of treatises appeared drawing on kotodama and related concepts. Toyoda Kunio notes that in the half century following Bunsei 1 (1818), no fewer than fifty titles beginning with the word kotodama appear in Kokusho sōmokuroku 国書総目録, a number which of course does not include countless other works treating the ancient belief in word spirit.
22 An exhaustive analysis of these is impossible here, but a few are worthy of special mention. Hi-rata Atsutane 平田篤胤 (1776–1843), in his Ko-shi honjikyō 古史本辞経 (1839), argues that

21 The original is in the Norinaga Kinenkan www.norinagakinenkan.com/norinaga.html.
22 Toyoda Kunio, p. 182.
“since [Japan] is the original parent country (oyaguni 祖国) of all others, it is only natural that all things [here] … should be superior,” and that it is a land blessed by kotodama. He continues by maintaining that “since the oracles of the parent deities who reside in the High Plain of Heaven have been handed down [there] for countless ages, it is likewise a land where the Way of speech and language (koe-hibiki-koto no michi 音韻言語の道) is correct, propitious, complete (tarai-totonoeru 足ひ調へる), and superior to that of every other land.” Atsutane laments the pollutions that have crept into the native language as a result of foreign influence. The beauty of the ancient tongue was its simplicity; there were “only the fifty unvoiced sounds (清音) and an additional twenty that are voiced. But isn’t it marvelous that with those few sounds we can form the myriad words, with no lack?”

Similarly, Tachibana Moribe’s 橘守部 (1781–1849) Gojūon shōsetsu 五十音小説 (1842) claims that “these fifty syllables were not created by anyone,” but rather “are something spontaneously transmitted from the beginning of the age of the gods,” and “the full range of all things in heaven and earth find voice therein.” Moreover, “the source of that which from antiquity has been called kotodama is none other than the fifty syllables.” They are not only of pure language, but are the basis of linguistic study in general; while some have linked their conception to the sounds of Sanskrit, “in reality they should be called kotodama [itself], and there is no [true] study of language that does not proceed thence.” These works, and many like them, posit mystical origins and properties of the sounds of ancient Japanese.

For modern scholars, both the extent and the precise nature of ancient kotodama belief have remained somewhat elusive, and it is often difficult to ascertain the degree to which descriptions of it in standard histories might in fact owe to later (especially early modern) constructs.Appearances of the word in early sources are surprisingly few; most famously it is mentioned in the lines in Yamane no Okura’s 山上憶良 (660–733?) chōka (MYS #898):

...kamiyo yori / itsute kuraku / soramitsu / Yamato no kuni wa / sumekami no / itsushiki kuni / kotodama no / sakivau kuni to...  
...from the age of the gods / it has been told and retold / that the sky-vast / land of Yamato / is an august land, / its rulers of divine descent, / a land blessed / by word spirit …

For Bakumatsu theorists, however, the ubiquity of kotodama belief in ancient Japan was taken for granted, its effects claimed to be observable in an ever-broadening array of phenomena.

Its link to euphony is perhaps best illustrated by Kamochi Masazumi 鹿持雅澄 (1791–1858) who, in his Kotodama no sakiwai 言霊徳用, articulated a theory of word spirit based on the supposedly unique sounds of ancient Japanese speech. Masazumi defines kotodama as “the mysterious spirit (kushibi naru tamashii 霊異なる神魂) present of its own accord in human language.” But it is not present in just any human language, as his analysis makes clear, and the most important condition for its presence is based on phonetic qualities.

Significantly, the loss of proper sounds was preceded by the loss of proper sense. Masazumi notes that, although “in the final analysis, there is nothing between heaven and earth excluded from the salutary (sakivai-tasakuru) [force of] kotodama,” yet “during the middle [i.e., Heian] period, teachings of the sages of alien lands came to be practiced, and for everything under heaven, reason became the means and rhetoric the end.”

minds were eventually swayed, “and over the years the noble, mysterious, and subtle principle of kotodama came to be buried.”

However, with the revival of ancient learning, “the kotodama that had lain buried for hundreds of years” began to reappear, and especially with the restoration of imperial rule, “the correct and felicitous sounds of human speech, far superior to what is found in other countries,” was also revived.

What exactly was superior about ancient Japanese speech? According to Masazumi, “in the chirping sounds of foreign tongues there are many turbid [i.e. voiced] sounds,” which are “utterly loathsome, like the sounds of birds, insects, or [inanimate] vessels.” Though he recognizes the voiced syllables of the ka, sa, ta, and ha lines, yet he maintains that “in the ancient language of our country, few syllables were voiced.” Voicing occurred mainly in the second element of compounds, or sometimes in the second or third syllable of a word (like nagai), but never at the beginning, the “voicing of initial syllables [being] a vulgar practice of later ages.” Moreover, he claims that this practice came about through imitation of foreign words. “Since all things are pure (kiyora), so should the human voice also be pure,” and this of course refers to unvoiced, or “pure,” sounds (seion 清音).

For Masazumi, “the fact that [Japan] is both the center and the head of all nations—that in all things … it is more propitious and splendid than all other lands—is a subtle manifestation of kotodama.” Though the link to poetry is only implied in Masazumi’s treatise, surely there could be no more radical statement of the importance of how language sounds. Such theories had their genesis in a nativist fantasy of an antiquity free from foreign influence.

The Zeitgeist was also manifest in ideas about recording language. From as early as the invention of kana in the ninth century, Japanese had reached a compromise between ideographic and phonetic approaches to writing, and though the former of course prevailed in kanbun and the latter in early monogatari, as Naoki Sakai points out, “neither purely ideographic nor purely phonetic inscription dominated the production of intellectual, literary, and legal discourse.” Most texts had reconciled the two principles. Only in the early modern period—and especially the eighteenth century—“did the total rejection of ideography and the adoption of ‘pure’ phoneticism arise as a major intellectual concern.” According to many nativists, not only had the foreign ideographs acted as pathogens bearing diseases of intellect, but they had also distorted the ancient sounds and added a layer of obfuscating mediation between the mind of the ancient and contemporary understanding.

II. “Poetic Frameworks” and Harmonizing of Sound and Sense

The amplified attention to auditory imagery and rhythmic qualities, as well as the phonocentric tendencies marking much nativist writing on lan-

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28 Kamochi, Kotodama no sakiwai, 1r.
29 Kamochi, Kotodama no sakiwai, 2r–2v.
30 Kamochi, Kotodama no sakiwai, 12v.–13r.
31 Kamochi, Kotodama no sakiwai, 3r–4v.
32 Kamochi, Kotodama no sakiwai, 5r.
33 Kamochi, Kotodama no sakiwai, 9r.
34 Sakai, p. 252.
Mabuchi analyzes chōka poetry, which came to be closely associated with chōka poetry. While never departing entirely from its original meaning of “types” or “poetic frameworks,” in chōka poetry the term is extended to description of ancient techniques of rhythm, euphony, and even musicality.

Mabuchi, who more than anyone else added momentum to the fledgling revival of chōka composition, also wrote what could be seen as the first attempt at poetics for that genre. In his Agatai susamigusa あがたゐすさみぐさ (published posthumously in 1796), he critiques several verses of chōka using categories that later theorists would also adopt and would call kaku.\(^{35}\) Chōka poetry was developed by three major theorists over the first half of the nineteenth century. Their contributions will be examined in turn.

**Oguni Shigetoshi**

The first serious attempt to describe poetic frameworks in chōka poetry is seen in Oguni Shigetoshi’s 小国重年 (1766–1819) Chōka Kotoba no Tamaginu 長歌詞珠衣 (1801). Shigetoshi, originally surnamed Suzuki, was born to a family holding the hereditary headship of the Oguni Shrine in Tōtōmi province 近江国 (present-day Shizuoka prefecture).\(^{36}\) Aspiring to deepen his knowledge of kokugaku, in the third year of Tenmei (1783) he began to receive instruction from Uchiyama Matatsu 内山真竜 (1740–1821), and three years later accompanied Matatsu on a journey to Izumo in order to visit sites mentioned in the Izumo Fudoki 出雲風土記 and ascertain the historical veracity of that record. The trip stimulated Shigetoshi’s desire for further study, and he began to examine such texts as Kojikiden 古事記 and Tamakushige 玉くしげ. Soon thereafter he formally became a disciple of Norinaga, most of whose instruction was conducted through correspondence, although Shigetoshi apparently also made some trips to Matsusaka. In addition, he also corresponded or associated with numerous other important kokugakusha, most notably Hirata Atsutane. In Kansei 5 (1793), at the age of twenty-eight, Shigetoshi inherited the headship of the Oguni Shrine with its stipend of 590 koku.

Shigetoshi authored numerous works on kokugaku and Shinto doctrine; however, he is best remembered now for Chōka Kotoba no Tamaginu, which established a methodology followed by subsequent studies in poetic frameworks. Its preface consists of Shigetoshi’s own chōka expressing its purpose and including a lamentation:

\[
\text{…Kara no kuni yori /} \text{kusagusa no /} \hfill \\
\text{fumi chū mono no /} \text{watarikite /} \hfill \\
\text{so o yominarai /} \text{hito mina no /} \text{uketōtomite /} \hfill \\
\text{hatehate wa /} \text{sono fumi goto ni /} \hfill \\
\text{tsukigusa no /} \text{kokoro utsurite…} \hfill \\
\text{…from the land of China were imported various things known as books,} \hfill \\
\text{and steeped in their lore, all receive them} \hfill \\
\text{with reverence, in the end fickle} \hfill \\
\text{hearts shifting to them completely…} \hfill 
\]

Though many have attempted to imitate the ancient style of poetry, they fail to understand the proper frameworks, and the result is confusion. To remedy this, Shigetoshi wrote the treatise “as a guide for learning the [ancient] language” (koto no ha o / manabu shirube to) in composing chōka.\(^{37}\) These thoughts are repeated at the beginning of the essay itself, whose very possibility is credited to the foundation laid by Norinaga.\(^{38}\)

Shigetoshi notes that “in the configuration of sequencing (tsuzukuru sama) in chōka, there are various patterns (aya),” and that even when “people who think [their own compositions] good analyze them somewhat, they are not without errors in

\(^{35}\) Mabuchi analyzes chōka in terms of “sequencing of words” (kotoba no tsuzuki) and various types of antithetical couples. See Agatai susamigusa, in Zōho Kamo no Mabuchiizenshi, ed. Sasaki Nobutsuna, vol. 12 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1932), pp. 257, 279.

\(^{36}\) This biographical sketch is indebted to Shiozawa Shigeyoshi, Kokugakusha Oguni Shigetoshi no kenkyū (Shizuoka: Hagoromo Shuppan, 2001).


\(^{38}\) From Chōka Kotoba no Tamaginu, p. 26. Shiozawa notes (p. 67) that Shigetoshi’s work was especially influenced by Norinaga’s Kotoba no tamao 詞の緒 and Tama arare 玉あられ.
set frameworks (定格, glossed sadamari)"; thus, “it is for the detailed elucidation of these frameworks that [he] wrote this book.”³⁹ Chôka kotoba no tamaginu categorizes all 344 verses of chôka in the Kojiki, the Nihon shoki, and the Man yôshû according to two criteria: length and the types of antithetical phrases (tsuiku) used. For Shigetoshi, the length of a verse is an important factor in determining its optimal frameworks, and he proceeds from a broad categorization: “those consisting of seven to fifteen lines are small chôka (shô-chôka 小長歌), those ranging from sixteen to fifty lines are medium chôka (chû-chôka 中長歌), and those consisting of fifty-one or more lines are all determined to be large chôka (dai-chôka 大長歌), for apart from these three categories it is difficult to demonstrate the merits of verses.”⁴⁰ Each consecutive chapter is subdivided according to these three “types.”

The analysis becomes more complex in its treatment of antithetical phrases, which are categorized ranging from single-phrase pairings (ikkusui 一句對, antithetical or contrasting images paired within one line of verse) to complex arrangements of four or more sequential antitheses, examples of which may be found in Appendix I. While most of Shigetoshi’s frameworks appear to be more focused on rhythm of sense than of sound, others are specifically auditory. One is the use of reduplicated words and phrases (kasanekotoba 重ね詞), such as are seen in MYS #199 (tsuyujimo no kenaba kenu bekusa “like dew or frost, resigned to die if they must”) … samoraedo samoraikanete “though they would serve him, yet are they un-able” … Kudara no hara ni [yu] kami-hafuri hafurimashite asa-mo-yoshi Kinoe no miva o toko miva “in [from] the plains of Kudara he is in-terred as a god, his everlasting shrine at Kinoe pal-ace, famed for hempo garments”).⁴¹

It is worthy of note that Shigetoshi’s first teacher of kokugaku, Matatsu, authored a work titled Kojiki yôka chû 古事記詠歌詠 (1813) which also addresses poetry in terms of frameworks. Most of Matatsu’s work consists of annotation of words in chôka appearing in the Kojiki, but he implies an essential difference between tanka and chôka (ancient examples of which he regards as songs) when he writes of the verse

*Mitsumitsushi / Kume no kora ga / kakimotov ni ueshi hajikami / kuchi hibika / ware wa wasureji uchiteshi yamanu*

O august / men of Kume— / like the ginger planted by the fence, / piquant in one’s mouth, / I shall never forget [the enemy’s insults]—shall we not attack them?

that “it is the inclusion of these [first] two lines that makes this a song; the remaining five lines are a tanka.”⁴² The implication is that the introductory lines add not only to the sense, but supply euphony and rhythm enough to turn a mere line of verse into song. Elsewhere, Matatsu points out lines that form antithetical pairs, but does not analyze or categorize these. What remains unclear is who influenced whom, since the student’s work appeared earlier and is not only far longer, but much more systematic and detailed. In any case, both Matatsu’s and Shigetoshi’s pioneering work in chôka poetics may be seen as an outgrowth of the Agatai school to which both had connections and whose founder played such a key role in the revival of chôka composition. There can be no doubt, however, that Chôka kotoba no tamaginu was by far the more influential on subsequent studies of poetic frameworks. Its careful methodology drew on the best of the kokugaku tradition, and its emphasis not only on antithetical couplets but on the specific tone or kakuchô produced by their various applications would be advanced by later writers, including Tachibana Moribe.

**Tachibana Moribe**

Moribe was the son of one Iida Chôjûrô Moto- chika 飯田長十郎元親, a village headman in the province of Ise (伊勢国, present-day Mie prefecture). During his lifetime, Moribe at first used the surnames Kitabatake 北畠 and Minamoto 源,

⁴¹ Chôka kotoba no tamaginu, p. 231.
since these appear in the Iida pedigree, but finally settled on Tachibana, his mother’s maiden name, which traced back to the Nara-period poet and statesman Tachibana no Moroe 橘諸兄 (684–757). Moribe, who was seventeen years old when his father died in Kansei 9 (1797), left that same year for Edo to study kokugaku in accord with his late father’s wishes. In Bunka 6 (1809), he settled in Satte 幸手 in the northeast area of present-day Saitama prefecture, where he lived for the next twenty years and where, aside from some tutelage under Shimizu Hamaomi 清水浜臣 (1776–1824), he engaged primarily in independent study and research. It is possible that Moribe’s interest in chōka owed in part to Hamaomi, who was an important leader in the revival of that form.

Figure 4. Tachibana Moribe

Owing in large measure to such popularizers as Hirata Atsutane, the early nineteenth century was a time when kokugaku began to find many devotees among the peasantry and laboring classes, and Moribe soon found many students and patrons among the weavers in the Kiryū 桐生 and Ashi-
kaga 足利 areas. Owing to this base of support he was able to return in Bunsei 12 (1829) to Edo, where he established a school. He was critical of many of the major figures in the kokugaku movement, including Norinaga, and remained aloof from other schools and factions. Nevertheless his work—and especially his poetics—often betrays unmistakable indebtedness to the very people he criticizes.

Moribe’s views on chōka are developed systematically in his Chōka senkaku 長歌撰格, a work composed midway in his career in Bunsei 2 (1819) and apparently circulated among his disciples before finally being printed in Meiji 6 (1873). Like significant works on chōka both before and after, kaku is central to his theory. While matters of poetic frameworks had become a concern in waka poetics in general and chōka poetics in particular, he illustrates the auditory effects of native poetry with unprecedented clarity. Words, which he describes as “the sounds of the heart,” are to be valued for sonorousness as well as for sense.

As Hisamatsu Sen’ichi has noted, Moribe advances two major arguments in Chōka senkaku. The first of these is the claim that, since ancient poems were sung, they cannot be properly understood apart from the structures (kaku) of the music, a claim reflected also in his contributions in research on such song genres as kagura 神楽 and saibara 催馬楽.

A second claim is the indispensability to waka of special language. Moribe compares common language with strumming an untuned koto, while to achieve the aya (文 pattern, design) of the lan-

43 It is difficult to determine exactly what kinds of things Moribe studied under Hamaomi, but the fact that he did seek the latter’s instruction is substantiated in the writings of Chisaka Rensai 千坂廉斎 (d. 1864), one of Hamaomi’s disciples. See Suzuki Eiichi, Tachibana no Moribe, Jinkotsu sōsho 163 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1972), pp. 31–43, 64–68. This biographical sketch is indebted to Suzuki’s work and to Tokuda Susumu, Tachibana Moribe to Nihon bungaku: shin shiryō to sono biron (Tokyo: Asahi Shobō, 1975).
44 Gunma Kenritsu Bunshokan, www.gtoweb.com/native/person5_1.htm. 45 Chōka senkaku opens with the following lines: “Among all living creatures, there is none so noble as human beings, and there is nothing more noble about humans than their heart (kokoro) ... the sound of which is words. Thus, there is nothing in this world more noble than words.” TMZ 11:7; NKTB 9:239.
47 See Moribe’s Kagurauta iriaya 神楽歌入文 (1834) and Saibara-fu iriaya 催馬楽譜入文 (1841) in TMZ 8:1–200.
guage of waka, one needs to tune the strings and play according to rhythm and melody. This comparison is followed by a statement that could have been written by Norinaga himself, where Moribe argues that “waka poetry (uta) is not the same as common language; it should aim to add embellishment (aya) to the words and to make the tone graceful (shirabe no uruwashikaran).” Thus, in Moribe’s poetics, as in Norinaga’s, aya often tends to a meaning close to “embellishment.” As Susan L. Burns has aptly noted, in contrast to Norinaga’s theory of orality, Moribe claimed that such texts as the Kojiki were “transformed by the process of transmission as the people of ancient Japan altered and adapted [them] through the use of metaphor, allegory, and rhetorical embellishment.”

She further notes that, according to Moribe, “speech in ancient times had a performative aspect that was lacking—that had been lost—in later times.” Applied to poetry, this “rhetorical embellishment” is part of the aya which is characteristic of poetic language. Citing the “Jindaiki” from the Nihon shoki, Moribe argues that “the gods love the ornamentation [aya, which is glossed with the characters birei 美麗] of words.” Moreover, “in ancient times when the ornamentation of words (kotoba no aya) was valued, to speak of uta was primarily to speak of chōka.”

Moribe also emphasizes antithetical phrases (tsuku), just as Shigetoshi before him, but with an expanded vision of what these included. Antithesis can, of course, be a matter of form or content. While Shigetoshi limits his treatment for the most part to the former, Moribe addresses both form and content in his analysis.

A strikingly unique aspect of Moribe’s chōka poetics is his linking of chōka and music, in particular gagaku. While the importance of the sound effects of chōka was widely acknowledged, Moribe posited a link with music. In Chōka senkaku, he cites examples of poetry that was indisputably sung, namely saibara and kagura, and maintains that likewise, “ancient chōka generally followed the melodies of gagaku of the period, and were ‘tuned’ in order to be readily sung (jiki ni utau bekku shirabe nashitsureba) ...” When tanka were used in songs, they had to be adapted by repeating or adding lines, but “the phrase types (ku-kaku 旬格) of chōka were directly [related to] the tunes of gagaku.”

Moribe entertained the idea of a link between poetry and music well before writing Chōka senkaku, as is evident in his 1816 treatise on Shinto, Shinpū mondō 神風問答. The question-and-answer format contains much fascinating discussion of waka, including an insistence on its inherent musicality:

In ancient poetry, which was sung, there were necessarily types (kaku). If the poem did not accord well with its types, then it could not be called a true poem ... In attempting to be imbued [with the affection of the ancients], one first of all makes the ancient tuning (shirabe) his master, and composes according to the types (kaku) of a song piece (utaimono).

Even the distinction between chōka and tanka was put in terms of musicality: “Tanka is merely something that expresses purport (tada ishi o noburu made no mono), and when it is sung, a tuning (shirabe) is added separately.” As an illustration of this, Moribe compares the following anonymous verse from the Man'yōshū

Ide a ga koma / hayaku yuki koso / Matsuchiyama / matsuwanuimo o / yuki koe haya mitu
Giddyap, my steed, / hurry, and take me there: / Mount Matsuchi— / I wish to hurry and see / my love, who must be waiting. (MYS #3168)

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50 Ibid., p. 164.
51 TMZ 11:8; NKTB 9:240. For Norinaga’s views on aya, see for example his Ashiwake obune, where he says: “Waka gives pattern (aya) to actual feelings ... it is not entirely without artifice.” NKT 7:280.
52 TMZ 11:9; NKTB 9:241.
54 TMZ 2:401, 402.
with its saibara version

Iide aga koma / hayaku yuki kose / Matsuchi yama / aware / Matsuchiyama hare /
Matsuchiyama / matsuramu hito o / yuki haya / aware / yuki haya mimu
Giddyap, my steed, / hurry and take me there:/ Mount Matsuchi— / ah! / Mount Matsuchi,
oh, / Mount Matsuchi— / she who must be waiting— / I wish to hurry, / ah! / to hurry
and see her.

and concludes: “A thirty-one syllable poem has been turned into fifty-three syllables to accord
with the beat.”\textsuperscript{55} Chōka differs in that the reduplications—unlike those of saibara—are there by
design: “In chōka … there is design (aya) in the
reduplications, which sound indescribably elegan.” Moreover, “this is a superior aspect of
chōka, which is designed to be sung (\textit{uta beku shitatetaru}).”\textsuperscript{56} In the example of saibara—and of
tanka used in song generally—the poetry preceded
the music, but in ancient chōka, this order was reversed.

Moribe attempts to demonstrate the auditory
qualities of ancient chōka through a complex sys-
tem of scansion. While Shigetoshi and others of
his predecessors had placed increasing emphasis
on classification and definition of poetic frame-
works, their paradigms for analyzing verses of
chōka were rudimentary compared to Moribe’s
systematic approach. He identifies thirteen types
of phrases (\textit{ku}) as characteristic of chōka of the
\textit{Man’yōshū}, and assigns to each a peculiar symbol
for use in scansion. Moreover, he insists that

\textit{“these [thirteen] categories all play a part in what
is called ‘pattern’ (aya),”\textsuperscript{57} of which he identifies
four types and likewise assigns a special character
used in scansion. Phrases are the means by which
aya is achieved. Moribe’s scansion symbols, des-
cribed in detail in Appendix II, are illustrated
here in his analysis of lines from MYS #131:

\begin{align*}
\text{ura nashi to} & \quad \text{hito koso mirame} \\
\text{as having no bay} & \quad \text{people may see it as such} \\
\text{shio nashi to} & \quad \text{hito koso mirame} \\
\text{as having no brine} & \quad \text{people may see it as such} \\
\text{yoshi e ya shi} & \quad \text{ura wa nakedomo} \\
\text{I don’t care} & \quad \text{though there be no bay} \\
\text{shio wa nakedomo} & \quad \text{though there be no brine} \\
\text{yoshi e ya shi} & \\
\text{I don’t care} & \\
\text{isanatori} & \quad \text{umibi}^\sim \text{ o sashite …} \\
\text{[toward the]<whale-path> seashore …} \quad & \\
\end{align*}

\textsuperscript{55}TZM 11:11–12; NKTB 9:243–4. The \textit{saibara}
verse also appears in \textit{Kagurauta, saibara, Ryōjin hishō, Kanginshū}, ed. Usuda Jingorō, Shinma
Shin’ichi, Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 25 (To-
kyo: Shōgakukan, 1976), p. 123. Matsuchiyama,
which is employed as a pivot word (\textit{matsu}, “wait”),
is located on the boundary between present-day
Nara and Wakayama Prefectures.

\textsuperscript{56}TZM 11:14–5; NKTB 9:246. Far from seeing
reduplication as tedious in effect, Moribe empha-
sized its artistic potential: “… there are always
many [verses] that repeat the same thing, changing
a few words each time. That sounds especially
elegant … it improves the tone (\textit{shirabe}).” TMZ

\textsuperscript{57}TZM 11:19; NKTB 9:250. Here, Moribe uses the
character \textit{bun} 문화.

\textsuperscript{58}From \textit{Chōka senkaku}, in TMZ 11:24; NKTB
9:254.
One is reminded of John Collins Pope’s insistence on the musicality of Anglo-Saxon poetry, which is clearly suggested by his use of musical notation for scansion of *Beowulf*; in contrast, the direct connection between Moribe’s complex notation and the “musicality”—specifically, the affinity with *gagaku*—which he insists was the essence of ancient chōka, is not immediately evident.

**Mutobe Yoshika**

The third and final important theorist of poetic frameworks in chōka was Mutobe Yoshika 六人部是香 (1798–1863), a kokugakusha best remembered today for his writings on Shinto. Yoshika’s claims regarding the inherent qualities of chōka and the effects of the ancient frameworks that genre used are far less sweeping than those of Moribe, but his theories do not want for the characteristic “nostalgia” of nativist writing.

Yoshika was the son of one Mutobe Tadaatsu 六人部忠篤 (d. 1807), a priest at the Mukō Shrine 向日神社 in the Otokuni district 乙訓郡 of Yamashiro province 山城国 (south of Kyoto). Upon Tadaatsu’s death, his young son was sent to live with Mutobe Tokika 六人部篤香 (d. 1845), Tadaatsu’s younger brother and a noted poet and scholar of Shinto. Under Tokika’s guidance, the boy excelled in study of the Chinese and native classics, and in the sixth year of Bunsei (1823) went to Edo to enter Hirata Atsutane’s school, where he won the confidence and respect of his teacher and peers. After his return, he inherited his father’s former position at the Mukō Shrine and was recognized as a leading figure in the Kansai branch of the Hirata school. His fame was such that he was invited to lecture on Shinto to Emperor Kōmei 孝明天皇 (1831–1866; r. 1847–1866). In his later years, he relinquished his shrine duties to his eldest son Yoshifusa 是房 and, under the sobriquet Suzunoya 嘉興, devoted himself to teaching in a private school of his own founding.

The bulk of Yoshika’s writing is on Shinto, and includes such noted works as *Ken’yū junkō ron* 顕幽順論 (1855–57) and *Ubasunasha kodenshō 産須那社古伝抄* (1857). As Miyagi Kimiko cogently argues, Yoshika’s kokugaku was populist in nature—what is often referred to as *sōmō no kokugaku* 草莽の国学—and in this respect is indebted to Atsutane’s influence. Central to his Shinto theory were two principles governing creation: *ken* 顕, or the bright/revealed/exoteric, personified in Amaterasu and the imperial line, and *yū* 幽, or the dim/hidden/esoteric, represented by Ōkuninushi 大国主 and the Izumo tradition. Shinto also appears to have been the chief focus of instruction in his school, but he also left a number of collections of his own verse as well as influential works on poetics, and was active as a teacher of waka. His most famous poetry student was the nun Ōtagaki Rengetsu 大田垣運月 (1791–1875).

The work for which Yoshika is best known to students of poetry is his *Chōka tamagoto 長歌玉琴* (1861), one of the most systematic treatments of frameworks in that genre. It begins with a historical overview, defining the golden age of chōka as extending from its mythological beginnings—Ōkuninushi’s courtship song addressed to Nunakawa-hime 沼河比売 and her response, as found...

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63 See the opening lines to *Ubasunasha kodenshō*, in *Kokugaku undō no shisō*, ed. Haga Noboru and Matsumoto Sannosuke, Nihon shisō taikei 51 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 1971), p. 224. Similarities to *yin* and *yang* are readily apparent.
64 Rengetsu became his disciple in 1849 and continued to study under him until his death. Twelve of her letters to Yoshika are found in *Zōho Rengetsu-ji zenshū*, ed. Murakami Sōdō (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 1980), 2nd group, pp. 62–71.
in Book One of the *Kojiki*—and continuing until the middle of the ninth century. Ôkuninushi’s and Nunakawa-hime’s verses, “though different from the many poems and poets appearing later in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki,*” nevertheless have the same “tone (kakuchō),” and “it was not until the second year of Kashō 嘉祥 (849) that both the tuning of phrases (kuchō 句調) and the ancient frameworks (kokaku 古格) with their figurative meanings (tengi 転義) and assertions (hanji 判辞) were finally lost” in chōka. These opening lines suggest the overall objective of the work: the definition—and the recovery—of an ancient “tone.”

Yoshika’s allegiances are manifest where he gives credit for the belated revival of chōka to Mabuchi, who “possessed a thorough knowledge of the upright inner mind of the ancients,” and whose “tanka and chōka compositions—though new in content—follow the ancient frameworks and diction,” and who therefore “succeeded for the first time in creating revival poems (fukko no uta 復古の歌) that accord with the ancient style.”

Unfortunately, few of his successors “arrange the couplets or employ figurative meanings (tengi) and assertions (hanji) to follow the ancient frameworks.”

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66 Citations from *Chōka tamagoto* are from a manuscript held in the National Diet Library. The manuscript is a copy, made in 1884 by Oda Kiyoo 小田清雄 and based on Yoshika’s own version, dated the twenty-third day of the tenth month, Bunkyū 1 (1861). The passage cited here is on 4r–4v. The significance of 849 is the composition of a very long chōka (at 306 lines longer than any in the *Man’yōshū*) by an unnamed priest at Kōfukuji 興福寺 to commemorate imperial gifts received during that year. It appears in *Shoku Nihon koki 続日本後紀*. See *Zōho Rikkokushi*, ed. Saeki Ariyoshi, Vol. 7 (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1940), pp. 362–365.

67 *Chōka tamagoto*, 9r–9v.

68 *Chōka tamagoto*, 11r.

In matters of diction, Yoshika develops an argument differing markedly from that of many of his spiritual forebears in the kokugaku movement. He insists, for example, that “since no matter how one attempts to imitate the ancient style, a verse composed in the present age will of course be a product of the present age, and the spirit of each verse must be new.” It follows that “using only ancient diction in composition is a deviation (henpeki 偏僻) which rather detracts from the ancient style. Thus, one should not adhere too fastidiously to old or new diction.” That is to say, mixing words of various vintages has little to do with success or failure in achieving the ancient style, which depends for its effectiveness on other things. At this point, Yoshika’s arguments call to mind Norinaga, who “composed equally in the ancient style and later style,” and who reminded his students that they “may believe that [their] poem is in the ancient style, but it tends to contain expressions and words of the later periods.” Indeed, Yoshika makes his familiarity with Norinaga’s ideas evident two pages later where he writes that “Master Suzunoya’s [i.e., Norinaga’s] theories establish a distinction between old and new diction, defining for both tanka and chōka those using ancient words as being in the ancient style, while those using later diction are of the new tuning (shinchō 新調).” Moreover, Norinaga “observed this distinction in his own compositions, as did Master Fujinokakitsu 藤垣內翁 (i.e., Motoori Ōhira 本居大平 1756–1833).” The second generation of Norinaga’s disciples, however, “compose chōka which they claim to be in the ancient style, yet none accord with the ancient tuning (nishie no kakuchō).”

Yoshika’s analysis then turns back to antiquity. He claims that the greatness of the *Man’yōshū* owes to its chōka to a much greater extent than to
its tanka, and that the brilliance of two of its greatest stars, Hitomaro and Akahito, is displayed “only in their chōka, the tanka of these two being only of average quality.”

Five basic frameworks are defined, and referred to collectively as the “constant frameworks” (jōkaku 常格). Each of these five is given names which Yoshika admits are of his own invention and for which he provides no concrete definitions. Their meanings must thus be inferred from his use of them in illustrations. The five are: Introduction (joji 序辞), in one place glossed as hashigaki where referring to the headnote of a tanka, thus implying a similar function; Proposition (hokki 発起), which frames the imagery; Statement of significance (jutsugi 述義); Assertion (hanji 判辞), though the characters imply “judgment,” the examples suggest something broader, including statement of intention or resolution; Harmonizing conclusion (kekkai 結諧), the second character implying harmonious resolution. Several examples are given of how these frameworks apply to ancient verse, the most concise being Akahito’s MYS #320 (see Appendix III). Yoshika then notes that Akahito—obviously one of his favorites—rarely departs from this order of frameworks, but Hitomaro and others, “while adhering to these constant frameworks,” often employ variations in ordering and combinations in order to achieve special effects.

In addition to these five frameworks, Yoshika’s poetics also describes principles in the use and arrangement of lines and couplets. Two that appear to be of particular importance to him are recapitulation, or “accord between beginning and end” (shubi no shōō 首尾の照応) and rhetorical breaks, or “phrase caesuras” (danraku 段落).

Where the beginning and end are in accordance, in some cases “the final line returns to the words used at the beginning, in some verses accord is reached by implying the [same] meaning, while others both begin and end with a couplet.” This principle is illustrated with Emperor Jomei’s 舒明天皇 (593–641; r. 629–641) verse, MYS #2, which begins

*Yamato ni wa*  Many are the mountains
*murayama aredo*  of Yamato

and ends

*Akitsushima*  this dragonfly island,
*Yamato no kuni wa*  the land of Yamato.

Also, the longer a chōka is, the more rhetorical breaks it needs to employ, and these “breaks are

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72 *Chōka tamagoto*, 18v–19v. Yoshika further claims (36v) that the chōka elegies of the *Man’yōshū* achieve a far greater depth of real feeling than the tanka verses of grief (*aishō no uta*) of the *Kokinshū* and later collections.

73 *Chōka tamagoto*, 24v–25r.


75 *Chōka tamagoto*, 38v.
necessary where [the poem] shifts to figurative meanings.”76 Hitomaro’s verse, MYS #196, is used to illustrate rhetorical breaks, the first occurring after the lengthy introduction (joji):

Tobu tori no Asuka no kawa no
The river of bird-ascending Asuka:
kami-tsu-se ni iwahashi watashi
over the upper rapids they have built a bridge of stone,
shimo-tsu-se ni uchihashi watashi
over the lower rapids they have built a crude bridge of wood—

 iwahashi ni oinabikeru
 trailing the bridge of stone
 tamamo mo zo tayureba ouru
 glistening seaweed grows back even if pulled off
 uchihashi ni oi-ōreru
 covering the crude bridge of wood
 kawamo mo zo karubea oyuru ＼ the waterweed grows back even if wilted77

III. “Five-Seven” versus “Seven-Five”

An important point upon which these three agree—one which would have important implications for later generations of poets and theorists—is the relative value of the so-called “five-seven mode” (goshichichō 五七調) and “seven-five mode” (shichigochō), the former referring to phrasing beginning with five-syllable lines while phrases of the latter begin with seven-syllable lines.81 In the five lines of a verse of tanka, for example, conceptual breaks occur after the second and fourth lines in five-seven mode, resulting in five-seven phrases. It is typical of the Man’yōshū, and many commentators in the early modern period claim that it is masuraoburi, or masculine. Seven-five mode breaks a verse of tanka after the

Figure 7. From Chōka tamagoto.78

76 Chōka tamagoto, 45v.
77 Chōka tamagoto, 46r.
78 Chōka tamagoto, 46r.
first and third lines, yielding seven-five phrases. It is characteristic of the Kokinshū, and has been described as taoyameburī, or feminine.

Aside from the three treated in detail here, nearly all of the theorists of kaku in the early modern period agree that the shift from five-seven to seven-five mode was a sign of degeneracy in waka poetry. Though Shigetoshi does not address this issue in specific terms, his preference is obvious in his examples of tsuiku, all of which are of five-seven phrasing. Moribe is more direct in his criticism of the few chōka in the Kokinshū whose degeneracy is marked by seven-five phrases. For example, in his comments on a chōka (KKS #1003) by Mibu no Tadamine 壬生忠岑 (d. 965?), Moribe cites the following lines:

haru wa kasumi ni / tanabikare
natsu wa utsusemi / nakikurashi
aki wa shigure ni / sode o kashi
fyuwa shimo ni zo / semeraru

in spring [my spirits] are drawn thin as the mists,
in summer I spend my days crying like the cicada,
in autumn I lend my sleeves to the passing shower,
and in winter I am assailed by the frost

He argues that while “these sound like couplets (tsuiku), yet they place seven syllables ahead of five,” a practice foreign to the ancient age, whose five-seven phrases “were both elegant in tone and powerful (ikioi ari).”

Moribe rejects Norinaga’s argument that, since “there are five-syllable lines with either four or six syllables, and seven-syllable lines with either six or eight syllables,” the seven-five mode is really no different from a five-seven verse with extra (ji-tarazu) syllables. Moribe cites examples of archaic verse with short lines, demonstrating that, even in those cases, the shorter line precedes the longer one.

An interesting parallel to Moribe’s views—possibly influenced by the same sources—is seen in Hoida Tadatomo’s 穂井田忠友 (1792–1847) afterword to Kondō Yoshiki’s 近藤芳樹 (1801–1880) Kofū santai kō 古風三年考 (1835). Hoida notes that, though many of his contemporaries derided the seven-five sequencing, he had “yet to hear an explanation of the origin of this practice,” and so he proceeds to offer one of his own. His speculation begins with a reference to the many Chinese who were naturalized in Japan during the Nara period, an important legacy of whom was the music of the Tang dynasty. It proved so popular that “everyone picked up on it, and as time passed and the new capital [i.e., Heian] was built, the noble became very fond of the Chinese style in music,” from their childhood becoming “accustomed to the tuning of Etenraku,” and “easily lured by … such strange [poetic] modes as:

akagariifu na / shiri nar u ko
ware mo me wa ari / saki nar u ko

Don’t step on my chapped feet, child behind me,
I have eyes too, child before me.”

Thus, as he illustrates with this verse of kagura song, it was the introduction of new song styles that led to a change in poetic configurations, that “beginning with the chanted poems and imayō of the middle period [i.e., early Heian] … the seven-five [mode] came to dominate, and so especially when it came to chōka, the configuration was lost until there was no vestige of the ancient style.”

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84 Chōka senkaku, in TMZ 11:50–51; NKTB 9:278. Moribe is referring to Norinaga’s Kojikiden.
The most forthright statement on this matter was made by Yoshika. Speaking of the older anonymous verses of the Kokinshū, most of which were composed during the ninth century, he notes that "for the most part they adhered to the so-called five-seven mode, and something remains of the ancient effect." By the time that antholgy was compiled, however, "not only had all of the ancient frameworks (kokaku) been lost, but the arrangement had shifted to seven-five." Such a configuration adversely affects "even the pattern (aya) of words in chōka," obfuscating "mutual accord (shōō) 照応 between beginning and end." In such poems, "things are just recounted in seven-five mode, purporting to be verse but having little to distinguish from prose ... one tires of hearing it, and it grates on the ears." Throughout his treatise, Yoshika implies that the shift to seven-five accompanied—and even caused—the loss of such important chōka features as antithetical pairings, figurative meanings (tengi), and assertions (hanji).

These views also resonate in the works of Moribe’s and Yoshika’s contemporary, Ban Nobutomo 伴信友 (1773–1846). In his Kana no motsue 仮名の本末 (published posthumously in 1850), Nobutomo, accepting the belief that kana were invented by Kūkai who then “arranged [the forty-seven sounds] into the iroha hymn (sanka 誇歌),” notes that “the phrasing (kuchō) of this hymn begins with seven syllables, alternates seven- and five-syllable lines, and ends with five syllables,” which is "precisely the same versification used in Japanese hymns (wasan 和讃)," Significantly, the versification of wasan was based on that of Sanskrit hymns (bonsan 梵讃), which were widely used in Kūkai’s Shingon sect.

Ban Nobutomo thus presumes to have established the foreign pedigree of seven-five versification, pointing out that “in ancient times there was not a single verse which, like the iroha poem, begins with seven syllables and ends with five,” and argues that even “such rustic verse as imayō (今様), which follow the same pattern as the Japanese hymns,” in fact borrowed this pattern indirectly from a foreign model. He concludes that “such versification did not arise naturally in our imperial realm.” Though Nobutomo does not employ the term kaku, he is in fact addressing the same thing here, and implying that the loss of ancient frameworks was the result of alien influences.

IV. The Legacy of Chōka Poetics and Nativist Philology in Meiji Japan

The growing preoccupation both with auditory and rhythmic qualities of contemporary poetry and with the recovery of the putative primal purity of the sounds of archaic Japanese remained distinct pursuits through the first half of the nineteenth century, but their most striking nexus is in the chōka poetics of the period. If anything, this connection became more apparent in the years following the Meiji Restoration, for though exposure to the example of Western literature had opened up new possibilities for the development of Japanese poetry, this was accompanied by a heightened nationalistic longing to define what was quintessentially Japanese, and objects of this quest included also the acoustic qualities of the language.

It was the appearance in 1882 of a collection of poems in the “new” (i.e., Westernized) style, Shintaishi shō 新体詩抄 (Selection of Poetry in the New Style), that led to a reopening of many of the old debates about rhythm, sound, and prosody, with some of the old players and arguments recast in modern garb. Its compilers and contributors—Toyama Masakazu 外山正一 (1848–1900), Yatabe Ryōkichi 矢田部良吉 (1851–1899), and Inoue Tetsujirō 井上哲次郎 (1855–1944)—experimented with various forms, both in their translations of Western verse and in their original compositions, but the seven-five mode predominated and indeed this became the favored scheme for Meiji-period “new style” poetry generally, in-
cluding such influential collections as Shimazaki Töson's 島崎藤村 (1872–1943) *Wakana shū 若菜集* (*New Sprouts*, 1897).

As Ibi Takashi has pointed out, a consciousness of chōka as a native precedent appears to have been an important factor motivating the creation of *Shintaishi shō* and even of the devices it employs. Ogino Yoshiyuki’s 荻野由之 (1861–1924) commentary in his 1887 essay “Kogoto” 小言 further cemented the conceptual link between the “new style” of poetry and the traditional genre of chōka, sparking a debate which was in many respects a recapitulation of literary skirmishes from the earlier half of the century. This was precipitated when Sasaki Hirotsuna 佐々木弘綱 (1828–1891), a noted poet and scholar, published an essay in 1888 entitled “Chōka kairyōron” (Treatise on the Improvement of Chōka). Though Hirotsuna does not specifically mention *shintaishi* (“new style poetry”), his consciousness of it is evident as he argues that the history of chōka—both its decline in the ninth century and its revival—an essay in 1888 entitled “Chōka kairyōron” (Treatise on the Improvement of Chōka). Though Hirotsuna does not specifically mention *shintaishi* (“new style poetry”), his consciousness of it is evident as he argues that the history of chōka—both its decline in the ninth century and its revival—by nativists in the eighteenth demonstrates the necessity of adaptation, and implies that ancient forms still have this capacity. Importantly for the present discussion, the debate centered largely on “tuning.”

Hirotsuna begins by defining “tuning (shirabe)” as “the setting in order of the voice [i.e., sounds]”; moreover, “the tuning of the voice changes from country to country,” and even “the aspect of tuning (shirabe no sama) shifts with each passing age.” For Hirotsuna, successful “setting in order of the voice” appears to depend largely on the ordering of phrases according to five-seven or seven-five mode, the former having been in common use “until the Nara period” with the latter—which he obviously champions—being in vogue “after Emperor Kanmu [737–806; r. 781–806] moved the capital to Heian [i.e. Kyoto],” and this shift “was only natural because the seven-five mode suited the [sensibilities of the] times.”

Since the shift to seven-five mode had paralleled the decline of chōka over the ninth century, its advocacy in an essay purportedly endorsing “improvement” of that ancient genre may seem odd. His dismissal of the revival of chōka in the eighteenth century is also at first glance puzzling, because his own poetic lineage at least nominally included Mabuchi, whom he faults for “writing chōka imitative of the old style.” Moreover, “just as all dogs start barking when one does, [Mabuchi’s] disciples have turned from seven-five to five-seven mode.” Also confusing is the fact that Hirotsuna proposes *imayo* 今様—a Heian-period song form consisting of four lines in seven-five mode that had likewise enjoyed a revival in the early modern period—as the ideal for a new style of poetry, claiming that it “produces a most elegant tone and deep feeling.” Hirotsuna’s ideas are vigorously though not always intelligently countered by Unagami Tanehira 海上胤平 (1829–1916), a nativist who was best known for his skill with the sword but who had also studied poetry under Kanō Morohira 加納諸平 (1806–1857). Tanehira, demonstrating a fundamental misunderstanding both of the history of chōka and of Hirotsuna’s arguments, maintains that “the five-seven mode has remained unchanged from past to present, and should be understood as the correct framework (seikaku 正格).” Moreover, in an argument redolent of Mabuchi’s notions of *masurao-buri* and *taoyame-buri*, Tanehira claims that “five-seven is a bright (yang 陽) mode, while seven-five is a dark (yin 陰) mode. Five-seven is strong, while seven-five is weak.”

The extent to which this anachronistic squabble had its roots in a previous era becomes obvi-

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90 Ibi Takashi, “Kaigyōron: kinsei chōka to Meiji shintaishi no hazama,” *Bungaku* 3:2 (March/April 2002), p. 108. Ibi notes that it is no coincidence that Ōkuma Bengyoku’s 大熊弁玉 (1818–1880) collection of chōka, *Yuramuro shū* 由良牟呂集, had appeared only three years prior to *Shintaishi shō*. Bengyoku’s chōka were among the first to incorporate modern materials into that ancient form.


93 Unagami, *Chōka kairyōron benbaku*, p. 20.
95 Unagami, *Chōka kairyōron benbaku*, p. 19.
96 Unagami, *Chōka kairyōron benbaku*, p. 48.
ous upon examining the lineage of the respective ideas of its participants. Hirotsuna had studied poetry under Inoue Fumio and was an acknowledged leader in the Edo School of waka, one of whose founders and guiding lights had been Murata Harumi. Though not now usually numbered as a pioneer in the chōka revival, Harumi did advocate a return to that form, maintaining that over the many centuries “the unusual devices and interesting phrases” of tanka “have all been used up,” leaving it “difficult to say anything new ... Only in chōka is one able to turn a phrase that is unusual or novel, and produce work that is not inferior to that of the ancients.”

Now such a pronouncement from most nativists would be a mere commonplace, but Harumi was an arch-heretic as far as that movement was concerned, with his slighting of the Man'yōshū and his assertion that “in both China and Japan, poetry is exactly the same thing.” More important is his contention that “people of the present age should focus their studies on the Kokinshū,” an anthology that received only very qualified endorsement from nativists, that was frequently denounced by them as too “feminine,” and—most importantly for the present discussion—that marked a transition from five-seven to seven-five mode, especially in the composition of chōka.

Hirotsuna’s arguments pick up these two threads in his literary forebear’s thinking and resurrect them as a basis for a “new style” of modern poetry. Tanehira’s views likewise look backward. His own training was under Morohira, whose father Natsume Mikamaro 夏目甕麿 (1773–1822), though a protégé of Norinaga, was an avid scholar of the Man’yōshū and a passionate advocate of its style. The content of Hirotsuna’s and Tanehira’s debate is thus what we might expect if Harumi and Mikamaro had confronted one another on the same issues.

The Chōka kairyōron debate could be dismissed as an aberrant and anachronistic afterclap of early modern controversies were it not for evidence that these ideas maintained partisan followings for decades afterward. Ibi Takashi has described several works from late Meiji through early Shōwa that give evidence of a link between theories of “new style” poetry and chōka poetics, particularly in matters of phrasing.

One striking example of the currency well into the twentieth century of nativist ideology as manifest in chōka poetics is seen in the publication in 1931 of Murayama Morio’s 村山守雄 (1818–1890) Kamukaze no Ise no umi 神風之伊勢の海, a work originally authored in 1880. Murayama, who had served as a nativist scholar in the Tamaru han 田丸 han of Ise Province prior to the Restoration, analyzed every chōka in the Kojiki and Man’yōshū according to eight categories of kaku obviously inspired by those of Moribe, even using scansion symbols. His son, president of the Osaka Asahi Newspaper Company, Murayama Ryōhei 村山龍平 (1850–1933), published his father’s work including two collections—Roen chōkashū 露園長歌集 and Meiji chōkashū 明治長歌集—to which the elder Murayama’s scansion symbols are dutifully applied. Nor is this merely a quaint revival of nineteenth-century concepts of prosody; it links poetics and Shinto cosmology, opening with the pronouncement that “the way of waka is the way of Emperor Jinmu,” thus identifying the art with Japan’s legendary first emperor who was supposed to have reigned some 2,500 years ago. Murayama posits the origin of the Way of Waka in the verse Jinmu composed as he proceeded along the Inland Sea from Kyushu to conquer the land of Yamato:

Kamukaze no / Ise no umi no / oishi ni / haimotōrou / shitadami no / ihaimotōri / uchiteshi yamamu

Over the sea of Ise / where divine winds blow— / like snails / that crawl / on great boulders, / shall we not creep about the enemy / and then strike them?

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97 From Utagatari, in NKT 8:164.
99 From Utagatari, in NKT 8:154.

100 Ibi Takashi, “Kaigyōron,” pp. 112–119.
101 Murayama Morio, Kadō hongi Kamukaze no Ise no umi (Hyōgo-ken Mikage-chō: Murayama
Murayama, who elsewhere claims that “the fundamental principles of the Way of Waka are to be found in chōka rather than in tanka,” not surprisingly sees the fountainhead of the art in a verse of the former rather than in Susano-o’s “Yakumo tatsu ...” verse of tanka, which is conventionally given that honor. Like Moribe before him, Murayama also sees waka as “the basis from which music sprang,” and his scansion and analysis of early chōka proceeds from that assumption.

It is nothing less than remarkable that attempts to revive chōka as a native verse form worthy of the modern world continually found themselves either bogged down in outdated contentions or unable to strip the art of the mantle of divinity and the elusive quest for kotodama, though there was no longer much consensus about what constituted that quality. While chōka poets continued to pursue vague essentialisms, “new style” poets increasingly ignored them and went their own way. The fortunes of chōka were thus unable to exceed those of nativist thought generally.

Conclusion

Though poets of all ages had demonstrated an awareness of auditory effects, theoretical interest in them was a relative latecomer in Japan. When it finally made its appearance in poetics in the early modern period, it tended to assume an ancillary role to specific genres and to certain intellectual currents and schools.

Of particular importance for the present study, the most systematic theories of prosody were articulated for chōka. While various and often vague ideas about shirabe were set forth for waka generally, the greater rhythmic possibilities inherent in chōka made it a more suitable object for the study of “frameworks.” The association of that genre with Japan’s most remote antiquity no doubt also made it ideologically attractive to some of the best minds of the period, which happened also to be engaged with emerging theories of historical lin-

Ryōhei, 1931), p. 3. Jinmu’s verse appears in Book Two, Chapter Fifty-two, of the Kojiki.  
102 Murayama, Kadō hongi Kamukaze no Ise no umi, p. 16.  
103 Murayama Morio, Kadō hongi Kamukaze no Ise no umi, p. 16.
Appendix I

Categories of phrases described in Chōka koibata no tamaginu (NKTB IX:27). Shigetoshi provides illustration rather than definition.

   Okisoyama
   Mount Okiso, [of] the mountains of Minu [i.e., Mino] (MYS #3256)

2. Double-phrase pairing (niku-tsui 二句対)
   
   kunibara wa  keburi tachitatsu
   over the expanse of land smoke rises and rises,
   unabara wa  kamome tachitatsu
   over the expanse of water gulls rise and rise (MYS #2)

3. Four-phrase linked pairing (yonku rentsui 四句連対).
   
   toki naku zo  yuki wa furikeru
   with no measure of time the snow was falling,
   hima naku zo  ame wa furikeru
   without pause the rain was falling,
   sono yuki no  tokinaki ga goto
   like the snow with no measure of time,
   sono ame no  hima naki ga goto
   and like the rain without pause (MYS #25)

4. Six-phrase linked pairing (rokku rentsui 六句連対).
   
   sakashime o  ari to kikashite
   hearing that there was a wise woman,
   kuwashime o  ari to kikoshite
   hearing that there was a fair woman,
   sa-yobai ni  aritatashi
   he set out to court her
   yobai ni  ari-kayowase
   he made the trip to woo her—
   tachi ga o mo  imada tokazute
   not yet untying the cord of his sword
   osui o mo  imada tokazute
   not yet loosening his mantle  (Kojiki 25:10-20)

5. Four-phrase extended pairing (yonku chōtsui 四句長対).
   
   obana chiru  Shizuku no tai ni
   in the fields at Shizuku where pampas blossoms scatter,
   karigane mo  samuku ki-nakinu
   geese, too, come with their chill cries—
   Niibari no  Toba no ōmi mo
   and on Lake Toba in Niibari,
   aikaze ni  shiranami tachinu
   white-crested waves form in the autumn wind. (MYS #1761)
6. Triple parallel pairing (*sanpeitsui*).

*hotsue wa*  
its upper branches  
*ame o oeri*  
cover the heavens,

*nakatsue wa*  
its middle branches  
*azuma o oeri*  
cover the eastern lands,

*shizue wa*  
its lower branches  
*hina o oeri*  
cover the rural areas  
(*Kojiki* 133:35-40)
Appendix II
Scansion Symbols Used in Chōka senkaku

Types of Phrases
Moribe describes thirteen types of phrases (ku) whose applications are unique to chōka. (TMZ XI:16-19; NKTB IX:247-249)

1. Refrain (jōku 畳句). A general term for reduplicated phrases. “The reduplication of the same words for tuning (shirabe) is called a refrain.” “Changing the words slightly [with each repetition] … sounds especially elegant.”

2. Connected refrain (renjō 聯畳). A type of refrain that marks the end of a section. “… use of a refrain to mark the end of a section (shōdan 章段), and does not merely refer to there being many refrains.”

3. Alternating refrain (kakujō 隔畳). “… refers to reduplication in alternating lines.”

4. Varying refrain (henjō 変畳). “… refers to a type [of refrain] that enlivens what follows (shimo o ikashi) through combination of what precedes (kami o awase), either by reduplicating a half line with a full line, or a full line with a line and a half.” [Example follows no. 11.]

5. Antithetical pair (tsuiku 対句). This “… refers to the combination of [two] different things to form a pair.” Moribe acknowledges that most people use this term to refer to what he calls the “refrain,” but he insists that the distinction is an important one.
amakumo mo
even the clouds of heaven

tobu tori mo
even the birds on the wing

i-yuki-habakari
are loath to move

tobi mo noborazu
do not fly up (MYS #322)

omou sora
[though] the sky I ponder

nageku sora
[though] the sky for which I sigh

yasukaranaku ni
gives me no peace

aonami ni
in the blue waves

nozomi wa taenu
my hopes have vanished

shirakumo n
in the white clouds

namida wa tsukinu
my tears are spent (MYS #1524)

6. Alternating pair (kakutsui 隔対). “… refers to pairings in alternate passages (shōku 章句).”

7. Varying pair (hentsui 変対). “… refers to … pairing of five-syllable with seven-syllable lines.” [Example follows no. 9.]

8. Evoking/responding [pair] (shōō 招応). “… refers to a passage that, in order to evoke something remote (kano koto), first states something immediate (kono koto), leading thence to even greater mutual accord (ai-ōjiyuku).”

ura nashi to
as having no bay

hito koso mirame
people may see it as such

shio nashi to
as having no brine

hito koso mirame
people may see it as such (MYS #131)

9. Call and echo (kankyō 喚響). “… refers to mutual reverberation between things in different lines, as if responding to an echoing voice.”

moyuru hi o
a blazing fire

yuki mote kechi
quenched by the snow

furu yuko o
the falling snow

hi mote kechitsutsu
melted by the fire (MYS #322)

10. Beginning and end (shubi 首尾). “… refers to bringing to closure those things expressed
at the beginning, without aimlessness (*itazura ni narazaru yō ni*).” [Example follows no. 11.]

11. Tuned section (chōdan 調段). “… in ancient waka, a type where a verse is composed in two or three sections [dan, also “stanzas”], and phrases (ku) are used to create each of the sections, either at the beginning of the section, or by continuing with things that are not the same.”

```
yoshi e ya shi
I don’t care
```

```
yoshi e ya shi
I don’t care
```

```
shio wa nakedomo
though there be no brine
```

```
urarwa nakedomo
though there be no bay
```

```
isanatori
[toward the] <whale-path>
```

```
umibi o sashite ...
seashore … (MYS #131)
```


```
Okinaga no ochi no kosuge
Okinaga’s distant young sedge (MYS #3337)
```

13. Introductory phrase (joji 序辞). Ostensibly the same as *jokotoba* 序詞 or makurakotoba 枕詞, used to introduce a particular image. Again, Moribe provides no definition.

```
tamamo nasu
[like] <jeweled seaweed> [is my love] (MYS #131)
```

**Types of Effects**

Moribe describes four types of effects that are presumably unique to chōka (TMZ X:119-121; NKTB IX:250-251):

1. Ranging together of objects (renjitsu 連実). “… refers to the arraying of different types of real objects (jitsubutsu) within a single phrase.”

```
haru no hi wa
on a spring day
```

```
yama shi migahoshi
one desires to see the mountains
```

```
aki no yo wa
on an autumn night
```

```
kawa shi sayakeshi
the streams are bright (MYS #327)
```

2. Brilliance (kōsai 光彩). “… refers to the type that, by adding words of admiration or
embellishment, expresses things beautifully (uruwashiku), majestically (ogosoka ni), and heroically (ooshiku).” [Example follows no. 3.]

3. Quantification  数量 (sūryō 数量). “… refers to that type which, using various words of quantification, expresses things vigorously and elegantly (tsuyoku miyabi ni).”

- futo shikitatete  [its pillar] set firmly
- taka-shirasu  reigning loftily
- Futaki no miyawa  the Palace of Futaki
- kawa chikami  the river being close,
- senoto zo kiyoki  sound of rapids is clear
- yama chikami  mountains being close,
- tori ga ne toyomu  bird song resound

(MYS #1054)

4. Localization  方辺 (hōhen 方辺). “[This] is not always limited to types of location like ‘around the mountain’ or ‘at the seashore,’ … but includes all usages indicating up or down, left or right, vertical or horizontal, self or other (jita).”

- ame no  under heaven
- shita  within the eight islands (MYS #1054)
### Appendix III

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<tr>
<td><strong>Ametsuchi to</strong></td>
<td>From the time when</td>
<td><strong>wakareshi toki yu</strong></td>
<td>heaven and earth were split apart—</td>
<td><strong>kami-sabite</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>takaku tōtoki</strong></td>
<td>at the Plain of Heaven</td>
<td><strong>Suruga naru</strong></td>
<td>in Suruga</td>
<td><strong>Fuji no takane o</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ama no hara</strong></td>
<td>god-like,</td>
<td><strong>furisake mireba</strong></td>
<td>tall and noble—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>wataru hi no</strong></td>
<td>it hides the light</td>
<td><strong>kage mo kakurai</strong></td>
<td>of the sun crossing the sky,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>teru tsuki no</strong></td>
<td>and the moon’s glow</td>
<td><strong>hikari mo miezu</strong></td>
<td>remains unseen;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>shirakumo mo</strong></td>
<td>it blocks the course</td>
<td><strong>i-yuki-habakari</strong></td>
<td>of sailing white clouds,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>toki-jiku zo</strong></td>
<td>and snow falls on it</td>
<td><strong>yuuki wa furikeru</strong></td>
<td>without regard for season—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kataritsugi</strong></td>
<td>to each generation</td>
<td><strong>iitsu-yukamu</strong></td>
<td>let us tell of its fame—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fuji no takane wa</strong></td>
<td>Fuji’s lofty peak!¹</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ *Chōka tamagoto*, 21v-22r. Most texts give the reading “ametsuchi no” in the first line.
Appendix IV

Categories of phrases described in Chōka tamagoto (55r-76v).

1. Ordinary pairing (jōtsui 常対). This refers to “two parallel lines of five-seven syllables each of which there are countless examples in ancient verse.” One example given is from MYS #3 by Princess Nakatsu 中皇命 (d. 665):

   ashita ni wa                           torinadetamai
   in the morning                        he took out and caressed [his catalpa bow]
   yūbe ni wa                           iyoasetateteshi
   and in the evening                   he had it brought and set up beside him

2. “Meaning” pairs (gitsui 義対). “Among ordinary pairings, there are also ‘meaning’ pairs,” which are bound by related meanings, as in MYS #29 by Hitomaro:

   harukusa no                           shigeku oitari
   it is thick                           with the grasses of spring,
   kasumi tachi                          haruhi no kireru
   the mists rise,                       dimming the spring sun

3. Opposing pairs (hantsui 反対). These “pair things that are opposite.” One example is from MYS #16 by Princess Nukada 預田王 (638-705):

   momiji o ba                           torite zo shinubu
   the scarlet leaves                   we gather and admire,
   aoki o ba                           okite zo nageku
   and the green ones,                  we leave with regret

4. Short pairings (tantsui 短対). “Short pairings create an antithesis between the two parts of a five-seven line, or between two and three syllables of a five-syllable phrase, or between [two parts] of a seven-syllable phrase.” These include what Shigetoshi called ikku-tsui, and in fact many of the same examples are given. These include lines from MYS #4030 by Ōtomo no Yakamochi 大伴家持 (717?-785):

   moto mo e mo                          both root and branch
   and Hitomaro’s MYS #207
   iwan sube                           sen sube shirani
   not knowing what to say             or do

5. Extended pairings (chōtsui 長対). In general, Yoshika does not have high regard for long, complex antithetical arrangements. He writes that “most of the extended antitheses in the collection [i.e., the Man’yōshū] consist of four lines, but some are six or even eight lines long. The long ones are inept, however, and one rarely sees even six-line antitheses among the better ancient poems.” One example given is from Hitomaro’s MYS #207:

   tamatasuki                               Unebi no yama ni
   naku tori no                              koe mo kikoezu
   inaudible even the calling of birds on Mount Unebi,
   curved like a jeweled cord,
   tamahoko no                              michi yuku hito mo
   hitori dani                              niteshi yukaneba
among all who passed on the road, straight as a jeweled spear,  
not one looked like her …

6. Structured pairs (soshikitsui 組織対). These reverse the order of phrases or images. Yoshika warns that these should be employed with caution, “because in recent ages people have been careless with these structured pairs, writing many inept compositions that contain lame or strange pairings.” One example is MYS #537 by Prince Aki 安貴王:

\[
\textit{aga tame ni} \quad \textit{imo mo koto naku} \\
\text{for me,} \quad \text{my beloved is happy} \\
\textit{imo ga tame} \quad \textit{ware mo koto naku} \\
\text{and for her,} \quad \text{I too am happy}
\]

7. Divided pairs (kakutsui 隔対). “Without regard for the length,” these “place one couplet in the middle, flanked by paired antitheses on either side.” One example given is the anonymous MYS #3833:

\[
\textit{omoiyamu} \quad \textit{waga mi hitotsu zo} \\
\text{I alone} \quad \text{am sick at heart} \\
\textit{chihayaburu} \quad \textit{kami ni mo na okise} \\
\text{do not blame it} \quad \text{on the august deities} \\
\textit{urabesue} \quad \textit{kame mo na yaki so} \\
\text{neither seek divination} \quad \text{by baking a tortoise shell} \\
\textit{koishiku ni} \quad \textit{itaki waga mi zo} \\
\text{my affliction:} \quad \text{longing for my beloved}
\]

8. Three-phrase sequences (senrentsui 三連対). “Three-phrase sequences occur when a surfeit of meaning cannot be expressed in usual pairings, and the surplus … naturally extends to a third phrase.” One example given is Yakamochi’s MYS #4184, which contains two three-phrase sequences: the first with each phrase extending over two five-seven lines, and the second with single lines of five and seven:

\[
\textit{ama no hara} \quad \textit{furisakemireba} \\
\text{gazing up over the vast plain of heaven,} \quad \textit{teru tsuki mo} \quad \textit{michikakeshi yori} \\
\text{even the shining moon waxes and wanes—} \\
\textit{ashihiki no} \quad \textit{yama no konure mo} \\
\text{even the treetops on the foot-dragging mountain,} \quad \textit{haru sareba} \quad \textit{hana sakinioi} \\
\text{in spring are alive with the scent of blossoms,} \\
\textit{aki-zukeba} \quad \textit{tsuyu shimo oite} \\
\text{but in autumn are covered with dew and frost,} \quad \textit{kaze majiri} \quad \textit{momiji chirikeri …} \\
\text{their leaves scattering in the wind …} \\
\textit{kurenai no} \quad \textit{iro mo utsu roi} \\
\text{even scarlet} \quad \text{fades with time,} \\
\textit{nubatama no} \quad \textit{kurokami kawari} \\
\text{even pitch-black} \quad \text{hair will grey} \\
\textit{asa no emi} \quad \textit{yûbe kawarai} \\
\text{and morning’s smile} \quad \text{will change in the evening}
\]
The Early Modern Warrior: 
Three Explorations of 
Samurai Life

Introduction

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The following three essays focus on lesser-known aspects of the early modern warrior experience: food, shopping, and travel. While each essay is part of a larger scholarly project, the intention of the articles presented here is to serve as an introduction to warrior life. This brief opening essay is designed to provide a context for understanding the rich history of the early modern warrior experience. It begins with a brief sketch of one of the most famous warriors in Japanese history and the founder of the Tokugawa shogunate, Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1616).

Sketch of a Warrior: 
Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1616)

Tokugawa Ieyasu, one of the most famous warriors in Japanese history, was born into a society in the throes of civil war and into an elite warrior family in difficult circumstances. His father, ruler of the northern part of Mikawa Province, was only sixteen and his mother only fourteen. His talented grandfather, who had helped establish the family name and built Okazaki Castle, was assassinated before he reached the age of twenty five. The constant battles between rival warlords and the practice of exchanging family members as guarantees of loyalty meant that this young samurai’s life was not likely to be stable. Premature death and separation from one’s loved ones were in fact common experiences for many warriors. His own father was engaged in a string of campaigns against more powerful warlords who surrounded and threatened his territory. As a gesture of conciliation, Ieyasu’s father sent him, at the age of five, as a hostage to a neighboring warlord. In transit, however, he was kidnapped by yet another rival warlord, and two years into his life in that domain learned that his father had died. Later that year he was transferred to Sumpu castle where he became a hostage of the Imagawa until the age of eighteen. Young samurai hostages such as Ieyasu were rarely treated as prisoners. In fact, at Sumpu Ieyasu received a full education in the military and cultural practices of the samurai; he learned to love the outdoors and the practice of falconry in particular; he was married at the age of fifteen to a relative of his captor; and he was sent on his first sortie at the age of sixteen. But even when he seized his independence as head of his natal family at the age of 18, defeated an uprising at the age of twenty-two, and unified Mikawa and took the name “Tokugawa” at the age of 24, his successes were related to the ongoing disruption of the old system of shogun-dominated warrior authority.

Contrast these early, insecure experiences with Ieyasu’s later life. In 1590 Ieyasu became ruler of the largest territory in all of Japan, the eastern provinces formerly controlled by the

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1 I extend my gratitude to my collaborators Eric Rath, Constantine Vaporis, and Laura Nenzi. I also offer thanks to Matthew Stavros, Rachel Saunders, David Eason, Martha Chaiklin, Janice Katz, David Spafford, and Linda Pitelka. The map is by Scott Flodin.

2 This brief outline of Tokugawa Ieyasu’s career is based on my ongoing research into his life and material culture, which uses his letters, extant objects, and the many contemporaneous and slightly later documents to analyze his rise and establishment of the Tokugawa shogunate. Unfortunately, English-language resources on Ieyasu are few. Conrad Totman’s popular biography, Tokugawa Ieyasu: Shogun (San Francisco: Heian International Inc., 1983) is out of print. A much older biography, A. L. Sadler’s The Maker of Modern Japan: The Life of Shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu (London: G. Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1937) is still widely available but is entirely unreliable.
Hōjō, and he set up his new headquarters in the village of Edo. Ten years later, he defeated at Sekigahara a powerful but ultimately disjointed assortment of warlords opposed to his preeminent national position and was rewarded in 1603 with court appointment to the post of shogun, allowing him to establish a new warrior government for Japan. In an act of confidence and to guarantee succession, he stepped down from the position of shogun in 1605 and passed it on to his accomplished son Hidetada. Ieyasu then spent his remaining years doting on his children and grandchildren and advising his son in Edo. From his retirement residence in Sumpu, where he had lived all those years before as a child hostage surrounded by a violent and insecure world, he enjoyed not only stability, but also a range of experiences long appreciated by warlords but that he now could pursue with vigor: regular banqueting, hunting for sport, leisure travel, and patronage of the Noh theater. Like the struggles of his early career, participation in these activities was still a deeply political act: alliances could be struck over tea, land could be confiscated in the name of hunting rights, and status could be displayed through the acquisition of antique paintings or powerful Noh masks. But the methods of confrontation had changed. When Ieyasu died in 1616, he was surrounded by friends, family, and vassals, relatively secure in the knowledge that he had pacified the forces that wreaked havoc on the country for over a century. His successors would struggle to perpetuate this Pax Tokugawa, but Ieyasu’s part, at least, was done. Ieyasu began his life in volatility, and ended it in stability. As the essays in this issue illustrate, the Tokugawa stabilization of society would have profound consequences for all those with warrior status.

**Warrior Demography and Society**

To begin the process of examining the experiences of early modern samurai more generally, we must first ask how large the population of warriors was in premodern Japan. An exact answer is not possible because of the limitations of available primary sources, but broad demographic trends can be estimated. Samurai appear to have made up a small population of medieval Japan, only 1.6 to 1.8%. Growth occurred in the sixteenth century, when shifts in battle tactics and leadership resulted in much larger armies. The warlord Toyotomi Hideyoshi’s invasion of Kyushu, for example, involved more than 3 Ieyasu’s practice of setting aside land for his family’s hawking purposes has been well documented in Nesaki Mitsuo, *Shōgun no takagari* (Dōseisha, 1999). 4 Historian William Wayne Farris estimates that in the early eighth century, Japan’s total population was 5.8 to 6.4 million, with a warrior population that hovered around 110,000, or about 1.8% of the total. William Wayne Farris, *Japan’s Medieval Population: Famine, Fertility, and Warfare in a Transformative Age* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), 97. 5 On changing tactics and growing armies: Delmer Brown, “The Impact of Firearms on Japanese Warfare, 1543–98,” *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 7:3 (May, 1948). Also, parts of Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).
250,000 warriors. Although the national warrior population was never counted during the Tokugawa period, historians estimate that samurai made up around 5-10% of the total population, which rose to nearly 30 million in the late seventeenth century and then hovered at that level until the nineteenth century. These numbers are significant, as they indicate that during the medieval period warriors represented a truly tiny fraction of the overall population and in the peaceful years of the Tokugawa period they came to occupy a slightly larger slice of the demographic pie.

Who made up this population of warriors, a group described variably as samurai (“those who serve”), bushi (warriors, or, literally read, “military officers”), or buke (elite warriors)? Membership in general was defined by both birth and occupation. Commoners recruited as footsoldiers (ashigaru) were not considered warriors unless they won special recognition and promotion for extraordinary service. Rather, those who were born into established warrior lineages and who engaged in some sort of public military service maintained this distinct social status. In the medieval period, warrior status was part of the Kyoto court’s system of ranks and hierarchy. Nagahara Keiji writes that “the status of samurai was defined within the framework of the medieval state which had the Emperor and the nobles at the head of its formal structure. The samurai, in short, was a status which qualified one for specified ranks within this state, and the principal function of the bushi was to serve as a military arm of the state.” The warfare of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, however, loosened status boundaries, and the need of warlords for larger armies created openings for those not from hereditary warrior families to gain access to the military profession. With the establishment of the Tokugawa shogunate in 1603 and the defeat of the Toyotomi in 1615, opportunities for social mobility between samurai and non-samurai status declined markedly as Japan entered into a long period of peace and relative stability. Samurai left the countryside and, pulled from above and pushed from below, permanently relocated to urban centers, where they performed military service or worked in the growing domainal and shogunal bureaucracies. Likewise, occasions for peasants to prove their martial valor and thereby gain entrance to samurai status largely disappeared. These changes hint at the

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6 Mary Elizabeth Berry, Hideyoshi (Cambridge, MA: The Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1982), 89.
8 Buddhist priests who fought in wars during the medieval period, for example, were not categorized as warriors. See Mikhail S. Adolphson, The Gates of Power: Monks, Courtiers, and Warriors in Premodern Japan (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000), chapter 6; and and The Teeth and Claws of the Buddha: Monastic Warriors and Sōhei in Japanese History (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007).
9 Little scholarship on ashigaru or lower-ranking warriors is available in English. In Japanese, see Sasama Yoshihiko, Kakyū bushi ashigaru no seikatsu (Yūzankaku, 1991) and Takayanagi Kaneyoshi, Zusetsu Edo no kakyū bushi (Kashiwashobō, 1980).
profound ways in which warrior identity and labor changed over the centuries.

One of the defining characteristics of Tokugawa society was its broad division into four legally-binding social categories. Warriors were at the top, followed by agriculturalists, who were valued because they fed the nation. Next came artisans, who didn’t produce resources but transformed them into goods for consumption. Merchants, whose profiteering was believed to drain the vitality out of society, were located at the bottom. The ideological foundations of this structure, borrowed from China’s social hierarchy that placed scholar-officials on the top rung, was more significant as theory than practice, but still provided the broad structure. Within these categories, finer status gradations determined the complexities of daily interactions. As Donald Shively explains, “The Tokugawa authorities viewed society as consisting of dozens and dozens of status layers piled in hierarchal order. Each individual was expected to play the type-role assigned by birth and occupation; his behavior and consumption should be according to his level.”

Because social interactions were based on discrimination, status was used “to regulate daily life to its basic details in Tokugawa Japan: social position, domicile, clothing, travel, housing, food, marriage, social interactions, occupation, expenditures, consumption, rituals, the employment of others, and various privileges, such as possessing a surname or wearing swords.”

For warriors, subdivisions of status were in part a result of gradations in rank. The top position in warrior society was the lord at the summit of the pyramid of feudal bonds of vassalage. In early modern Japan, this position was occupied by the Tokugawa shoguns, fifteen of whom ruled Japan before the collapse of this system in 1868.

Below the Tokugawa shogun were the feudal warlords (*daimyō*), defined as direct vassals of the shogun with domains assessed at 10,000 *koku* or more. (*Koku* was a unit of rice equaling about 180 liters.) They ruled their fiefs with a fair degree of autonomy and in some cases enormous wealth. Below warlords in stipend and land ownership were the direct retainers (*hatamoto*, sometimes called “bannermen”) of the shogun, with a stipend of less than 10,000 *koku* and more than 500 *koku*. Next in rank and income were housemen (*goke’nin*), a term that referred primarily to shogunal retainers during the Tokugawa period. Below these were the lowest-ranking warriors, foot soldiers and clerks who, depending on the source, might not be considered samurai at all. Within the domains of the semi-independent feudal lords, ranking systems differed depending on local tradition and the bureaucracy that had developed over time. In general, however, samurai were ranked by hereditary service obligations and their associated stipends. These two variables—duty and economic means—resulted in enormous disparities in lifestyle, as we will see in the essays that follow, among those holding samurai status.

Even the most powerful of warriors, those who ruled their own semi-independent domains, were categorized and ranked in this society of distinctions. Warlords were broadly divided into three groups: Family Lords, or those who were related to the Tokugawa (*shimpan daimyō*); Inner Lords, or those whose ancestors had been vassals of Tokugawa Ieyasu (*fudai daimyō*); and Outer Lords, or those whose ancestors had not been vassals of Ieyasu before the Battle of Sekigahara in 1600 (*tozama daimyō*). Those in the first and second group were given the greatest responsibilities in the shogunal bureaucracy and ruled the most strategically valuable domains in the archipelago, while those in the latter group tended to be scattered to the more distant regions of Japan, where they were less likely to mount an assault.
on Edo. Other means of discriminating among warriors were available. Warlords, for example, emphasized their genealogical connections (real or fictitious) to aristocratic families or famous warriors of the past. In the medieval period in particular, they also held various court ranks through which they could compete with one another. Domains of different size produced different incomes, which informed perhaps the ultimate display of warrior rank and status in the Tokugawa period: warlords’ parades to Edo from their home domains. Also important were their ceremonial seating and rituals within the confines of Edo castle.

An interesting example of how distinctions of rank influenced the structures of daily life can be seen in the following description of education during the Tokugawa period:

At one school, that run by the government of the Kaga fief, for instance, it was laid down that members from the highest families should come to the school accompanied by only two retainers, one additional servant to look after the student's sandals during lectures, and one umbrella-holder on rainy days. The next rank could have one retainer, a sandal-minder and an umbrella-holder. The next, one retainer and a sandal-minder, but they should carry their own umbrellas. Younger sons and those of the lowest rank should come without servants; the school would provide someone to look after their sandals. From other schools there survive detailed regulations of seating in the lecture room and the exact place at which swords were to be removed by people of different ranks—at the entrance, in a waiting room, or at their actual seat in the lecture hall.

Maintaining the trappings of rank and status was expensive. Most warriors received stipends, derived from land that they nominally ruled but in fact rarely visited. Over time, however, these stipends became less and less valuable in relative terms. Here we need to make what David Howell calls a distinction between occupation and livelihood, between hereditary rank with its immutable stipend and temporary rank or work with a salary that could not be passed down to one’s heir. Warriors often took short-term domainal positions that earned them additional pay, or took on artisanal work in the home such as craft production to supplement official wages. But warrior status did not inure one to poverty or even downward mobility. As Howell notes, “[Y]ounger sons of low-ranking samurai who were neither adopted into other households as the heir nor given service appointment of their own dropped out of samurai status entirely.” More famously, in the second half of the Tokugawa period, inflation, famine, and an unsustainable economic system combined to force most domainal lords into debt, with many mid- and low-ranking warriors becoming regular visitors to moneylenders. In such hard economic times merchants and artisans with the means and con-
connections could purchase samurai status with its rights and privileges, but sometimes without the onerous duties of service.21

Warrior Cultural Practices

Despite such economic constraints, from the time of their first involvement in national politics, elite warriors in Japan had been serious patrons and students of calligraphy, poetry, and music, cultural practices of the Kyoto court, as well as the forms of cultural production associated with esoteric and popular Buddhism and Shintō. In the late medieval period, elite warriors also embraced various cultural practices that the historian Paul Varley has called “situational” (yorai) arts, “which brought people together to engage socially or collectively in both the creation and the appreciation of art.”22 In the ritual preparation of tea, for example (often referred to as “the tea ceremony” in English), a warrior host invited a group of guests to visit a special room or hut designed in a rustic fashion, often surrounded by a carefully designed and maintained garden. The host arranged art for the guests to admire and served them two or more courses of tea as well as a simple meal, all according to prescribed rules of etiquette and using choreographed and rehearsed movements. Some medieval warrior leaders, such as Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimasa, loved versions of these tea gatherings described as “extravagant” (basara) in contemporaneous records.23 Later elite warriors came to enjoy a more muted version of the tea gathering, and employed professional tea masters such as Imai Sōkyū (1520–1593) and Sen no Rikyū (1522–1591) to organize and facilitate events large and small.24

During the Tokugawa period tea became such a vital social grace for those of warrior status that entire tea schools arose catering solely to the samurai. Katagiri Sekishū (1605–1673), for example, was lord of the Koizumi domain in Yamato province, near present-day Nara. He oversaw a major expansion of Chion’in Temple in Kyoto in the 1630s, and while living in the city devoted himself to studying and practicing tea. In 1665, Sekishū was appointed tea master to the Tokugawa shogunate, and thereafter regularly served tea to Shogun Tokugawa Ietsuna and the elite warriors who attended him, as well as to a range of domainal lords resident in the capital. Many warriors studied tea with Sekishū before he died in 1673, and his school of tea practice spread among the samurai and some commoners, until by the nineteenth century, more than fifty branches of the Sekishū lineage of tea could be found in Japan.25 The lowest ranking of warriors probably did not have the means or the opportunity to study tea, which could be expensive, but it was at the very least part of the aspiration of most warriors in early modern Japan.26

21 Howell, Geographies, 57–58.
22 H. Paul Varley, “Cultural Life of the Warrior Elite in the Fourteenth Century,” in Mass, The Origins of Japan’s Medieval World, 201. Eiko Ikegami refers to these cultural practices as the “za arts,” which refers to “the fact that they were performed collectively within a group of seated (za) participants.” Eiko Ikegami, Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Networks and the Political Origins of Japanese Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 76.
23 Donald Keene, Yoshimasa and the Silver Pavilion (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 145.
26 The low-ranking warrior Morita Kyūemon served his domain, Tosa, as a potter. In 1678–79 the domain sent him to several cities and domains in Japan to study ceramic techniques and to take lessons in tea, which would improve his ability to make tea wares for tea practitioner customers. This implies that previously he had no formal training in tea, though we do know that the domainal lord of Tosa, as well as other high-ranking warriors in Shikoku, actively studied tea. See Louise Allison Cort, “A Tosa
An even more fundamental social and cultural practice than the study and practice of tea ritual was the distinct food production and consumption of warriors. Eric Rath explores the “dull” but symbolically powerful practice of elite samurai banquets in his article in this issue and illuminates the ways in which warrior diet and cuisine acted as a means of creating distinctions between other social groups and among warriors. These distinctions were heightened in the Tokugawa period when new sumptuary laws separated peasant, commoner, and samurai lifestyles through the regulation of architecture, dress, and cuisine. Warriors and other elites were permitted to eat polished white rice, the common staple of the Japanese diet today, while peasants were limited to grains such as barley and millet. The complex shogunal banquet analyzed by Rath here, on the other hand, represents a palpable expression of power and hierarchy. Rank and status were thus imbued and embodied in the Tokugawa period, omnipresent dictates of identity that determined even the source and form of nourishment.

A serious passion of many warriors that related both to cuisine and to the arts of war was hunting. Using bows, spears, and swords to hunt rabbit, deer, wild boar, and even raccoon-dog (tanuki), appears to have been common among warriors in the medieval period, and continued as a rare opportunity to demonstrate one’s battle prowess in the Tokugawa period. Luke Roberts notes the following story about a samurai official in the Tosa domain:

One day in 1745 he was out hunting with friends, lying in wait on a boar’s run. They had hired farmers as beaters who made a racket back in the hills to chase the animals into the ambush. A large boar came running. The samurai let loose the charges in their muskets, hitting it. The wounded and enraged boar charged; the hunters scattered to find safety in the trees. [He] had no tree nearby, and the boar came straight at him. Having no alternative, he drew his sword and swung down at the boar, “killing it with one stroke,” he wrote with great pride in his diary. This was the closest [he] had ever come to using the military skills he practiced regularly. 27

Hunting thus appealed to the warrior’s interest in battle and a desire to demonstrate (to himself and to his peers) mastery of certain weapons. Perhaps a more subtle form of hunting that inspired zealous devotion was falconry, which Tokugawa Ieyasu pursued with particular intensity. Originally the preserve of aristocrats, early medieval warriors gradually seized the rights and privileges of this practice for themselves. Over the course of the sixteenth century the acquisition of the proper birds, access to and control of appropriate land, and the arrangement of specialized training and care for the animals (by falcon experts or taka yakunin) became closely intertwined with the growing authority of warlords like Ieyasu, who once said of the practice:

Falconry is not just for pleasure. It goes without saying that you can go out to distant villages and sympathize with the suffering of the common people and the conditions of local soldiers. Physical labor lets your limbs become nimble. Rather than growing weary of the cold and the heat, illnesses and such naturally do not occur.

Even more vigorous is another passage attributed to Ieyasu that had clear repercussions for his successors, who were, after all, military rather than civilian leaders:

Do not see falconry as merely the practice of catching as many birds as possible. In times of peace when both low and high laze about, the limbs go slack and people naturally become unable to rise up and fulfill their duties. If this happens, both low and high can exercise their bodies through activities such as deer hunting and falconry. Toss aside your

palanquins and go on foot. Overcome the mountain slope, ford the river’s current. Engage in various forms of labor and make your body strong. Through such activity, vassals have the opportunity to see the conditions of the strong and the weak on the outskirts [of the castle town]. Vassals will also exert themselves, turning them into healthy walkers and preparing them for any kind of service. Therefore, falconry for the warlord is a form of military strategizing and training.  

Like many of the cultural pursuits explored in this issue, falconry was ultimately a means of social and political control, as well as a demonstration of status.

**Urban Warriors**

The image of an armored samurai running or riding a horse over a hill into battle is, of course, a trope of modern American and Japanese cinema, and therefore immediately comes to mind when we imagine the lives of premodern Japanese warriors. In the early modern period, however, most Japanese of warrior status lived in urban centers for the majority of their lives, particularly after their rapid urbanization of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Though warriors did travel through, work in, and on occasion fight in the countryside, they were primarily castle-town or city dwellers, making them central to the development of Japan’s urban culture and modern infrastructure. Their concentration of samurai in towns and cities and their frequent movement to and from Edo furthermore stimulated the economy and created a thriving national consumer culture. As Mary Elizabeth Berry notes about warriors during the Tokugawa period, “[t]ransformed from landholding village notables into stipend-receiving urban consumers, the samurai generated, and depended upon, dense market constellations.”

The most significant urban warrior populations were found in castle towns, which proliferated in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These urban centers grew up around large fortified structures and over time acquired increasing importance as bureaucratic and commercial centers. The concentration of warrior bureaucrats and their families created the need for licensed merchants and artisans, and as markets grew and became more profitable, the population increased, particularly through immigration of peasants in search of new economic opportunities. Some of these towns grew into cities of significant size. Kanazawa and Nagoya, for example, had populations of more than 100,000 each, making them larger than contemporaneous European cities such as Amsterdam, Madrid, Milan, and Rome. These urban centers did not grow organically, however, but were carefully planned and regulated by their warlord rulers with some input from commoner leaders. Indeed, early on in particular, castle towns were centrally planned and administered. Over time, however, commoners and other urban dwellers came to have a greater say in the appearances of their streets and neighborhoods. In their general out-
line, castle towns spatially mapped social status. High- and mid-ranking warriors and certain Buddhist institutions tended to be housed inside the major fortifications and close to the central keep, while commoners were usually limited to space outside of the protected areas and separated by occupation, a system that amounted to a kind of status-based zoning.

Warriors also could be found in significant numbers in Japan’s largest cities: Kamakura and Kyoto during the early medieval period; Osaka and Kyoto in the late medieval period; and above all Edo during the Tokugawa period because it was home to the shogun and the required alternate residence of every domainal lord and his retinue. Although Edo grew to be probably the largest city on the planet, with a population of more than a million by the early eighteenth century, in the early seventeenth century it was a more modest castle town situated strategically between two rivers on the Musashino plateau. Chiyoda castle, the stronghold of the Tokugawa shogunate, was located at the center of the city, surrounded by moats and other fortifications and with strategic points of entry occupied by the residences of Tokugawa branch families and warlord allies. Artisanal and merchant neighborhoods soon grew up around the castle as well, primarily to serve the warrior populations that first settled the city. As originally conceived, this was a city built by, and for, the shogun and his administration; city officials, for example, referred to Edo as “The Lord’s City” (gofunai) and made numerous attempts to clearly demarcate the borders and boundaries of what became a kind of living organism.

The case of Ichijōdani, the castle town established by the lords of the Echizen domain, is a good example. Ono Masatoshi, an archaeologist who has worked on the excavation of the city and on mapping its original shape and dimensions, provides maps and diagrams demonstrating the relationship between space and status in the city in his Sengoku jōkamachi to kōkogaku (Kodansha, 1997), 18–24.

prefiguring of what would soon become the task of the nation: making sense of the powerfully attractive and at times completely repellent Euro-American peoples and cultures who within a decade would be deeply involved in Japan’s attempt to modernize. Initially repulsed by the foreigners and European material culture he encountered, he soon became an admirer of the West who felt confident that it could be met on its own terms. It is therefore with a melancholy sense of irony that Nenzi notes the circumstances of this young samurai’s demise in the wars that brought about the end of his age: “At the end of an era which had witnessed the taming and domestication of the samurai, this curious intellect and admirer of things foreign remained loyal to his lord and died the death of a warrior.”

The essays presented here merely skim the surface of the rich, textured histories of the lives of warriors in early modern Japan. They draw on materials explored in the growing Japanese literature on “the history of daily life” (seikatsuushi), a field that needs further exploration in English-language studies. These essays also demonstrate that additional study of the lived experiences of the samurai and other status groups of early modern Japan will help us to better understand the relationship between power and identity. Many questions remain to be asked and answered: How did early modern warriors of different rank negotiate their hierarchical interactions and complex identities? What do changes in patterns of samurai material consumption reveal about shifts in economic power and social norms? Pursuit of these issues will necessarily build on prior scholarship on institutions, intellectual traditions, and cultural practices by illustrating how these structures influenced the daily lives of the samurai, and how the sometimes mundane realities of warriors, in turn, shaped the politics of early modern culture.
Banquets Against Boredom: Towards Understanding (Samurai) Cuisine in Early Modern Japan

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“The pleasures of the table belong to all times and all ages, to every country and every day; they go hand in hand with all our other pleasures, outlast them, and remain to console us for their loss.”

—Jean-Antheleme Brillat-Savarin, The Physiology of Taste

Recent definitions of “Japanese cuisine” designate it as a modern category and imply that there was nothing similar in the early modern period (1600–1868), but is that necessarily the case? Certainly the words for Japanese cuisine (washoku, Nihon ryōri) are no older than the Meiji period (1868–1912), appearing during a time of rapid modernization as a response to new notions of national identity, political cohesion, and as a way to differentiate native cooking practices from newly introduced foreign ones. According to culinary historian Katarzyna Cwiertka, what became “Japanese cuisine” grew out of a fusion of native and imported ingredients and methods of cooking that signified “an imagined national identity and cultural homogeneity” lacking in the early modern period. From this standpoint, “cuisine” in early modern Japan can only be defined in negative terms by what was absent. Cwiertka, while recognizing a “differentiated gastronomy” in urban areas, nevertheless describes diet in the early modern period as “austere” and monotonous—in other words boring—in contrast to the variety of foods available in Japan today, a view echoed by other culinary historians.

But before we dismiss cuisine in early modern Japan entirely it might be useful to think more about other meanings of the term besides inextricably linking it with modernity. Another approach to cuisine is to put aside references to traits that would have been anachronistic for the early modern period and look for other ways that cooking and eating generated meanings. Even by Cwiertka’s definition it is not just cooking techniques and ingredients that designate a cuisine, it is also about the ability of foods to evoke cultural meanings like national identity. Examining the foodways of early modern Japan to fully explore this definition of cuisine is beyond the scope of this article, but sampling even one meal exemplifying the banqueting customs of elite samurai suggests evidence of a sophisticated system of culinary rules used to transform foods into “message bearing objects.”

Ordinary diet for samurai of all ranks from shogun to footmen (ashigaru) was indeed boring in contrast to the modern Japanese diet as the second part of this article recounts, but banquets allowed elite warriors such as daimyo and shoguns to partake in a highly refined culinary experience in which the symbolic meanings of the dishes provided a rich subtext for the dining experience.

1 The author appreciates the comments provided by Morgan Pitelka, Phil Brown and the anonymous readers on an earlier draft of this manuscript called “The Sole of the Samurai: Warrior Diet and Cuisine in Premodern Japan.”


3 Words referencing regional cuisines, such as Kyō ryōri, the famous local cuisine of Kyoto, are also modern, coined to establish a contrast with the category of national cuisine in the same period. Murai Yasuhiko, ed., Kyō ryōri no rekishi, vol. 4 of Shirizu shokubunka no hakken (Shibata shoten, 1979), p. v.


5 Cwiertka, p. 95; see, for example, see Naomi-chi Ishige, The History and Culture of Japanese Food (London, New York: Kegan Paul, 2001), p. 113.

experience. These dishes may not have referenced an imagined national identity but they did evoke other culinary meanings important to their consumers.

This was the case on the eighteenth day of the fourth month in 1630 when Shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu (1604–1651) visited the mansion of the Shimazu daimyo house in Edo. The style of eating, the foods served, and the manner of the visit itself resonated in wider cultural traditions known for centuries among elite warriors that gradually disseminated to other social groups in the Edo period through published culinary books (ryōribon). The Shimazu offered a menu that not only contained many rare delicacies and bespoke of great luxury and high status, it also referenced Buddhism, five agent theory (gogyō), and Chinese legends; it evoked connections to the Ashikaga shoguns of the Muromachi period (1336–1573), and even demonstrated a degree of playfulness. This menu illustrates how cuisine can be defined without reference to nationalism as sociologist Priscilla Clark stated in the context of her research on early modern France: “cuisine is food transcended, nature transformed in a social product, an aesthetic artifact, and linguistic creation, a cultural tradition.”

Cuisine, in other words, carries special artistic and cultural meanings that differentiate it from mundane acts of food creation and consumption. We can best understand how cuisine in early modern Japan functioned in this way by interpreting the 1630 banquet in reference to culinary manuscripts (ryōrisho), created by and for the class of chefs called hōchōnin responsible for creating these types of banquets for samurai, along with published culinary writings (ryōribon) written by hōchōnin and other authors. Doing so will allow us to define cuisine in the early modern period provisionally as a repertoire of techniques to enable food to take on special meanings distinguished from ordinary acts of consumption and significant to participants in important events.8

Iemitsu’s Visitation to the Shimazu

Following centuries-old customs, on the eighteenth day of the fourth month of 1630, the daimyo of Satsuma domain, Shimazu Iehisa (1576–1638), hosted a visit by Shogun Iemitsu in the Satsuma mansion in Edo, entertaining him with a tea ceremony, a banquet, noh theater, and music from the Ryūkyū Islands. The chef (hōchōnin) responsible for creating this banquet, Ishihara Sadomori (d. 1648), recorded the event and a subsequent visit three days later by the retired shogun Tokugawa Hidetada (1579–1632) in Record of the Shogunal Tea Ceremony and Visitation (Ōsuki onari no ki).9 The menu for both of these visits was almost identical and both followed the custom of shogunal visitations (onari) that began in the Kamakura period and crystallized in the Muromachi era when the shogun formally visited his chief retainers and prominent Buddhist temples by invitation or annually. Visitations in the Muromachi period lasted from the early afternoon around 2:30 PM and ended in the mid-morning the next day around 10:00 AM. They began with a meeting between the host and guest in a private room decorated in the shinden style of the mansions of Heian-period aristocrats. The host greeted the guest with a special drinking ceremony called the “three formal rounds of drinks” (shikisankon) described below. After that the host and the shogun exchanged gifts such as swords and saddles.10 Then the group retired to a larger “public” room (kaisho) for a banquet. Typically alcohol was served before the banquet for the shikisankon but not during it. However, further rounds of drinking followed the meal along with the exchange of more presents such as swords,

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8 For a more extensive discussion of cuisine in early modern Japan, see Eric C. Rath, Food and Fantasy in Early Modern Japan (forthcoming).
9 The culinary customs of the Shimazu house are well documented by Ego Michiko, Daimyō no kurashi to shoku (Dōseisha, 2002); her description of Iemitsu’s 1630 visitation appears on pp. 10–15, with the menu itself on pp. 11–13.
10 Kumakura Isao, Nihon ryōri bunkashi: kaiseki o chūshin ni (Kyoto: Jinbun shoin, 2002), p. 156.
imported artifacts, and robes. After a rest and perhaps a bowl of tea, the shogun returned to the main room to enjoy noh plays and other entertainments accompanied with even more eating and drinking. Thus visitations were highly structured events providing the shogun a chance to demonstrate his authority and giving the daimyo the task of showing their fealty through their lavish entertainments. The personal bond between hosts and guests would presumably be strengthened by the visit. The retainer may have gained some cultural and political capital but at the expense of hosting a costly event.

Tea ceremonies became more prominent aspects of shogunal visitations in the Edo period and Iemitsu’s visit to the Shimazu began in the morning with one featuring its own elaborate meal.

The overall message of this tea menu was luxury indicative of the elaborate style of “daimyo tea” not the restrained wabi style of the adherents of Sen no Rikyū (1522–1591). Rikyū’s tea meals can be characterized by their structure of a single soup and three side dishes (ichijū sansai), but in this case there were two trays with four side dishes (nijū yonsai) not including the pickles and another tray with grilled sweetfish on it. Rather than a single meal, Iemitsu’s tea menu can be thought of as a program of meals in three stages: the first three trays were served simultaneously as stage one while the additional soup (atsumono) and snacks (sakana) were served later as an accompaniment to sake in the second stage, later followed by the sweets served before the tea as a final stage. Another distinction of this menu was the predominance of meat dishes, which ran counter to trends in Rikyū’s wabi style that tended toward vegetarian meals. The dishes served here were also grand and included freshwater fish, seafood, and game fowl as well as mullet roe (karasumi) considered one of the three “superlative delicacies” in the Edo period.

By modern standards the sweets (okashi) served to Iemitsu would not be particularly sweet compared to those available today since they did not use much if any sugar, but they did hold

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12 Harada Nobuo, Edo no ryōrishi: ryōribon to ryōri bunka (Chūō kōronsha, 1989), p. 6
13 Shōgan no hibo seaweed (nori)
14 Ego, pp. 11–12.
15 Kumakura 2002, pp. 27, 29.
16 Harada 1989, p. 17.
other significance for the banquet participants. Despite the Satsuma domain’s dominance of the sugar trade with the Ryūkyū Islands since their invasion of those islands in 1609, here the sweets served remained true to the original definition of the Japanese word (kashi), meaning fruit. Sugary sweets, both hard and soft, became popular by the end of the seventeenth century with the greater availability of domestic and imported sugar and the diffusion of confectionery techniques. It is tempting to hypothesize that the colored potato was another dish that spoke of Satsuma’s trade with the Ryūkyū. Sweet potatoes called “Satsuma potatos” (Satsuma imo), originated in Central America or southern Mexico and arrived in Kyushu either from China via the Ryūkyū Islands or from the Philippines by the mid- to early seventeenth century. The culinary book One Hundred Tricks with Sweet Potatos (Imo hyakuchin, 1789) contains a recipe for “dyed potatos” using sweet potato dyed in five different colors reflecting an alternate name for this sweet, “five colors” (goshiki). Here the potato is probably not a Satsuma imo or even if it was, it was probably not referred to by that name. The sweet potato’s close association with Satsuma domain dates to a century later when Dutch-learning scholar Aoki Kon’yō (1698–1769) undertook trials of the sweet potato in 1735 at the bakufu’s orders and helped to popularize it in the Kantō area. “IMO” can refer to a number of different tubers including taro (sato imo) and yam (yamanoimo). Since this is a dessert, the imo here is probably a yam. Tales of Cookery (Ryōri monogatari, 1643) the first published cookbook and a work closer historically to Iemitsu’s banquet than Hundred Tricks with Sweet Potatoes indicates that yams are good for sweets, while taro should be used only for savory recipes like soups, simmered dishes (nimono), pickles, and fish and vegetable salads (namasu and aemono). Tales of Cookery does not mention any dishes for sweet potato. Whatever its principle ingredient, the dyed sweet prefigures similar five-colored dishes important to the shikisankon later in the day. The rice cake served evoked shogunal largesse since it was one of the sweets presented by the shogun to daimyo, bannermen (hatamoto), and other bakufu employees annually on the sixteenth day of the sixth month in the kajō ceremony. Kajō was a tremendous demonstration of shogunal largesse for in a typical year the shogun distributed almost 21,000 sweets. In Hidetada’s lifetime the shogun himself personally supervised this task over the course of several days. By serving the distinct rice cake, if the Shimazu were not subtly repaying or reminding the shogun for past generosity, they were at least evoking a special culinary connection between the shogun and daimyo.

Of all the dishes served, pride of place at the tea meal went to the crane soup, a particular luxury especially prized by elite samurai. Said to live a thousand years—except when killed for a soup—crane became by the late sixteenth century a dish indispensable for the most formal warrior banquets. In 1582 warlord Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582) served crane soup to Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616) at a banquet, and in 1587 Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537–1598) introduced crane to the imperial court. Soup appears to have been a typical way to serve crane, although the blood was also mixed with sake as a cocktail on some occasions. Confucian scholar Hayashi Razan (1583–1687) stated that drinking the blood of a white crane was “said to increase

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21 For an overview of this ceremony, see Aoki Naomi, Zusetsu wagashi no konjaku (Tankôsha, 2000), pp. 143–47. By decision of the All Japan Confectionery Association (Zenkoku wagashi kyoïkaï) in 1979, June 16 is now celebrated as “sweet day” (kashi no hi), Nakayama Keiko, Wagashi monogatari (Asahi shinbunsha, 1993), p. 45.
22 Ego, p. 38.
vitality.” In the same period as Razan, tea master Endō Genkan (n.d.) published Guide to Meals for the Tea Ceremony (Cha no yu kondate shinan, 1676), the first book on meals (kaiseki) for tea. This text contained a recipe for crane soup that approximates the dish mentioned in Iemitsu’s menu above except that it is even more lavish. Endō’s recipe called for “crane in a clear soup [using the] sinews from the leg, burdock root, salted matsutake mushrooms, eggplant, shimeji mushrooms, and greens.” He noted that it was important to include some leg meat from the crane so that guests will know immediately that they were eating crane soup and not some other bird. So important was crane to samurai banqueting customs that the bakufu enacted sumptuary legislation that prohibited commoners from serving crane and other game fowl at banquets. “The Three Formal Rounds of Drinks” (Shikisankon)

Shogunal visitations in the Muromachi period began with the “three formal rounds of drinks,” but this event came after the tea ceremony in Iemitsu’s visit, following the pattern set in the Tokugawa period. The three formal rounds of drinks was a toasting ceremony involving the host and the guest drinking sake from the same shallow cup (sakazuki). Both participants drained a cup of sake three times for each of the three rounds of drinking for a total of nine cups of sake—or more if the participants decided to continue drinking. This formal exchange of drinks between lord and vassal signified their personal bond, and the same ceremony was used for weddings. The shikisankon usually occurred in a private room appropriately decorated for the occasion with armor and Chinese art objects. Accompanying the sake were snacks (sakana), traditionally konbu seaweed, dried chestnuts, and dried abalone. These foods could not be eaten in the form they were served, and they were instead surreptitiously dropped into a kimono sleeve or wrapped in paper if they were touched at all. The shikisankon menu for Iemitsu offered a more formal variation of these symbolic snacks in the form of the “five varieties of offerings” and it also included a few edible delicacies.

First Round
Pheasant [served on a] tortoise shaped dish
Rice cake soup (ozōni)
Chopsticks
“Five varieties of offerings” (goshu)
Salt (oteshio)

Second Round
Grilled salt-cured fish (shiobiki)
Grilled “hawk’s wing” [sea bream] (taka no ha sen)
Dried Cod

Third Round
Dried salted mullet roe (karasumi)
Whole grilled young “winged” sea bass (Shin hane sen)
Dried rolled squid (makizurume)

The menu here demonstrates playfulness in its clever use of flight imagery on each of the three trays. In addition to the pheasant on the first tray, two of the fish served on the second and third trays reference birds. One was a variety of sea bream said to resemble the wings of a hawk and the other used the nickname “winged” for young sea bass because of the misconception that they could jump through the surface of the water. Traveling over water may have been a

26 The word shikisankon originated in the Muromachi period as did the rules for it, Kumakura 2002, p. 142.
28 Editors’ notation to Complete Manual of Cuisine for Our School (Tōryū setsuyō ryōri taizen, 1714), Shijō Takashima, Tōryū setsuyō
reference to Satsuma’s trade with the Ryūkyūs a
connection reinforced by the Ryukyuan musi-
cians who entertained the guests later in the day.
And the rolled squid may have continued the
flight imagery as it was sometimes shaped into
the form of butterflies, albeit that was a motif
usually reserved for weddings: two butterflies
representing the couple’s future happiness to-
gether.29

The pheasant, rice cake soup (zōni), and
“five varieties of offerings” (goshū) were a set
for the first round of a shikisankon according to
Secret Text on Carving and Cuisine (Ryōri kir-
kata hidensho, 1659), the first published treatise
on warrior banquet cuisine. That text indicates
that crane was once served cut into pieces and
served on decorative paper, but that the dish later
changed to pheasant served with one of its feet
protruding from a pile of its sliced meat. The
sliced fowl accompanies the “five offerings,”
which were also called “shaved foods” (kezuri-
mono), indicating five piles of finely sliced
meats each of a different color. Although the
contents of the five piles of shaved foods are not
delineated in the menu for Iemitsu, Secret Writ-
ing on Carving and Cuisine indicates that they
represent “tortoises from the island of the im-
mortals” (hōrai no kame), signifying ten thou-
sand years of happiness. The same text further
describes how these five varieties of things
should be arranged on a plate into five piles ac-
cording to their different colors:

yellow     red      white
black      green

tsunami, in vol. 3 of Nihon ryōri hiden shūsei,
Paper butterflies were also affixed to bottles of
sake used at weddings for the same reason that
these signified felicity, William Lindsey,
Fertility and Pleasure: Ritual and Sexual Values
in Tokugawa Japan (Honolulu: University of
Cuisine for Our School contains a recipe for
makizurume that calls for washing the squid,
tossing it in kudzu starch, rolling it up in a rice
mat, boiling it, and then cutting it into pieces,
Shijō Takashima, Tōryū setsuyō ryōri taizen, p.
204.

Secret Writing on Carving and Cuisine indi-
cates, “These [piles] are placed inside tortoise-
shaped dishes. The pheasant is also placed inside
a tortoise dish. The five [piles of] things go to the
left of the rice cake soup and the diced fowl [i.e.,
the pheasant] is to their right.”30 Here too the
ingredients for the kezurimono are left unstated
but these appear in an older text on warrior cus-
tom and banqueting ritual Ise Sadayori’s Sōgō
ōzoshi (ca. 1529). Sadayori, a specialist in war-
rior traditions from a long family line of experts
in that topic, states:

Use conger eel (hamu, [hamo]) for the color
white. Bonito is for the color red.
Black is made from dried sea cucumber.
Green is shark. Yellow is dried squid.
It is best to slice these finely. One ought to
alternate male and female forms.

The reference to “male” piles of meats as op-
posed to “female” ones is evocative but cryptic.
Sadayori is clearer in this assertion that the kezu-
rimonono, which he also called the “islands of the
immortals” (tekake), “represent Mount Sumeru.”31 Sumeru, the center point of the Bud-
dhist cosmos, was a mountain said to be wider at
the top than at its base. Here Mt. Sumeru is of-
fered in five different forms, in male and female
manifestations. This recalls customs of religious
offerings such as the large piles of dyed rice
called shishiki and some wake served annually
for the wakamiya festival at Kasuga Shrine in
Nara.32 Both the shishiki and the some wake are

30 Ryōri kirikata hidensho, vol. 1 of Honkoku
Edojidai ryōribon shūsei, ed. Edo Jidai Ryōri-
54–55.
31 Ise Sadayori, Sōgō ōzoshi, ed. Hanawa Hok-
noichi, in Gunshō ruijū, vol. 22 (Zoku gunsho
32 For a description of the food offerings at the
wakamiya festival see Iwai Hiromi and Niwa
approximately fifteen centimeters in height and served as a set in green, yellow, red, and white colors. The “four colors” (shishiki) are four piles of rice in solid colors whereas the some wake are piles of rice divided into four different colors. The kezurimono were miniature versions of these religious offerings, measuring 1.5–1.8 cm (5–6 bu) according to the culinary treatise Culinary Text of the Yamanouchi House (Yamanouchi ryūrōsho) compiled in 1497. Though tiny, the above descriptions indicate that the dishes were rich in symbolism evoking Shinto offerings, Buddhist cosmology, and Chinese folklore.

The Shinto offerings at Kasuga shrine traditionally had four colors, but the addition of a black dish for the kezurimono indicates a five-color combination (goshiki) an artistic motif found in the curtains on noh stages and one important to five agent theory, a connection that expanded the meanings of the kezurimono and the dishes served with it even further. Each of the five colors represents one of the five agents. White stands for metal, black for water, green for wood, red for fire, and yellow for earth. Besides these agents, each of the colors also represents a direction, a season, a taste, and an internal organ. One plate of food thus signifies the external and internal universe and everything within it.

The five-color combination also connected the kezurimono with the other dishes on the tray. There were five colors on the wings of a pheasant according to Hayashi Razan, giving the bird a decorative function. The dyed potato sweet served in the earlier tea ceremony and the rice cake soup also probably contained five colors. The recipe for rice cake soup in Ryōri monogatari calls for a stock made from miso or clear stock (dried bonito flakes, konbu and salt) and [white / yellow] rice cake, taro, and daikon, [black] dried sea cucumber intestine (iriko), abalone on skewers, large flakes of dried [red] bonito (hiragatsuo), and green shoots (kukitachi)—enough varied ingredients to suggest a five-color combination.

About a century later, another member of the Ise family of experts on warrior protocol Sadateke (also called Teijō, 1717–1784), writing in Teijō zakki, provides a different list of ingredients for ozōi but confirms that these reflect the five primary colors (goshiki). Zōi is a dish usually reserved for New Year’s in modern Japan, but it was a typical snack (sakana) for shikisankon since the Muromachi period. The Shimazu reserved zōi for the most formal occasions such as weddings and trips to the ancestral temple (bōdaiji), so its presence here with the five varieties of offerings and the pheasant dish marked the solemnity of the event.

Not all the snacks carried such heavy symbolism. The dried mullet roe, also seen in the earlier tea menu, and the dried cod were ideal accompaniments for drinking alcohol like modern finger foods (otsumami).

Iemitsu’s Banquet Menu

The banquet that followed the shikisankon used a style of service that originated among the warrior elite in the fourteenth century called “main tray cuisine” (honzen ryōri). Served simultaneously with a main tray with its own dishes of food were an additional number of trays with more dishes. Each tray, including the main one, had at least one soup (shiru, jū) and a number of side dishes (sai), but rice and pickles were usually only found on the main tray along with the chopsticks. A typical formula for describing the organization of trays and dishes at honzen banquets was “seven, five, three” (shichi

Yūju, Shinseki to hito no kyōen (Hōsei daigaku shuppankyoku, 2007), pp. 337–45.
33 Yamanouchi ryōrī in vol. 18 of Nihon ryōri hiden shūsei, ed. Issunsha (Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1985), p. 76.
35 Hayashi Razan, Hōchō shōrōku, p. 348.
36 Modern recipes for zōi, though varied, usually preserve this five color symbolism in their ingredients, Matsushita Sachiko, Iwai no shokubunka (Tokyo bijutsu sensho, 1994), p. 96.
37 Ryōri monogatari, p. 81.
38 Ise Sadateke, Teijō zakki in vol, 18 of Nihon ryōri hiden shūsei, ed. Issunsha (Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1985), p. 300.
This indicated three trays each with a soup, and seven, five, and three side dishes on them respectively. This was the format of the banquet for Iemitsu in 1630, and one that was typical service for the shogun in the Edo period.\(^{42}\)

Three trays was a typical formulation for shoguns, but the number of trays and the number of dishes on them varied for guests of other rank. Large banquets in the Muromachi period might have up to thirty-two side dishes, although some of these dishes, like a few described below, were decorative and not meant to be consumed.\(^{43}\)

In the Edo period, most samurai including daimyo were, like commoners, limited by sumptuary legislation to just two trays of food at banquets, albeit daimyo that held their own provinces (kunimochi) were allowed seven side dishes, but commoners and hatamoto could only have five side dishes.\(^{44}\) Samurai and commoners who could afford extravagance were able to get around this rule by serving a third tray separately from the first two trays. Thereby they maintained the appearance of a simple two-tray banquet, even if only temporarily.\(^{45}\)

A notation in the menu for Iemitsu states that the three trays would bear seven, five, and three items respectively, but other guests at the banquet received fewer dishes befitting their rank. In this instance, the Shimazu's own high-ranking retainers (karō) in attendance received only five dishes on the main tray.\(^{46}\) On the main tray for the shogun's meal there were seven items not counting the chopsticks, salt, and yuzuke, standing for the obligatory rice.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main tray</th>
<th>Grilled salt-cured fish (shiobiki)</th>
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<tr>
<td>Octopus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fish-paste cake (kamaboko)</td>
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<td>Chopsticks</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fish salad (aemaze)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hot water over rice (yuzuke)</td>
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<td>Pickles</td>
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<td>Fish flavored in sake (sakabite)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fermented intestines of sea cucumber (konowata)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Salt for flavoring (teshio)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Looking at the contents of the tray, several of the dishes recall warrior traditions dating to the Muromachi period if not earlier, perhaps as a reminder of the fact that the Shimazu house was one of the oldest warrior lineages, tracing its legacy in Kyushu back to the time of the first shogun, Minamoto no Yoritomo (1147–1199). According to one Edo-period author the rice dish here, *yuzuke* (hot water over rice), began with the third Muromachi shogun, Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (1358–1408). The powerful Muromachi shogun became drunk at a party, poured hot water on his rice, and ate it, inspiring others to follow suit.\(^{47}\) The fish salad (*aemaze*) was another throwback to the Muromachi period, a dish similar to a “raw salad” (*namasu*), and was typically served on the main tray at Muromachi banquets.\(^{48}\) One of the earliest cooking treatises, *Shijō School Text on Food Preparation* (*Shijōryū hōchōsho*), dating to 1489, indicated: “By custom, fish salad was

\(^{42}\) Maruyama Yasunari, “Kinsei ni okeru daimyo, shōmin no shoku seikatsu: Sono ryōrī kondate o chūshin to shite,” in *Shoku seikatsu to shokumotsushi*, vol. 2 of *Zenshū Nihon no shokubunka*, eds. Haga Noboru and Ishikawa Hiroko (Yūzankaku, 1999), p. 175.

\(^{43}\) Ogura et al., vol. 2, p. 161.


\(^{45}\) In that case, the third was called an “additional tray” (*hikite*). The cookbook *Threading Together the Sages of Verse* (*Kasen no kumi ito*) published in 1748 includes menus of two tray meals followed by a *hikite* bearing an additional soup and more side dishes than the first two trays combined. Since these trays have soups, the *hikite* was meant to be eaten at the banquet and was not a *hikidemono*, a tray of foods meant for the guests to take home and eat later: *Kasen no kumi ito* in vol. 7 of *Nihon ryōrī hiden shiusei*, ed. Issunsha (Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1985), pp. 57–119.

\(^{46}\) Ego, p. 14.

\(^{47}\) Ise, *Teijō zakki*, p. 260.

\(^{48}\) Sashimi gradually replaced *namasu* in Edo period banquets, and the latter was renamed *su no mono*, Ebara Kei, *Edo ryōrishi ko: Nihon ryōri (sōsōki)* (Kawade shobō, 1986), p. 63, 115.
always used in the middle of the main tray...." 

Namasu is a predecessor to sashimi: it combines slices of raw fish with vegetables and fruits like citron served with a vinegar-based dressing. 

Aemaze is a similar but less complicated marinade of fish or seafood that used a sake-based dressing.

The directions for the cooked salad here are not specified and neither are the contents of the fish paste cake made from mashed fish and starch. One Edo-period commentator wrote that catfish was the only authentic fish for a fishcake, but he also conceded that any fish would do.

Shijō Takashima (n. d.) who compiled Revised Culinary Encyclopedia of Our School, a book about creating ceremonial banquets for the samurai elite published in 1714, listed twenty different fish and seafood combinations that could be used for making kamaboko.

The second tray, consisting of two soups and five side dishes, contained another Muromachi-period dish, “gathered soup” (oshiru atsume).

Second Tray
Dried salted mullet roe (karasumi)
Jellyfish
“Gathered soup” (oshiru atsume)
Servings of mollusks (kaimori)
Rolled squid
Dried codfish
Swan soup

Oshiru atsume, more commonly known as atsumejiru appeared on the menus of formal banquets for warriors in the early sixteenth century when it was often used for the shikisankon, but the recipe itself might be older. Typical ingredients included dried sea cucumber intestines (iriko) used frequently in this meal for Iemitsu, skewered abalone, wheat gluten,

soybeans, and “sweet seaweed” (ama nori).

This soup complements a second soup made from swan. Besides the iriko, the rolled squid and codfish harkened back to the shikisankon earlier in the day. The description “servings” of mollusks indicates that it was probably a decorative dish not meant to be consumed like the hamori and funamori dishes on the third tray.

The third tray continued the Muromachi-period style of the banquet:

Third Tray
Fowl served with its wings (hamori)
Carp soup
Turbo (sazae)
[Spiny lobster] served in a boat shape (funamori)
“Cloud hermit” (unzen) soup

Unzen (or unzenkan) was a Chinese dish adopted in the Muromachi period, a gelatin made from grated yam, sugar, and scrambled egg, which was steamed to form a cloud shape when floating in soup. The carp in the second soup was the favorite fish of the Muromachi period before sea bream surpassed it in popularity in the Edo period, when it still had its fans. Carp, wrote Hayashi Razan, was both a delicacy (bibutsu) and an auspicious delicacy nicknamed a “gift to Confucius” since the Chinese scholar received one when his son was born.

However, two other dishes, which also date to Muromachi-period culinary customs, were especially objects of attention. Fowl served with its wings hamori style featured a duck or quail cooked with its feathered wings reattached and positioned so that the bird looked like it might fly away. Spiny lobster in the shape of a boat featured a large crustacean whose legs, feelers, and body had been contorted to give the appearance of a sailing ship. Both dishes were served with additional decorations made from paper and flowers. Neither of these dishes was meant to be eaten; instead they were spectacle pieces meant to show off the cook’s skills and added dignity to the occasion. The equivalent of food sculptures,
these dishes provided an important artistic dimension to the meal, crucial to the designation of a cuisine as distinct from ordinary foods and mundane ways of cooking and eating.56

Iemitsu’s banquet ended with a desert course of sweets: “Ice rice-cakes” (kōri mochi), tangerines, and persimmons on a branch.57 Ice rice-cakes are made in mid-winter by pounding non-glutinous rice in a mortar and then using a sieve to make a paste, which is then molded into cakes that are frozen before being cut and sun-dried for a month. The cakes need to be softened with hot water to be eaten.58 The tangerines and persimmons would have been sweeter. All three are traditional sweets like the ones in the previous tea ceremony albeit other members at the banquet were served the Iberian-inspired sponge cake kasutera.59 Kasutera, the hard candy konpeitō, and the softer sugar candy aruheitō were becoming popular with some members of elite society in this period.60 Four years earlier, when Iemitsu and his father entertained Emperor Go‘Mizun’o’o (d. 1680) at a lavish series of meals at Nijō Castle in Kyoto they served kasutera and aruheitō in a collection of seven sweets presented as part of a banquet meal on the morning of the eighth day of the ninth month.61

Banquet Foods in Contrast to a Boring Diet

Banqueting aside, the meals that samurai in-
cluding the shogun ate on a daily basis were not far from what many commoners ate or from the description of modern culinary historians who call these meals dull and monotonous. A typical meal for commoners living in Edo consisted of miso soup and pickles with one side dish of tofu, simmered vegetables, or perhaps a fish; and this was comparable to the meals for most samurai.62 The monotony of these daily meals made the dishes served at banquets all the more remarkable and memorable.

On the whole, the daily meals for samurai of high and low rank were rather plain. The shogun had his daily meals served on two trays, but in terms of their basic structure, the shogun’s meals of rice, soup, boiled vegetables, and fish dishes was otherwise comparable to what people in other classes ate.63 Some shoguns such as Ienari (1773–1841) were noted for their extravagant meals.64 According to one story, the first shogun leyasu died after gorging himself on sea bream tempura, even though he passed away several months after consuming this dish.65 Other shogun like the last one, Yoshinobu (1837–1913), dined rather frugally as described in Record of Inquiries into Bygone Days (Kyūjī shimonroku), a transcript of interviews with former bakufu officials.66 Yoshinobu disliked eating animals

56 For a discussion of these dishes, see Eric C. Rath, Food and Fantasy in Early Modern Japan (forthcoming).
57 Ego, p. 13.
60 In 1635, the confectioner Toraya began supplying the imperial court with Iberian sweets including kasutera, karumera, and aruheitō; and in the same period these were becoming local specialties in Kyoto. Nakayama Keiko, Jiten: wagashi no sekai (Iwanami shoten, 2006), p. 114.
Pickles to accompany rice. Dinner saw the return of the pickled apricot, and a dish cooked in miso paste. Rice with tea poured over it (chazuke). What then did he actually eat? For breakfast one spring (menus changed according to the season), the shogun was served two trays of food. The tray first had rice, miso soup with an egg in it, chilled tofu (sawasawa tōfu) flavored with flower petals (perhaps pickled cherry blossoms), and a gelatin made from agar agar (kanten), kamaboko mixed with walnuts, finely cut strips of egg omelet (kinshi tamago), konbu seaweed, and slices of sea bream. The second tray presented a grilled bluefin gurnard (hōdō), a small omelet of dry seasoned tofu wrapped in nori, gourd pickled in sake lees, and daikon pickled in miso. These are fancier versions of the foods commoners ate, and nothing comparable to the extravagant dishes found in Iemitsu’s banquet described earlier.

Daimyo ate more simply than the shogun, but their meals followed the same basic structure of rice, soup, pickles, and side dishes. For breakfast in the 1780s, the daimyo of Kumamoto domain ate rice with tea poured over it (chazuke), pickles, pickled apricot, and a dish cooked in miso (yakimiso). Lunch consisted of a soup and a side dish. Dinner saw the return of the yakimiso dish and pickles to accompany rice. The research of Miyakoshi Matsuko on the Date house, daimyo of Sendai domain (modern Miyagi prefecture), indicates the daimyo usually had two side dishes to accompany rice and soup for breakfast but little more than that for lunch and dinner. Vegetable dishes usually made from daikon, burdock root, Chinese yam (nagaimo), taro, sweet potato, and devil’s tongue root (kon’yaku) were served for breakfast, and meat dishes particularly fish, gamecock, duck, and chicken appeared more often for lunch and dinner. The daimyo ate eggs frequently and year round. In winter, he ate more fish particularly prawns, tuna, flatfish, false hali-but, and sea bream as well as river fish that included eel, sweet-fish, striped mullet, and carp. 

In autumn, he ate more vegetable dishes. The daimyo consumed shellfish such as fan shells (tairagai) and Venus clams (hamaguri), but he avoided foods beloved by commoners such as tempura, sushi, and grilled fish or vegetables topped with sweet miso (dengaku)—dishes that are synonymous with modern Japanese cuisine but may have been too plebian for the daimyo’s taste. The daimyo of Sendai domain did not eat a large number of dishes, but his daily consumption of eggs and fish indicates a rather luxurious diet.

Estimates of the daily caloric intake for the daimyo of Sendai domain reveal a diet of approximately 3,000 calories a day. This is comparable to the diets of modern Japanese, although the daimyo may have had a lower intake of vitamin C and other essential nutrients. One lower level samurai, Ozaki Junnosuke Sadamiki who lived in the 1860s and kept a scrupulous record of his meals, consumed an estimated 1,868 calories at home but when he dined out he averaged 1,934 calories. This was only slightly higher than the diet of commoners living in the same period. Estimates of the caloric intake for commoners living in the Hida area of Gifu in 1874 reveal 1,850 calories with similar deficiencies in vitamin C, while commoners in the domain of Chōshū in 1840s had an estimated daily intake of 1,664 calories. Such estimates provide a limited but telling view of the commonalities between the diet of lower-level samurai and commoners despite sumptuary legislation meant to distinguish the two groups.

A few diaries provide concrete information about the diet of lower-level samurai in the Edo period, and one of these is Record from a Parrot’s Cage (Ōmurō chūki) by Asahi Monzaemon (1674–1718). A samurai of the Tokugawa do-


Maruyama, p. 182.


Hanley, p. 687.

For an overview of this text and its author, see Luke Roberts, “A Transgressive Life: The Diary
main in Owari province (modern Aichi prefecture), Asahi was supposed to enjoy a hereditary stipend of 150 koku, but his actual income had been reduced to thirty-five koku as part of financial retrenchment in his domain. After paying seven koku for living expenses, Asahi had only twenty-eight koku left. He augmented his income by tutoring and hand-copying texts. His diary, which covers the years 1686–1717, describes his passion for eating, which one modern commentator has described as his reason for living.\(^7^3\)

On the twenty-seventh day of the tenth month of 1697, Asahi invited nine guests to dinner, serving them “codfish soup with water-drop wart (seri), simmered winter melon with grated yam (tororo), grilled Spanish mackerel (sawara), and pickles.” For snacks to accompany drinks after the meal, he provided “simmered duck meat, sea cucumber marinated in vinegar, salt-cured fish entrails (shio-kara), thick slices of simmered burdock root, miso soup with duck gizzard simmered in sake with blue-green freshwater nori (Suizenji nori), clams (hamaguri), pears, and other things.”\(^7^4\) It would have been superfluous for Asahi to mention rice in his record, as it would have been the indispensable accompaniment for any meal. Salt-cured fish intestines, especially those made from sea cucumber, would also have been recognized as a delicacy in the seventeenth century as they remain today.

Sekijō’s diary (Sekijō nikki), the diary of Ozaki Junnosuke Sadamiki, an artist who went by the name Sekijō, presents information about the life of a samurai who lived two centuries after Asahi and had an even lower income. Sekijō hailed from Musashi province (in modern Saitama prefecture). He had some talent as a painter and his diary, which spanned a period from the sixth month of 1861 to the fourth month of 1862, includes a few illustrations. Adopted into the Ozaki family, Sekijō saw his salary of 100 koku reduced to the equivalent of 18 koku after writing a complaint to the leadership of his domain in 1857. Sekijō continued in his official duties, but these did not occupy much of his time. Instead, his diary indicates that he devoted most of his time to drinking, eating, and reading about food in culinary books. On the twenty-sixth day of the sixth month of 1861, he wrote that he ate “breakfast of soup, lunch of tofu, and dinner of the same.”\(^7^5\) Sekijō’s soup was a broth made from fish paste and egg. All three meals would have been accompanied by rice. Tofu was apparently one of Sekijō’s favorite dishes, but he also ate a lot of dried sardines, pickles, and rice doused with tea (chazuke). He broke the monotony of his meals at home by dining out or at a friend’s house. On these occasions he recorded eating sashimi, simmered dishes, and stews; he augmented his usual diet of sardines, tuna, and freshwater clams (shijimi), with sea bream, salmon, and cockles. While Sekijō rarely missed the chance to have a drink with his meals, he only ate one egg a week. Whether he was dining in or out, the vegetables he consumed were usually daikon, eggplant, green onion, and taro.\(^7^6\) Sekijō occasionally prepared his own meals, as on the seventeenth day of the fourth month of 1861 when he made “scattered sushi” (chirashi-zushi) by sprinkling chopped ginger shoots, egg, dried squid, shiitake mushrooms, red seaweed nori (tosaka nori), Japanese butterbur (fuki), lotus root, [green] nori, dried gourd, udo, bamboo shoot, and salmon over rice flavored with vinegar.\(^7^7\) However, he never described the taste of his cooking or of the other meals he ate.\(^7^8\) This speaks both to the monotony of his diet and to the fact that he meant his diary as a personal record not as a gourmet column.

The diet of lower-level samurai as seen from these two diaries differed from that of elite samurai in terms of ingredients, but the cooking techniques employed for their meals were very similar. Grilled and simmered dishes appear to be the most typical. Meticulous slicing was also important in the preparation of sashimi and scattered sushi. Desserts such as fruits and sweets were not usually mentioned as part of the meal even for elite samurai, although they may have

\(^7^5\) Harada 2003, pp. 97–109.  
\(^7^6\) Sakurai, p. 91.  
\(^7^7\) Udo looks like celery, but it is much longer; both the leaves and stalk are edible.  
\(^7^8\) Harada 2003, p. 112.
been consumed outside of regular mealtimes. The most profound distinctions between samurai and other social groups as well as between the diet of elite and lower-level samurai were apparent in the extravagant banquets described above.

Conclusion

The chance to experience cuisine in its most exalted form in the early modern period was not an everyday experience, and it was limited to a handful of members of society; yet this elite cuisine was influential in several ways on other sectors in society and on the development of Japanese cuisine in the modern period. Main tray cuisine (*honzen ryōri*), which began in traditions of shogunal visitations in the Muromachi period, came to be adapted by commoners in the Edo period who found a use for a version using two trays of dishes for meals at festival banquets, weddings, and in restaurants. The basic components of *honzen* dining—rice, soup, side dishes, and pickles—comprised the typical elements of most meals in Japan until after World War II. Commoners adopted the samurai custom of *shikisankon*, performing the drinking ceremony at weddings, and adapting it to other occasions such as when a client met a courtesan for the first time. Rice cake soup (*ozōni*) remains a staple of traditional New Year’s meals in Japan to this day, while the festival of *kajō* gave an excuse to commoners to eat sweets on the sixteenth day of the sixth month in the belief that doing so prevented disease.

Finally, to return to the topic of cuisine raised at the beginning of this article, the evidence from the banquet for Tokugawa Iemitsu examined here helps us to recognize the complexity of dining in early modern Japan and how it could be as much a mental and artistic exercise as a sensory one. In that light, future research should examine how modern Japanese cuisine not only built upon earlier cooking techniques, but how it also drew upon older practices of signification found in early modern cuisine. Yet in the effort to isolate the elements that contributed to the national and regional cuisines in modern Japan, scholars should not lose sight of the diversity and complexity of early modern cuisine. In contrast to modern cuisine, the early modern version was heterogeneous, but it had to be in order to resonate on so many different levels for its practitioners and consumers.

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80 Lindsey, p. 94.
81 Nakayama 1993, p. 46.
Samurai and the World of Goods: the Diaries of the Toyama Family of Hachinohe

© Constantine N. Vaporis, University of Maryland, Baltimore County

Introduction

Samurai are often depicted in popular representations as indifferent to—if not disdainful of—monetary affairs, leading a life devoted to the study of the twin ways of scholastic, meaning largely Confucian, learning and martial arts. Fukuzawa Yukichi, reminiscing about his younger days, would have us believe that they “were ashamed of being seen handling money.” He maintained that “it was customary for samurai to wrap their faces with hand-towels and go out after dark whenever they had an errand to do” in order to avoid being seen engaging in commerce. Always claiming to be an iconoclast, Fukuzawa proudly stated, “I hated having a towel on my face and have never worn one. I even used to go out on errands in broad daylight.”

Of course it is problematic to take Fukuzawa’s comments as representative of all samurai, or even those of his lowly economic status. In fact we know that samurai had a much more complicated relationship with money and the principles of commerce and trade. While some might have felt on a certain level that arithmetic was the tool of the merchant, the lowest social estate in the Neo-Confucian scheme, Dazai Shundai (1680–1747) was representative of a number of prominent intellectuals who did not see “trade and market economies as functionally specific to the merchant class…” Whatever public face some samurai may have put on, the vast majority, who were based in urban centers, could ill afford to be indifferent to money and commerce. Largely divorced from the land and incumbent upon the lord for their livelihood, usually disbursed in the form of stipends, samurai were, willy-nilly, drawn into the commercial economy. While the playful (gesaku) literature of the late Tokugawa period tended to portray them as unrefined “country samurai” (inaka samurai, i.e. samurai from the provincial castle towns) a reading of personal diaries kept by samurai reveals that, far from exhibiting a lack of concern for monetary affairs, they were keenly price conscious, having no real alternative but to learn the art of thrift. This was true of Edo-based samurai as well, despite the fact that unlike their cohorts in the domain they were largely spared the forced paybacks, infamously dubbed “loans to the lord” (onkariage), that most domain governments resorted to by the beginning of the eighteenth century.

While this characterization of engagement with the commercial economy holds for most samurai, it was particularly true of the Edo-based retainer. During periods of service to his lord in Edo, who was in turn in attendance on the Tokugawa shogun, the domainal samurai had ample spare time to take part in the commercial economy of the Tokugawa capital by dining at restaurants, food stalls and drinking establishments; searching for medications to treat bodily ailments or simply to maintain health; going to public baths; making pilgrimages to local shrines and temples, as well as attending festivals there; and, of course, shopping.

Alternate attendance, therefore, by definition, created an instant class of consumers, separated from home and family. The domainal samurai, like the commoner on pilgrimage, is well known to have bought souvenirs, or miyage, while on duty in Edo for family and friends back home.

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4 See Constantine Nomikos Vaporis, Breaking Barriers: Travel and the State in Early Modern Japan (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Council on
This, however, only partially describes their activities as consumers. Some samurai of more substantial means used the opportunity of a year-long tour of duty in Edo to collect material objects of artistic and/or martial interest. Tosa retainer Mori Masana, for example, purchased at least twenty-one sword guards on his trip to, and stay in, Edo. He was also an avid collector of art of various types, including calligraphy, scrolls, poem cards and woodblock prints. Others, like Tosa Confucian scholar Miyaji Umanosuke, took advantage of their presence in the largest city in the land to purchase a vast array of commodities for household and personal use.

While a tour of duty in Edo could have a transformative effect on an individual’s career and life, a samurai serving in Edo could also become an integral part of a wider human network, across which the material culture of Tokugawa Japan was dispersed throughout the country. Using personal diaries brushed by two retainers, father and son, from Hachinohe domain, this article will analyze the Edo-based domainal retainer’s engagement with the commercial economy. Specifically, it will focus on the types of commodities purchased, rather than the other types of activities mentioned above, and offer an assessment of the meanings of these goods. In doing so it will explore the hierarchy of values implicit in them for samurai and the larger society in which they lived. Furthermore, it will be argued that consumption may be driven as much by fashion as economic necessity, and that many of the commodities samurai purchased reflected concerns with personal appearance, a taste for


amusement and activities for relaxation—parts of a consumer society that in Japan, as well as in Europe, is “nearly four hundred years old.”

The Toyama and their Diaries

The Toyama family had a history of service to the lord in Edo. With the exception of the founder, the other seven generations completed at least one tour of duty there. Both Heima, who assumed the family headship in 1791, and his son, Tamuro, who succeeded him in 1825, made multiple trips. The last three generation-heads maintained diaries, spanning more than a century, from 1792–1919, and 109 volumes. The first and second of these, Heima (father) and Tamuro (son) both kept detailed diaries of their lives in Hachinohe and Edo, designating different volumes for their experiences in each locale, even though much of the contents of what they wrote demonstrates the extent to which the two were intertwined. Their accounts over a period of six years, from 1828–34, are particularly well documented and thus serve as the chronological focus of this essay.

The locale in which the Toyama household originated, Hachinohe, was a small, branch domain of Morioka, located in northern Japan, established in 1664. Its ruling family, the Nambu, presided over a domain with an assessed total agricultural output of only 12,000 koku, just 2,000 more than the minimum required. In the mid-eighteenth century the domain had a total population of roughly 71,352, which included 2,833 people (4%) belonging to the bushi status group. Hachinohe was also among the minority


8 Hachinohe shi hensan iinkai, ed., Hachinohe shishi tsūshi henshi (Hachinohe: Hachinohe shi, 1976), pp. 234–35. Figures for the first year of Meiji (1869) indicate that there were 63,374 commoners and 3,968 who were of former bushi status.
of domains, roughly twenty per cent of the total, in which retainers continued to hold actual—in contrast to fictive—fiefs. However, their ties to the commoners residing there were more circumscribed in Heima and Tamuro’s time than was the case in the seventeenth century.

In economic terms, the Toyama family was relatively well off. In the late-eighteenth century, when Heima had become househead, the family had a landed estate (chigyō chi) valued at 100 koku. In Hachinohe only eighty-five of the 375 samurai in the daimyo’s retainer corps had holdings of 100 koku or more. This put the Toyama in the top quarter of the retainer corps—the upper ranks of Hachinohe’s samurai. As was typical, their fief was dispersed, in two areas, the main one being located at a considerable distance from the castle town. However, the family also purchased some farmland near the castle town, actually working a portion of it themselves while tenant farmers tilled the rest. Househeads were appointed to positions befitting their status as upper samurai, most often to that of Inspector, Magistrate of Shrines and Temples or City Magistrate.

The Toyama household consisted of Tamuro, his father Heima, two grandparents, his wife, two brothers and two sisters and an equal number of step-siblings born to his father’s second wife. Tamuro himself only had one child, a daughter named Omasa. Though not part of the immediate household, Tamuro’s uncle, Ōta Kimanta, who also served in Edo multiple times, played an important part in the life of the Toyama family.

**Life in Edo**

The purpose of the Toyamas’ presence in Edo was to serve their lord, Nambu Nobumasa (1796-1842). Both father and son filled several different positions at different times, including that of Domain Products Manager (sanbutsu torishimari gakari), which entailed broad responsibility for domanal commodities moving between the two points of Edo and Hachinohe. More specifically, it included responsibilities such as oversight of the transport between Edo and Hachinohe, the fixing of prices for domanal products in Edo as well as the sale of these commodities to wholesale merchants there. Their jobs might have made them more knowledgeable about the Edo market and more disciplined recorders of this data than many other diarists, but there is little about their experience as consumers which would mark them as exceptional for samurai of their status. As will be argued below, samurai could gain knowledge of the Edo market quickly, through repeated service there, or for newcomers, from those who had served before in the capital, as well as through guidebooks. Given their economic means, the Toyomas certainly purchased more than samurai of lesser means. However, in terms of the types of commodities purchased and the practices by which they either made purchases for others in Hachinohe, or made requests of others stationed in Edo to purchase goods for them while back in Hachinohe, they were quite typical.

Official duties, while important, did not consume Tamuro’s time in Edo, in part because most jobs, those held in Edo as well as in the domain, were shared. During a three-month period in 1828, for example, Tamuro worked forty-eight out of sixty-eight days. In other words, he had roughly three days off for every ten worked; in actual terms this meant that he was off every third or fourth day. In addition, on the days he was required to perform his official duties, work usually entailed one of three shifts—the early shift (hayaban), the second shift (atoban) and the overnight shift (hayadomari)—which left him with ample time off. The early shift left most of the day free for other activities, and on days when he had the second shift he could go out beforehand. It was also fairly easy for a retainer to adjust his work schedule for convenience sake, as when, for example, Tamuro found someone to

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9 Information on the Toyama fief and household comes from the explanatory preface in Miura Tadashi, ed., *Toyama ke nikki*, vol. 1 (Aomori: Aomori ken bunkazai hogo kyōkai), pp. 3–7. In 1845 the family received an additional 25 koku cash supplement.


take his overnight shift so that he could go to Asakusa to watch puppet theater. As a result of a flexible schedule and light work duties, over the course of his nearly year-long tour of duty (336 days), Tamuro was able to go out on as many as 145 days.

For leisure, Tamuro, had a variety of choices. Like the majority of Edo-bound retainers, though, most often he got together with friends informally, to talk, drink tea or sake, and play games like shogi or go. However, when he left the compound his passion appears to have been the puppet theater, which he attended eight times during a period of two months in 1828 at various locations in the city, such as Kawarake, Shinbashi, Sukiyabashi, Nishikubō and Akasaka. On days off he often followed a routine: first a bath at the public sentō, then he had his hair dressed, followed by a night at the theater. On three occasions during this time he went to public festivals, at Kumano, Konpira and Akiba shrines. At other times he combined activities, shopping, for example, on the way home from a day’s outing, as when he stopped by Shinjuku on his way back from Konpira shrine to buy an unlined kimono (hitoemono).

**Shopping**

Retainers serving their lords in Edo are well known to have bought souvenirs like woodblock prints for friends and family at home, but this comprised only a portion of their commercial activities. Samurai like Tamuro were fully engaged with the urban economy, and this engagement presumed a certain level of knowledge about its dimension and particularities. It was dependent upon important information concerning the city’s layout, especially the location of key recreational and shopping areas. This information could be gained first-hand through a prior tour of duty, via word of mouth from others who had served previously in Edo, as well as through guidebooks, maps and personal investigation.

An early example of a guidebook aimed at samurai in Edo, dating from 1689, ran only twelve folios in length but contained a wealth of information, including city maps, locations of shrines and temples, and a list of alternate readings of local place names; in terms of consumer activities, it also contained lists, with addresses, of doctors, dentists, internists and a wide range of stores for books, cloth, armor, swords and other weapons. A more contemporary example of a similar shopping guide is the *Edo kaimono hitori annai*, which dates from 1824.

Although Tamuro purchased commodities on many occasions, most of the time he only wrote in his diary that he was going shopping (chōmotsu e mairi or totonoe ni makari idashi). In fact there are only nineteen instances during his second tour of duty when he identified either the type or location of stores he frequented. While this might not seem like a large number of occurrences, it is quite unusual, in my experience reading diaries, for this type of information to be given at all. For example, Tamuro visited a pipe store named Fujita-ya once and a tailor named Kiyobei seven times, both at Shiba Shinmei; used clothing stores in the Mita area, twice; Matsuzakaya, a dry goods store and branch of Echigoya, twice; and, Daimaru, another dry goods store at Nihonbashi, once. He also shopped at unidentified stores in Hikage-chō four times, Akabane once, and took cloth to be dyed at a store in Kōjimachi. Based on this limited data, he appears to have carried out his shopping in areas such as Shiba Shinmei, Hikage-chō and Mita, which were located fairly close by his do-

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13 Toyama ke nikki, vol. 1, p. 75.
14 For a recent study of Edo’s printed culture, see Mary Elizabeth Berry, *Japan in Print: Information and Nation in the Early Modern Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).
15 Ms. “Edo zuroku kōmoku” (Edo: Sagamiya Tahei, publisher, Genroku 2 (1689).
main’s residence at Azabu, the headquarters of Hachinohe in Edo.\(^\text{18}\) As these spots—particularly Shiba Shinmei and Hikage-chō—were quite active, bustling commercial areas, probably he did not feel the need to go further away to Nihonbashi or Asakusa to find the same goods and services.\(^\text{19}\) Moreover, having served in Edo before, he was already familiar with these places and therefore may have had less desire to travel to more distant shopping areas.

While Tamuro did purchase some goods and procure some services for himself, much of his commercial activities were on behalf of other people and the goods purchased reflected diverse consumer needs. In fact, even before setting out for Edo Tamuro’s father gave him a list of twenty goods to purchase there, with a total price tag of over five ryō. This included: a wicker trunk (tsuzura); a mirror; three bags of cotton yarn; 1,000 sheets of gray, recycled paper (kirigami nezumi); a small chest; a woman’s umbrella; tea; cotton padding for futon; a woman’s hair comb box (kushibako) of black lacquer; a woman’s pipe\(^\text{20}\); a cloth pouch for tissues made of damask or sarashina; white cotton cloth; 1,000 sheets of hankami, a thick, higher quality paper used for wrapping or for documents such as letters; three rolls of silk cloth (one crepe silk, the two others with a flower pattern); one roll of calico for his grandmother; a collar (juban eri) for his mother’s kimono; a second-hand unlined kimono; and, material for an unlined kimono for his wife.\(^\text{21}\)

In this list of goods ordered by Heima, we see a variety of goods. The majority of purchases consisted of cloth, mainly for sewing kimono. While this essay focuses largely on consumption, the act of appropriating goods in the market place, it was inevitably linked with the production of meanings.\(^\text{22}\) In this case the cloth was transformed by human labor into high-quality, high-cost items which aptly reflected the key place that cloth and clothing occupied in the samurai household budget. Clothing in Tokugawa times was far more precious than today. In fact, it was a woman’s only personal source of wealth, something which in theory even her husband could not dispose of freely.\(^\text{23}\) The under-clothing purchased, on the other hand, consisted of a mix of new and used material, indicating a certain thriftiness. Secondly, we find a variety of handicraft items for women’s use, such as the small chest, mirror, hair comb box, umbrella and cloth bags. Finally, there were also a number of goods that we might classify as daily necessities, such as the tea, pipe, paper, cotton wadding and yarn.

The elder Heima tapped into his considerable store of knowledge about the commercial market in Edo, acquired over the years of service, which included three tours of duty, to give Tamuro detailed instructions on where he might find the goods, what specifications they should have, particularly color, and what their approximate price should be.\(^\text{24}\) He made special note of where

\(^{18}\) For a study of Hachinohe’s various residences in Edo, see Miura Tadashi, “Hachinohe han no Edo yashiki to hanshu no kōyū,” *Rekishi techo* 18, 3 (1990), pp. 4–13.

\(^{19}\) For a contemporary description of the Shinmei area, with its shops, small theaters, misemono and other diversions, see Asakura Haruhiko, ed, *Edo hanjōki* (Heibonsha, 1975), pp. 21–45.

\(^{20}\) See Koizumi Hiroshi, *Edo o horu* (Kashiwa shobō, 1983), pp. 117–28, for a discussion of pipe types, as found in Tokugawa-era excavations.

\(^{21}\) *Toyama ke nikki*, vol. 1, pp. 19–21.

\(^{22}\) T. H. Breen writes that “as soon as a consumer acquired an object, he or she immediately produced an interpretation of that object, a story that gave it special significance.” There were, in other words, “aspects of a single cultural process.” T. H. Breen, “The Meanings of Things: the consumer economy in the eighteenth century,” in John Brewer and Roy Porter, ed., *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), p. 250. Of course the range of possible meanings attached to a commodity influenced its desirability.


\(^{24}\) Heima served in Edo in 1794, 1798 and 1800, holding various jobs including that of Guard for Edo castle and domain purchasing agent (sanbutsu torishimari gakari).
something could be found for a better price, as
was the case with the small chest, which he in-
formed Tamuro should be acquired at Kanaroku-
chō in the Nihonbashi area. From word of mouth
or personal experience with comparison shop-
ing, he came to form opinions about which
stores were reputable and sold products at rea-
sonable prices. For example, the material for
Tamuro’s mother, Heima instructed, should not
be purchased from Owari-ya, whose goods were
not satisfactory, but rather from either Ebisu-ya
or Daimaru. The padding, he noted, could be
bought second-hand, and because it would be
bulky should be sent on the domain boat from
Edo.

Tamuro in turn exhibited an unabashed con-
cern for the price of commodities he was consid-
ering purchasing. He routinely recorded the cost
of items he bought or was considering buying
(e.g. “Tea can be obtained at Yamamoto-ya for
two shu”) as well as where various items could
be found more cheaply and on a number of occa-
sions he was able to save money by purchasing
goods second-hand, including kimono. The fact
that he noted this fact when he purchased cotton
padding for futon bedding demonstrates his con-
cern with cost.

It is not surprising that Tamuro took avail of
his time in Edo to make purchases for various
family members back in Hachinohe, which were
known as “goods sent down” (kudashimono).
His younger sister, for example, sent him a shop-
ing list, and money to pay for the goods, in
preparation for her wedding later that fall in
1828. Tamuro had to rearrange his work schedule,
swapping shifts with someone else to leave the
dominal residence, but failed to record the items
that he purchased.25 Tamuro’s cousin Tomoji
also wrote to him requesting a number of items,
which included woodblock prints, cotton thread,
white paper, gray recycled paper and tea.26 As a
wedding gift for his cousin, Tamuro purchased a
formal set of clothing (kamishimo) made of linen
and sent it by boat together with the items To-
moji had ordered and some Yamamoto tea or-
dered by a woman only identified as Yasu.

Tamuro also purchased for a wider circle of
contacts a range of commodities on a number of
occasions during his tour of duty, from 1829/6
until the following fourth month. In fact, he re-
ceived orders to purchase at least eighty goods
from nine different people in Hachinohe, other
than immediate family members. These included
regular and great uncles, in-laws and two people
with whom there was no apparent familial rela-
tionship.

The nature of the goods purchased for this
circle of family and presumably friends can also
be analyzed by breaking them down into a num-
ber of broad categories. As with Heima’s shop-
ning list earlier, the largest category of commodi-
ties sent from Edo to Hachinohe consisted of
cloth material and clothing, and most of it was
for his family, primarily his mother. The majority
of the items were cloth rather than finished,
ready-to-wear kimono. In other words, materials
like unlined kimono cloth, linen for several types
of kimono and more formal kamishimo wear, and
crepe silk were transported as rolls of cloth back
to Hachinohe, where they were sewn into fin-
ished clothing. Some light kimono and kimono
underlinings were also purchased second-hand;
in this case usually a new collar was purchased
and sometimes the sleeves were replaced with
new material. This was an economical way to
build a wardrobe. Clothing was supplemented
with foot ware, including both tabi and geta.
Clothing was accessorized with bags for tissue
paper, tobacco pouches and umbrellas. Items for
personal make-up and hygiene included hair
chords, white powder (oshiroi), hair oil for men,
lipstick, camellia oil (for women’s hair) and a
toothbrush. A number of other types of cloth
(cotton and silk) material, some in scrap form,
were purchased for various uses, including stuff-
ing for futon, to make furoshiki (wrapping cloth
used to transport goods) or possibly to repair
other clothing. Bags of cotton thread, to be used
back in Hachinohe, as well as a number of ready-
made wraps and hand-towels rounded out the
purchases in this general category of cloth and
clothing. In terms of household items, there were
orders for two small chests, mirrors, sewing need-
les, inexpensive tea bowls (100), brooms, five
pieces of luggage (nimotsu) of an indeterminate
type, a woman’s pipe (for his wife) and writing
supplies. The latter consisted of brushes, ink and

multiple types of paper—a total of 2,000 sheets—including the recycled grey-colored paper noted above.

Since Edo at this time was the main center for publishing, it is not surprising that there were also orders for a number of books, including literature, dictionaries (e.g., *Bunsen jibiki*) and other reference works. Some of the books he acquired, such as the book of heraldry, *Daibukan*, and works of literature (e.g., *Edo sunago*) were directly associated with Edo, the first of them being a who’s who of elite members of the samurai status group in the Tokugawa capital. All of these books would have been valuable resources back in Hachinohe, where the Toyama were one of thirty-eight samurai families who were members of a book cooperative which pooled resources to purchase what in the early nineteenth century amounted to 2,588 volumes in both Japanese and Chinese. Domainal retainers posted to Edo thus served as an important conduit through which books found in Edo could be acquired for use in Hachinohe.

Tamuro’s contacts ordered only a limited amount of food—a variety of teas and brown sugar, and tangerines (*mikan*)—probably due to the problem of spoilage during transport. Tangerines, however, were a popular gift at year’s end, and could hold up during the two weeks it often required for shipping to Hachinohe. In the middle of the Twelfth month of 1828, with two feet of new snow on the ground, Heima noted in his diary that Tamuro sent fifty-nine tangerines as gifts—seven for each of two people and five each for nine different people. Likewise, when both he and Heima were back in Hachinohe, they received over sixty tangerines, three other type of citrus fruit known as *kyūnenbo* and one citron, from a total of seven people.

Sugar was a highly valuable commodity in Tokugawa Japan—according to one source, in the closing years of the period seven times as expensive as rice—and therefore it only made infrequent appearances in Tamuro and Heima’s accounts. Largely an import item until the early eighteenth century, when Shogun Yoshimune implemented policies for import substitution, domestic sugar began being produced in a number of areas in western Japan, particularly in northern Shikoku (Sanuki and Awa), but to some extent in the Kantō region south of Edo as well. Sugar was used not only for sweets but in a variety of cooking. Carried to Hachinohe from Edo, it would have made a most welcome gift. Unfortunately the quantities Heima and Tamuro purchased on these occasions often are not indicated or are not very clear. As part of a large year-end shipment of goods in 1830, Tamuro sent “sugar packaged in four bags” and a round container (*magemono*) of sugar. On yet another occasion he purchased a jar (*kame*) of sugar for a

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27 *Toyama ke Nikki*, vol. 2, pp. 267, 287. Also, as befitting the samurai status to which those ordering goods from Tamuro belonged, there were a few orders for short swords, various types of standards (flags used by warriors for identification), material for sword hilts, sword mountings (*koshirae*) and one request to have a piece of armor repaired.

28 Kobayashi Fumio, “Buke no zōsho to shusho katsudo—Hachinohe han shomotsu nakama no shokai,” *Rekishi hyōron* 605 (2000), pp. 68–71. The members pooled their resources to purchase books, which were then available to all on a lending basis. The collection was housed in the residence of a domain Senior Advisor (*karō*). The volumes formed the founding collection for what in Meiji times became the Hachinohe City Library.

29 *Toyama ke Nikki*, vol. 1, p. 186.


31 The areas mentioned produced white sugar. Brown sugar, originally only an import from Ryukyu, via Satsuma, was later produced in Tosa, Izumi, Suruga, Tōtōmi and Mikawa. Nihon fūzokushi gakkai, ed., *Zusetsu Edo jidai shoku seikatsu jiten* (Yūzankaku, 1989), pp. 163–64 and Kitagawa Morisada, *Kinsei fūzokushi* (*Morisaka mankō*), vol. 5 (Iwanami shoten, 2002), pp. 1125–26. The Toyama’s were most likely dealing with white sugar, which was used in a variety of sweets, in tempura, and fish paste (*kamaboko*), to cite a few examples. On Tosa’s attempts to begin a sugar industry in the late-eighth century, see Roberts, *Mercantilism in a Japanese Domain*, pp. 189–93.
friend in Hachinohe.  

Food and clothing are economic necessities but the commodities the Toyama purchased were to a large extent “non-essentials that made life more pleasant, interesting, and comfortable.”

Cloth and clothing were available to the Toyamas in Hachinohe; the purchases made in Edo reflected a concern for price in some cases but also, to be sure, for selection and quality. Tangerines and sugar were not essential for human life but rather commodities whose relative scarcity in Hachinohe made them luxuries.

While sugar was still an unusual and expensive commodity, and therefore not frequently purchased in Edo by domainal retainers, a surprisingly large number of vegetable seeds and roots, as well as full plants, made their way north. Eggplant, daikon radish, winter greens (fuyuna), Chinese cabbage and celery were just a few of the seeds bought in Edo for use in Hachinohe. A large bag of Nerima daikon radish, in root form, was purchased as well. Given the largely agricultural nature of early modern Japan, and Hachinohe domain in particular, we can safely assume that seeds for these vegetables were available locally to the people who requested them, so there had to be special reasons why they requested them from Edo. Perhaps they simply wanted to try seeds from a different part of the country, although except for the daikon radish root, which is named after a locality in Edo, none of the other items have any apparent specific geographic association.

The same was true of the variety of plants, including trees (willow, pine, cherry and maple), which Tamuro purchased for people in Hachinohe. Several types of bushes (azalea, rose and laurel) were sent in barrels, sometimes together with the tree seedlings. In this, Tamuro was like Tosa retainer Shimamura Muemon, who in 1704 brought back azaleas from Edo to Kochi azaleas. Some of these he gave or sold to a landed samurai (gōshi) named Fukushima Yasaku, who cultivated them for profit.

The plants that Tamuro purchased all give evidence of the boom in gardening experienced in Edo and elsewhere in the early nineteenth century. Of course, Tamuro himself was caught up in this fad and gave plants he cultivated to relatives as well as to merchants with whom he did business.

When in Hachinohe, Tamuro in turn made use of the human networks of friends and colleagues who were serving in Edo. In 1840 (Tenpō 11/10/3), for example, he sent his own shopping list to Edo, requesting that the following items be purchased for him:

- woman’s cloth bag for tissue paper
- pipe and tobacco pouch
- cord for tobacco pouch
- two tobacco pouches
- lipstick (beni)
- material for a narrow obi (koshi obi)
- metal-working tool (shirogana mono)

This list included typical requests such as tobacco-related paraphernalia, make-up and cloth, but also one unusual item, a tool for applying metal to armor. For purchasing these commodities, Tamuro, like his father, gave his colleague

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32 Toyama ke niki, vol. 1, pp. 257–58. In Europe during the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries sugar was the central ingredient in confections, created by a new profession of sugarbaking, the consumption of which was a mark of gentility. By the late-seventeenth century “substantial amounts” of sugar were regularly consumed at the middle levels of society. Woodruff D. Smith, Consumption and the Making of Respectability (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 97–99.


Tomabechi suggestions about where he could obtain some of them at a reasonable price and of good-quality, thus demonstrating his knowledge of the Edo market. If his friend could not find a bag for tissue paper for five or six monme, for example, then, Tamuro said, he should look in Shiba Shinmei at Kiyobei’s store, where he could find one with thick material and an attractive pattern. For good quality pipes, again, he recommended Shiba Shinmei. For other items he might have recommended a general location to look, without specifying a particular store. This implied that his friend had some knowledge of the area—indeed this was Tomabechi’s second tour of duty—and could make good choices on Tamuro’s behalf. In some cases Tamuro gave some specifications for the items requested. For example, the pipe should be long, like those made in Hachinohe (gozaisho fū). In requesting material for the narrow obi, which was used to keep a tucked-up kimono in place, Tamuro was, like his father Heima, earlier, quite clear about his color preferences. Under no circumstances should his friend purchase light blue material—pink, however, would do just fine. Also like his father, Tamuro listed the estimated price of the items to guide his friend in his shopping. This also informed his friend as to the approximate ceiling price Tamuro was willing to pay for items. To cover the cost of these various goods, which he calculated would run one ryō, he had that amount transferred via a bill of exchange (kawase) from the domain accounting office (ginmi tokoro) to the corresponding office in Hachinohe’s main residence in Edo, where his colleague could collect it.

The Toyama family also received goods from friends and colleagues serving in Edo as well. Heima’s brother occasionally sent commodities when he was serving in the capital but both Tamuro and Heima were in Hachinohe. There were also the year-end gifts sent by friends and extended family to the Toyama household while Heima and Tamuro were home, as in late 1828 when a man named Genzō sent a tobacco pouch for Tamuro’s wife and mother, some sugar for his grandfather, three hairpins for his younger sister and his daughter, and two kites for Junnosuke, whose relationship to the Toyama family is not known.

Edo as National Commodity Center

Given the extent of these purchases that Tamuro made for people back in Hachinohe, and the trouble involved in seeking out, purchasing and transporting them, it is important to consider further why these commodities were bought in the first place. Were those goods purchased in Edo not available or difficult to obtain in Hachinohe? If they were available back home as well, was there some positive value associated with their purchase in Edo? Or was it simply a matter of price: was it less expensive to buy them in Edo? Given the lack of consistent price information in the diaries, it is difficult to come to sweeping conclusions, but some evidence from a household budget ledger kept by the Toyama household several decades later, in the 1860s, is suggestive in that it reveals that it was more economical to purchase material for everyday clothing in Edo.\footnote{Iwabuchi Reiji, “Hachinohe han Edo kinban bushi no kōbai kōdō to kunimoto,” in Chihō shi kenkyū kyōgi kai, ed., Rekishi to ōdō (Yūzankaku, 2004), pp. 197. He gives the cost of a flower-patterned cotton material as between 3 shu-1 bu per roll in Edo compared with a price of 2 bu 2 shu in Hachinohe. [note: 1 bu = 4 shu in late Tokugawa]}

Certain types of goods, and in some cases particular brands, were clearly associated with Edo. Such was the case of the several varieties of tea which Heima and Tamuro purchased. The only brand name mentioned was Yamamoto-yama, an Edo-based operation whose product was therefore intimately associated with Edo and thus desirable as a place-marker, tangible evidence that the gift-giver had been in the capital. Yet, Yamamoto-yama tea was also desirable on its own terms, for its quality, since locally-produced tea was no doubt available in Hachinohe. Known as one of Edo’s famous products (meibutsu), the Yamamoto brand frequently appears in the nineteenth century in Edo-based retainers’ shopping lists, in the quantity of one-half or a full kin (1.32 pounds).\footnote{The Yamamoto family came out with a new tea in 1816 called Gyokuro that quickly became popular among samurai. The sixth-generation...}
In the case of some other commodities, they appear to have been purchased in Edo because of their high quality. For example, the Toyama household purchased hair oil (binzuke) in Hachinohe for everyday use, but acquired more high-quality types, scented tsubaki abura and oil for dyeing hair black (kuro abura) in Edo. They applied the same principle to their strategy of acquiring paper, purchasing only recycled paper locally and higher quality paper from Edo. The request of a man named Muraji, who ordered a set of sewing needles (hari), which Tamuro purchased for him in Akabane and sent to Hachinohe via a paid transport service (hikyaku), is more difficult to understand. Were such needles not available in Hachinohe? Without more information it is difficult to draw any conclusions. The request to have a piece of armor repaired in Edo might indicate that there was some special service available in the shogun’s capital not available in Hachinohe. Another commodity from Edo, books, would have been highly desirable, since Edo was the closest major publishing center where retainers from northern Japan could find a wide selection of books (retainers from western Japan also had the option of purchasing books in Osaka).

Although Kyoto retained its reputation for high-quality handicraft production in Japan, by the nineteenth century Edo had become established as a center in its own right, particularly for what we might call personal accoutrements (sōshingu). This was especially true of bags or pouches. In the Toyama family’s records of goods purchased these pouches are most often identified as being for tissue paper or tobacco, the latter being a product which seems to have been widely enjoyed by this time, by both men and women.

The nature of Edo in Japan’s urban hierarchy and its central position as fixed by the system of alternate attendance accounts for much of the attraction of commodities purchased there. Since Edo was a city in which goods from across much of the country flowed, acting in effect as an entrepot, it was a place where retainers could purchase commodities from distant localities that may not have otherwise been available in their home domains. Such was probably the case with the seeds and plants Tamuro bought. Regional specialty products from distant areas—e.g., the Hida lacquerware (shunketsu), Osaka tabi and archer’s arm protector from Echizen—also found their way to Edo, where retainers like Tamuro could purchase them, as he did on behalf of a man named Hikoemon. Tangerines, which were typically given in units of 5-10 fruits during the year-end season, were a valuable gift in Hachinohe, where the climate made cultivation difficult.

Although the place of origin is not recorded, the sugar that Tamuro ordered from Heima while he was in Hachinohe and later purchased himself in Edo most likely came from western Japan or the Kantō.

Of course, Edo, being the largest urban center in Japan, offered samurai from the domains, particularly those from smaller ones such as Hachinohe, choice—a bountiful selection of stores, markets and goods from which to choose.

head was appointed an official tea master (goyō chashi) in Edo castle. See the official website of Yamamoto-yama company; accessed 09/28/2006. http://www.iijnet.or.jp/ynp/shinise/07_yamamoto.html

Iwabuchi, p. 198. Iwabuchi makes this conclusion based on a comparison of goods purchased in Edo vs. Hachinohe in a Toyama household budget ledger from 1862.

While Kyoto was also an important publishing center, the number of western daimyo allowed to stop there was highly regulated and even when they gained such permission the number of retainers and attendants who accompanied the lord were few. Vaporis, Tour of Duty, pp. 51, 148-49.

41 Iwabuchi, pp. 195-96. The return gift was 2 sho (3.6 liters) of sake, indicating the high value of mikan.

42 Perhaps the Toyama’s health was better than most, but many other samurai on a tour of duty in Edo made many purchases of medicine. Edo’s numerous pharmacies offered great selection in product and price. While in the capital, Tosa’s Miyaji Umanosuke, for example, was in constant search of efficacious, and affordable, medicine. Vaporis, “To Edo and Back,” p. 47. On Edo’s pharmacies, see Tatsukawa Shōji, “Edo no kusuriya,” in Tōkyō jin henshu shitsu, ed., Tōkyō
possibilities could be so overwhelming that a guidebook, or the advice of men with prior service in Edo, was necessary.

The cost of transporting goods purchased in Edo, added to the cost of the goods themselves, might have inhibited the consumer activity of samurai. Such was not the case, however, as there were several means available for transporting commodities that did not entail an outlay of cash. Tamuro could of course simply carry some—if they were light, compact objects—when he returned to Hachinohe. Otherwise, he could also ask this of his friends and acquaintances. There was ample opportunity for this, as the diaries kept by the Toyama as well as numerous other domainal retainers reveal that there was a fairly routine level of traffic between the domain castle town and Edo, not just when the lord, followed by his entourage, made his trip of alternate attendance. For example, when a number of retainers were returning to the domain on 1828/7/7, Tamuro asked one to carry a type of wrapping paper for some person named An-no-jō and two standards and a collar-piece for a set of armor for another, unidentified, person.43 Several months later one of the domain’s sumo wrestlers (in Edo for a tournament) delivered to Tamuro a request from An-no-jō, together with money, to purchase a book, and this was later sent with a foot soldier returning to Hachinohe.44 There were of course limits to how much one could carry, or ask others to carry, as when a samurai only identified as Chūbei declined Tamuro’s request because of the large volume of goods.45 Except for this one occasion noted, however, there always seemed to be someone available to bring back to Hachinohe a purchase made in Edo. Bulky or heavy items—like the padding for futon—could be sent on a domain ship. These vessels, which periodically carried foodstuffs and other commodities to Edo for the use of the domain’s population there or domain monopoly goods to the Hachinohe’s warehouses for later sale on the Edo market, would otherwise be returning home empty. Sometimes Tamuro and others employed a delivery service (hikyaku), although it is not clear whether this method was resorted to when there was some urgency or when the other means described above were not available.46

Conclusion

Alternate attendance separated large numbers of retainers from their domains and forced their participation in the commercial economy, a process that also occurred in many domains that drew the samurai off the land and required them to live in castle-towns.47 It also was a major mechanism for the circulation of commodity goods, on the level of the domain as well as that of the individual. Furthermore, it had a cascading effect, drawing in much larger numbers of people than directly participated in the system with its biennial requirements of attendance in Edo.

The shogun’s capital offered domainal retainers the country’s largest market—a wide selection of commodities at numerous locations across the city. For retainers from outside the Kantō area, Edo provided access to regional products probably not otherwise available; for samurai from Hachinohe this meant from a large part of the country, from the Kantō region south. In this Edo served as a collecting point into which goods from across the country flowed.

46 As suggested above, the transport charge could add considerably to the overall cost of the item. Tosa retainer Ōgura Sadasuke spent 120 mon to send 150-mon worth of some candy to his household. Ōgura Sadasuke, Ms. “Kaiei ni nen [1849] haru toradoshi shohikae, sōgatsu jun yori,” folios 16–24 (Kōchi Prefectural Library).


43 Toyama ke niki, vol. 1, p. 80.

44 Toyama ke niki, vol. 1, p. 95.

45 Toyama ke niki, vol. 1, p. 74. Indeed, Tamuro’s comment that “this time he could not” implied that he had taken things back to Hachinohe before for him.
There, they were either consumed or sent out again to Japan’s castle towns, through a human network, carried by hand, in horse packs or shipped by boat. The personal diaries maintained by two generations of the Toyama family of Hachinohe domain have also revealed how the Edo-based samurai could act as conduits for mercantile exchanges for members of their social nexus in the domain. While in other years—those not covered in this chapter—members of the Toyama family might have bought some other items, the same patterns of purchasing for self, home and network of family, friends and colleagues continued, with much the same types of goods and the same varied pattern of transporting them. Far from abjuring material goods, the samurai we witness in the Toyama diaries were astute consumers, the contents of their accounts revealing the considerable extent to which they and those in their social nexus were engaged with the commercial economy.
Encountering the World:  
Kawai Tsugunosuke’s  
1859 Journey to Yokohama and Nagasaki

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The samurai Kawai Tsugunosuke (1827–1868) is the subject of numerous Japanese-language monographs, the protagonist of historical fiction, the hero of TV dramas and documentaries, and the main attraction in a Nagaoka (Niigata prefecture) museum.¹ He is, however, virtually unknown to English-language readership, making only sporadic appearances in texts devoted, mainly, to other bakumatsu subjects.² Placing Tsugunosuke center-stage in an examination of the debate over the “opening” of Japan in the mid-nineteenth century means attuning our ears to that minority of voices which advocated a conciliatory position in regards to the issue of internationalism; it also means opening our eyes to (yet more) evidence that mass hysteria and rampant xenophobia, however prominent, were not the sole and inevitable outcomes of Japan’s encounter with the world. Tsugunosuke’s near-total absence from English-language scholarship may indeed be attributed, partially, to the sheer number of sources dealing with the issue of Japan’s position vis-à-vis foreign cultures: virtually everyone, from commoners to the educated elites, from government diplomats to base-born rural women, had an opinion and a suggestion.³ In this


* I would like to thank Morgan Pitelka, Philip Brown, Gregory Smits, and the three anonymous readers for their encouragement, suggestions, and constructive criticism.

A note about dates: throughout the manuscript, dates are provided using the lunar calendar employed in the early modern period. To facilitate cross-referencing with the western calendar, the corresponding Gregorian dates are indicated in parenthesis.

² Harold Bolitho introduces Tsugunosuke in his “The Echigo War, 1868,” Monumenta Nipponica, Vol. 34, No. 3 (Autumn 1979): 259–277. The article, however, is mostly a piece on military history and Tsugunosuke appears only toward the end. Moreover, Bolitho does not delve into Tsugunosuke’s earlier life experiences, focusing mostly on his actions in the year 1868, before and during the Echigo War.

³ For the sake of conciseness, I have chosen not to include direct quotations of the various xenophobic voices of mid-nineteenth century Japan, mostly because they are readily available and generally well-known. Some of the works I have in mind when I argue that virtually anyone had an opinion include the following: for the reaction of commoners, M. William Steele’s “Goemon’s New World View: Popular Representations of the Opening of Japan” in M. William Steele, Alternative Narratives in Modern Japanese History (London and NY: Routledge Curzon, 2003), pp. 4–18. Studies in the intellectual history of late Tokugawa Japan are simply too numerous to cite—see for example Harry D. Harootunian, Toward Restoration: The Growth of Political Consciousness in Tokugawa Japan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970) and Things Seen and Unseen: Discourse and Ideology in
cacophonous chorus of cries for reform and calls for the expulsion of the barbarians, of grandiloquent declarations of intents and vitriolic verbal exchanges, Tsugunosuke’s voice may have been lost, but it was certainly not muted at the time. A poised, genuinely inquisitive, and broadminded participant in the debate over foreign encroachment, Tsugunosuke used intellectual curiosity as an antidote against irrational fears of the unknown and, as a result, his reactions before the foreign are characterized by a refreshing degree of openness and fearlessness. Whereas many of his contemporaries demonized the foreign Other and prophesied catastrophic scenarios, crying foul and plotting heroic actions, Tsugunosuke rejected fanaticism in favor of pragmatism. His intellectual journey emerges more clearly from the journal of his 1859 trip as well as from the letters he exchanged with his family members while away from home. At a time when, by and large, that which came from outside of Japan’s borders was exorcised by way of mockery, stigmatized by way of demonization, or exoticized by way of “Othering,” Tsugunosuke came to embrace the foreign and to cherish the prospect of cross-cultural exchanges. He actively investigated, eagerly asked questions, meticulously took notes, thoroughly considered the implications of introducing foreign customs, and eventually outlined the benefits of Japan’s encounter with the world. His writings tell, by example, the story of a small group of thinkers who epitomized Japan’s intellectual openness, ability for tolerance, and quest for intelligent compromise in light of the profound changes and great challenges of the mid-nineteenth century.

Tsugunosuke’s Intellectual Journey

Kawai Tsugunosuke (rarely read Tsuginosuke) was born and raised in Nagaoka domain, Echigo province. With an income of 120 koku, the Kawai family was moderately wealthy and would have placed, as Ōta Osamu points out, “low among high-ranking samurai, and high among middle-ranking ones.” Tsugunosuke’s father, Kawai Daiemon, had served the domain and its rulers, the Makino family, in the Arms Office (obuki yakusho) and as Head of Accounting (kanjō gashira); not only a bureaucrat, he also practiced Zen and the tea ceremony, and enjoyed composing Chinese-style poems. He was, like many samurai of the Tokugawa period, “a man of letters more than a warrior.”

Tsugunosuke received his formal education in the domain’s academy, the Sūtokukan, where he was first introduced to the Confucian classics; he was also trained in sword- and spear-fighting, archery, horse-riding, and administration. In 1852, at age twenty-six (by Japanese counting), he traveled to Edo to further his education. He began training under Saitō Setsudō (1796–1865), whose academy was renowned for its Neo-Confucian studies. However, Saitō’s approach did not provide Tsugunosuke with the focus on


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4 The yearly income of the domain was 74,000 koku, which placed Nagaoka among the top three wealthiest domains in the province. Harold Bolitho, “The Echigo War, 1868,” p. 260.


economics he desired, so he eventually dropped out. The following year he enrolled in the Edo academy of Koga Sakei (1816–1884), an authority in Chinese and Western studies (he would later become head of the “Institute for the Study of Barbarian Books,” or bansho shirabesho). At this stage he also became acquainted with Sakuma Shōzan (1811–1864), from whom he received training in western military science and the use of firearms.

During Tsugunosuke’s stint in Edo, Commodore Perry paid his first visit, arriving at Uraga on 1853/6/3 (July 8, 1853). On that occasion Tsugunosuke submitted a memorial on domain reform to his lord, Makino Tadamasa, who was also serving as assistant to the rōjū; impressed, Tadamasa offered him an administrative position in the domain. At that point Tsugunosuke left Edo and returned to Nagaoka, where for the next few years he served the domain in various capacities; he was first appointed inspector consultant (under the titles of ometsuke and hyōjō hōshiagai yaku) and later became tozama ginmi.

In the winter of 1859 Tsugunosuke, by then aged thirty-three, returned to Edo and re-enrolled in Koga Sakei’s academy. He arrived in the city in early February and resumed his studies nine days later. However, in a letter to his parents dated 1859/4/24 (May 26, 1859), Tsugunosuke hinted at a growing dissatisfaction with the Edo intellectual circles: “This is a big city and scholars abound. In truth, many of them could be my teachers, inexperienced as I am. But while many have made of learning their profession, those [devoted to] practical learning (jitsugaku), those who combine talent and virtue, are few and far between.” In the same letter he expressed his intention to leave Edo and travel to Matsuyama domain, in faraway Bitchū province, in order to continue his studies under Yamada Hōkoku (1805–1877), a scholar whose work he “truly admired” (jitsu ni kanshin tsukamatsuri sōrō). Hōkoku, a prominent Wang Yangming (Ōyōmeigaku) expert trained under Satō Issai (1772–1859), had opened his private school in 1838. Paramount to his teachings was an emphasis on the “investigation of things” (kakubutsu) as a prerequisite for the performance of meritorious deeds. According to Imaizumi Shōzō, Tsugunosuke was precisely attracted to Hōkoku’s reliance on practical deeds over intangible principles. And an eye for the practical and for the “investigation of things” is indeed what characterizes Tsugunosuke’s general approach to the issue of Japan’s dealings with the outside world.

10 The hyōjō hōshiagai yaku decided rewards and punishments and drafted new laws. In Nagaoka, civil cases were supervised by three authorities: the daikan, the district magistrate (kōri bugyō), and the city magistrate (machigayo). Cases of particular complexity were referred to the office of the tozama ginmi, which decided what to put in charge. See Andō Hideo, “Kawai Tsugunosuke shōden,” pp. 275–276, and Ōta Osamu, Kawai Tsugunosuke to Meiji ishin, p. 62.

12 Andō Hideo, Chiritsubo: Kawai Tsugunosuke nikki, p. 196.
On 1859/6/4 (July 3, 1859) Tsugunosuke dropped out of Koga’s academy for the second time and embarked on his journey to Matsuyama. On his way out of Edo, Tsugunosuke visited the newly opened port of Yokohama. Then, during his seven-month stint in Matsuyama, which lasted from the summer of 1859 until the spring of 1860, Tsugunosuke traveled to Nagasaki, the “historic” international port of Tokugawa Japan (see Table 1 for a chronology of his 1859 journey). Within the span of a few months, therefore, Tsugunosuke had the opportunity to visit two of the most cosmopolitan cities in the country, Yokohama and Nagasaki. He was not the first traveler to do so, of course. Others before him had traveled to Nagasaki, leaving detailed accounts of their experiences: Mito official Nagakubo Sekisui visited the city in 1767 and wrote Nagasaki kōeki nikki (Diary of Official Travels to Nagasaki);\(^{15}\) Furukawa Koshōken (1726–1807) followed suit in 1783 with his Saiyū zakki (Miscellaneous Records of Travels to the West);\(^{16}\) in 1788 it was the turn of Shiiba Kōkan, author of Kōkan saiyū nikki, or Kōkan’s Diary of a Journey to the West. In 1802 the Nagoya merchant Hishiya Heishichi (n.d.) also recorded his first-hand experience of Nagasaki’s foreignness in Tsukushi kikō (Record of a Journey to Kyushu);\(^{17}\) ten years later Nagasaki welcomed the itinerant nun Kikushani (1753–1826), author of Taorigiku (Plucked Chrysanthemum).\(^{18}\) What makes Tsugunosuke’s experience especially meaningful is not so much the destination as the timing of his journey, which took place the year after the ratification of the Ansei Treaties, signed in the summer and fall of 1858, and within weeks—days, in the case of Yokohama—of the official transformation of the two cities into open treaty ports (July 1859).\(^{19}\)

To better understand the significance of Tsugunosuke’s journey, it would be useful here to contextualize it against the frame of Japan’s own dealings with foreign countries. Conrad Totman identifies three main phases in the late-Tokugawa debate on foreign policy.\(^{20}\) The first one, spurred by the arrival of Commodore Perry in 1853 and lasting through the signing of the Ansei Treaties in 1858, was mostly defined by fear of the unknown and by “a pervasive sense of Japanese vulnerability.” Accepting the foreign (meaning, in this case, the West) “would damage bakufu prestige, undermine public morale, and expose society to all sorts of dangers.”\(^{21}\) Ten years later, following the attacks on Chōshū and Satsuma and the failed restoration attempt of 1863, the realization that the Tokugawa order could not be salvaged, much less restored, eventually set in; with that, a sense of acceptance and a quest for engagement ensued. This is the third and last phase (1864–1868) identified by Tot-

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18 Kikusha-ni, “Taorigiku,” in Katsumine Shinpei ed., *Keisshō haika zenshū* (Tokyo: Shūeikaku, 1922), pp. 315–433. Given the amount of existing scholarship on most of these travelers, citing their texts here would be repetitive. More importantly, there would be no chronological consistency, as their journeys occurred well before the ratification of the Ansei Treaties.


21 Totman, “From Sakoku to Kaikoku”, p. 8.
But between rejection and acceptance, between stage one and stage three, there was a critical and turbulent moment—phase two (1858–1864). This is when Tsugunosuke set out on his journey. When he traveled, in other words, Japan was at a “beginning, but only a beginning, of transvaluation,” moving away from fear and rejection toward what Totman has characterized as “grudging accommodation.”

In the long run, Japan accepted the West (Totman’s third stage), but the transition did not occur without conflict: loud criticism and acts of violence (including, more prominently, the assassinations of Ii Nao-suke in 1860 and Henry Heusken in 1861) also characterized the second stage, which was marred by “frustration, bitterness, and distrust” that “repeatedly stopped short of open civil war.”

Table 1. Chronology of Tsugunosuke’s 1859 Journey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lunar calendar</th>
<th>Gregorian calendar</th>
<th>Stages of Tsugunosuke’s Journey</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ansei 5</td>
<td>1858</td>
<td>Tsugunosuke leaves Nagaoka to resume his studies in Edo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12/27</td>
<td>30 January 1859</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ansei 6</td>
<td>1859</td>
<td>Tsugunosuke reaches Edo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/15</td>
<td>17 Feb.</td>
<td>Tsugunosuke re-enters the academy of Koga Sakei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6/4</td>
<td>3 July</td>
<td>Tsugunosuke leaves Koga’s academy to study under Yamada Hōkoku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6/7</td>
<td>6 July</td>
<td>visit to Yokohama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6/11</td>
<td>10 July</td>
<td>Kamakura, Enoshima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6/14</td>
<td>13 July</td>
<td>Hakone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6/25</td>
<td>24 July</td>
<td>Mt. Kunō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7/4 to 7/9</td>
<td>2–7 August</td>
<td>Fushimi, Uji, Osaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7/16</td>
<td>14 August</td>
<td>arrival to Matsuyama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9/18</td>
<td>13 October</td>
<td>Tsugunosuke leaves Matsuyama to go to Kyushu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9/20</td>
<td>15 Oct.</td>
<td>Konpîra (Shikoku)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9/24</td>
<td>19 Oct.</td>
<td>Hiroshima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9/30</td>
<td>25 Oct.</td>
<td>Tsugunosuke crosses into Kyushu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10/5</td>
<td>30 Oct.</td>
<td>arrival to Nagasaki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10/10)</td>
<td>(4 November)</td>
<td>visit to the Chinese residence [date unclear]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10/15</td>
<td>9 Nov.</td>
<td>visit to Dutch factory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10/18</td>
<td>12 Nov.</td>
<td>departure from Nagasaki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10/22</td>
<td>16 Nov.</td>
<td>Kumamoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10/27</td>
<td>21 Nov.</td>
<td>Shimonoseki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/3</td>
<td>26 Nov..</td>
<td>return to Matsuyama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man’en 1</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>late March, early April</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd month</td>
<td>Completion of training and departure from Matsuyama</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is against this historical background that we must read Tsugunosuke’s travel journal, the unconventionally titled Spittoon (Chiritsubo). As he informs us, the purpose of the diary was simply “to record the things I intend to tell my parents some day.” Other than that, he never meant for his jottings to circulate and much less to be taken as a serious literary effort; hence, rather than using words such as nikki (diary), kikō (travel notes), or zakki (jottings, miscellaneous notes)—common choices for many a Tokugawa period travelogue title—he chose the self-deprecating image of the spittoon to emphasize the literary worthlessness of his random notes. What he dismissed as “foolish ramblings” (guchi-goto) and “a mess” (funran) are in fact valuable commentaries on the mid-nineteenth-century encounter of Japan with the West and with the foreign in general. Tsugunosuke’s positive engagement with the foreign is all the more valuable precisely because it occurred at a time of “frustration, bitterness, and distrust,” a time when acceptance

22 Totman, “From Sakoku to Kaikoku”, p. 14
23 Totman, “From Sakoku to Kaikoku”, p. 12.
24 Totman, “From Sakoku to Kaikoku”, p. 12.
26 Kawai Tsugunosuke, “Chiritsubo”, pp. 401 (entry for 6/14) and 431.
of the foreign began to seem inevitable but, to many, still felt like an unwelcome imposition.

**Tsugunosuke in Yokohama**

Yokohama had been a site of little to no political, strategic, or economic relevance until 1858, when the Ansei Treaties selected it as one of Japan’s open ports (indeed, Yokohama was selected precisely because of its marginal value, in hopes of keeping westerners away from more strategically sensitive areas). Within a couple of years, a large and vibrant foreign community developed—as testified by the colorful “Yokohama prints” produced since the early 1860s by Utagawa Yoshitora (active 1850s–1880s), Sadahide (1807–ca. 1878), and Yoshikazu (active 1848–1863) among others.  

Tsugunosuke, however, visited Yokohama on 1859/6/7 (July 6, 1859), only two days after the official opening of the port and before the area fully blossomed as a foreign entrepôt. Three fellow Nagaoka samurai, Hanawa Keinoshin, Mitsuma Ichinoshin, and Udono Shunpu (Danjirō), saw him off there, and they all took advantage of this opportunity to “investigate the trade.”

En route to Yokohama two warships anchored at Shinagawa caught Tsugunosuke’s attention and enticed his admiration. An avid collector of weapons, he was especially fascinated by foreign firearms, at least since his training under Sakuma Shōzan. Later in his life, as he set out to explore the still-developing port of Yokohama, Tsugunosuke could not have anticipated any of this. On that quiet day in 1859 the war machines he saw were silent, and they were beautiful: “There were two foreign ships in Shinagawa. Each one was [as big] as a castle. One had nine cannons; it was a thing of beauty.”

In Yokohama Tsugunosuke took notice of the developing commercial area: “Various shops in newly constructed buildings are spread out [all over the place]. Among them, the lacquerware stores caught my eye.” At the time of his visit, however, Tsugunosuke could not really “investigate the trade,” for there was not much trade to speak of. He wrote, “The construction [of the new buildings] has not yet been completed and the value of silver currency has yet to be determined, therefore trade is not very active.” He predicted, however, that “once everything is completed, no doubt it will be splendid.”

His description of Yokohama is brief not only because the port had little to showcase only two days after its official opening, but also because it was distinctive of Tsugunosuke to write in an unembellished prose. He does occasionally lace his descriptions with on-the-side comments and personal impressions, but for the most part he chronicles his experiences as a dispassionate and relatively unbiased observer. In Yokohama (as in Nagasaki) he did not produce cartoon-like vignettes of foreigners the way another samurai, Sakai Hanshirō from Wakayama domain (Kii province), would do one year later. While visiting the port in 1860, Hanshirō pointed out that the foreigners he encountered “truly [looked] as they do in the illustrations” (makoto ezu no tōri nite sōrō) and that “the expression in their eyes resembled that of salted fish” (meiro sakana no han no shinheiki),” in Andō Hideo ed., Kawai Tsugunosuke no subete, p. 113. The third Gatling gun ended up in Tosa.

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31 Ōta Osamu also emphasizes how Chiritsubo “is a record (kiroku) more than a travel diary, what we may call reportage (ruporutaaju), unique for its time.” Ōta Osamu, *Kawai Tsugunosuke to Meiji ishin*, p. 49.

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No such appeal to visual metaphors embellishes Tsugunosuke’s account. His only observation upon seeing a foreign woman was that “the color of her eyes was different, but overall she was beautiful” (bijin nari). Later, while visiting the Dutch compound in Nagasaki, Tsugunosuke would also strip his characterization of a male member of the foreign entourage of any flair, simply describing him as “a good looking young man” (binan [no] ko nari). Mocking the foreign Other, and wasting words doing so, did not interest him. He expressed his opinions and hinted at likes and dislikes, for sure, but he did not let flamboyant rhetoric get in the way of his down-to-earth investigation. What piqued Tsugunosuke’s curiosity was the foreign in its concrete manifestations, namely technology (the gunboats in Shinagawa) and business (the trade in Yokohama)—the practical implications of Japan’s encounter with the world.

Tsugunosuke on the Road

After wrapping up his visit to Yokohama, Tsugunosuke spent the night at the Tamagawaya in Kanagawa. To reach Matsuyama he first traveled along the Tōkaidō highway, which ran parallel to the Pacific Ocean coast (see Map 1). In the summer, the main artery of Japan was heavily traveled because a number of domain lords were on their way to Edo in compliance with the requirements of the alternate attendance system. Tsugunosuke had to put up with crowded roads, jammed river crossings, and chaotic inns.

He visited Kanazawa (Musashi province), Kamakura and Enoshima (Sagami), and then crossed Hakone Pass into Mishima. He was drawn to sites of historical interest along the way, especially those linked to samurai history. In Kamakura he took time to visit the city’s “spectacular historic ruins, many of which made quite an impression.” A few days later, on 6/14 (July 13), he climbed Mt. Kunō, where shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1616) was first interred before being transferred to Nikkō.

On 6/16 (July 15) he crossed Sayo no Nakanoyama, a famous site of poetic renown. The majority of Tokugawa period travelers found it appropriate, upon passing through Sayo no Nakanoyama, to recall the verses that twelfth-century poet Saigyō had composed on location. Not Tsugunosuke, the pragmatist. He simply acknowledged that “these sites are [featured] in the maps of famous places (meishozu), so I do not have to describe them.” Past Nagoya he made a brief detour to Matusaka, which impressed him for its wealth and for being the native home of the Mitsui family of merchants; he then reached Ise, where he visited the Outer and Inner Shrines, Ainoyma, Futaminoura, and the lively quarter of Furuichi before reconnecting to the Tōkaidō. Early in the seventh month he was in Kyoto, Uji, and Fushimi, and from there went on to Osaka. After a visit to Arima hot springs, he stopped at

33 Kawai Tsugunosuke, “Chiritsubo,” p. 399.
34 Kawai Tsugunosuke, “Chiritsubo,” p. 418 (entry for 10/15).
35 Tsugunosuke comments on the heavy traffic of daimyo at various points: in his entry for 6/27 (p. 403), for example, and then again on 10/22 (p. 426), though this last entry does not refer to the Tōkaidō highway specifically.
38 See Shinkokinshū, poem n. 987.
the graves of warriors Taira no Kiyomori, Taira no Atsumori, and Taira no Tadanori, at Suma Temple, Ichinotani, and Akashi. He finally reached Matsuyama on 7/16 (August 14) and began his training under Yamada Hōkoku.

It is clear from his account that Tsugunosuke, in line with his predilection for the “investigation of things,” was a curious observer of people and places. He loved to sightsee, he loved to sample local delicacies, and he was intrigued by the encounters he made while on the road. Places of poetic beauty (such as Mount Fuji) captured his attention as much as sites of lesser repute (the red-light district of Hakata, to name one). He would occasionally indulge in poetry-writing; in Harima, for example, he jotted down verses on the pain of separation that comes with long-distance travel.40 His interludes with poetry, however, are few and far between. It is a keen eye for detail and a penchant for observation that define his account. There is a camera-like quality to many of his descriptions; the snapshots he captured and the conversations he recorded enable us to join him along the same roads he traveled. We stare with him at the main hall of Mishima jinja and inspect the damage caused by an earthquake, we eavesdrop on the talks of pack-horse drivers, we smell the intense scent of sandalwood, and we partake of his meals, from the delicacies he enjoyed in Enoshima to the “absolutely awful” concoctions he was served in Konpira.41 Tsugunosuke, ever the avid observer, collected notes on the good, the bad, and the ugly, not failing to report on the dire poverty of Okaya farmers (“That’s because the [local] lord and his retainers are selfish and bad”) and on the cholera epidemic that had been afflicting Japan since the previous year.42 A proclivity for “no-fuss” observation, in other words, characterized Tsugunosuke’s way of engaging with people and places. This was true for people and places of Japan as much as for the foreign. Tsugunosuke’s eyes and ears were as open as his mind.

Tsugunosuke in Nagasaki

In the fall of 1859, while Tsugunosuke was still in residence in Matsuyama, Yamada Hōkoku was temporarily summoned to Edo by order of his domain lord.43 During his absence, Tsugunosuke embarked on a lengthy trip that included visits to Shikoku and Kyushu (Table 1). Nagasaki, where he spent two weeks,44 features prominently in his account. Why did Tsugunosuke decide to travel to Kyushu? He does not tell us exactly, but Ōta Osamu hints at three likely reasons. First, being the pragmatist that he was, Tsugunosuke must have seen Hōkoku’s temporary absence as an opportunity—a journey of discovery was certainly more tantalizing to him than sitting idly in Matsuyama while waiting for his tutor’s return. Second, as a samurai, an intellectual, and an administrator, Tsugunosuke may have wanted to investigate the southwestern domains, simmering as they were in sonnō jōi ideology. And last but not least, Tsugunosuke was interested in international trade, as his brief excursion through the Yokohama settlement had already demonstrated. It was only natural for him to wish to see firsthand the historic center of Ja-

40 Kawai Tsugunosuke, “Chiritsubo,” p. 405 (entry for 7/13).
41 Kawai Tsugunosuke, “Chiritsubo,” pp. 400 (entries for 6/11 and 6/12), 418 (n.d.), and 417. For Enoshima, see pp. 399 (entry for 6/9); for the “absolutely awful meals” (makanai wa itatte warushiki) at Konpira, 411 (entry for 6/20).
43 In the second month (March) of 1859, as part of the Ansei purges, Ii Naosuke had stripped Itakura Katsukiyo, the lord of Matsuyama domain, of his title of Temple and Shrine Magistrate (jisha bugyō). Andō Tetsuya suggests that Katsukiyo invited Hōkoku to Edo to discuss the situation and to have him report on the reactions to this incident in the domain. Andō Tetsuya, Ri ni ikita otoko Kawai Tsugunosuke, pp. 115–116.
44 From 10/5 to 10/18, or October 30 to November 12.
In his trip to Matsuyama, another chapter in his intellectual growth. He went to Nagasaki specifically to examine the foreign and learn from it, to the point that he dismissed the Dutch botanical garden as a place “with nothing special to see” (kakubetsu ni miru shina mo nashi) because it only featured Japanese (i.e. commonplace, ordinary) plants.

A traveler to nineteenth-century Nagasaki would not have had to look too hard before he or she came across something that spoke, in one way or the other, of the foreign: foreign vessels were anchored in the bay, and a few unmistakably foreign-looking buildings or spaces otherwise associated with foreignness gave an “international” flavor to the cityscape. These included four Chinese temples (erected in the seventeenth century), the Tōjin yashiki (Chinese residence, built in 1689), and the artificial island of Dejima, home of the Dutch. By the time Tsugunosuke visited in 1859, a foreign settlement was also developing by the shore in Ōura; inhabited, as he points out, by “westerners” (yōjin), it was also a prime spot to see “blacks” (kokujin) and Indians (indojin). In the fall of 1859 French and British gunboats were also present in the bay, and there was even a British church (or, as Tsugunosuke calls it, a British “temple,” Igirisu tera) atop a nearby hill.

Moreover, as Tsugunosuke adds, “Chinese and westerners walk[ed] about in the city” and there were “countless shops selling Chinese goods and things western.” The city was so famous for its cosmopolitan ambience that it was common practice among visitors to collect, as souvenirs, woodblock prints depicting the Chinese and Dutch residents or their ships. Other visitors bought maps of the city which, not unlike the “celebrity homes” maps sold in Hollywood today, pinpointed accurately the location of the Chinese residence, of the island of Dejima, and of Nagasaki’s four Chinese temples.

Of course, most Japanese visitors to Nagasaki were not allowed to enter the foreign compounds, and could only observe them from the outside. At the same time, the Dutch and Chinese residences did not exist and operate in a complete social vacuum, and admission, while restricted, was in fact possible, particularly through personal connections and with the mediation of the interpreters. It was precisely through the intervention of a well-connected friend, Akizuki Teijirō, and with the help of an interpreter that Tsugunosuke was able to enter parts of the Dutch factory (which he refers to as Rankan). Akizuki and a Kara tsūshi, or Chinese interpreter, also facilitated Tsugunosuke’s visit to the Chinese residence (which he calls Tōkan), even though, as Tsugunosuke admitted, “it is not an easy place to go see” for there were numerous checkpoints (bansho) to clear before gaining access.

As soon as he arrived to Nagasaki, Tsugunosuke began investigating the foreign. He immediately noticed a difference in the manner in

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45 Ōta Osamu, Kawai Tsugunosuke to Meiji ishin, p. 51.
46 Kawai Tsugunosuke, “Chiritsubo,” p. 418.
48 Kawai Tsugunosuke, “Chiritsubo,” pp. 420 and 419. He adds that he visited Ōura several times; he also went all the way up the hill to visit the church, but then decided not to enter “out of restraint.”
51 Kawai Tsugunosuke first met Akizuki, a samurai from Aizu domain, in Matsuyama (7/28). On 8/1 Akizuki had left Matsuyama, but the two met again in Nagasaki, at the Yamanoshitaya, where they both lodged. Kawai Tsugunosuke, “Chiritsubo,” pp. 416 and 418 (entry for 10/15).
which Chinese and western residents were seen. He wrote, “The Chinese are gentle-mannered (odayaka), and for this reason the locals love them; they call them a-cha-san. They seem, [however] to dislike the westerners. Aside from appearance, westerners and Chinese differ profoundly in the way they behave.”

The unpleasant character of the western guests transpired from their unruly (kikai, “outrageous”) behavior: they underpaid for sake, broke bottles, instigated fights, tottered while intoxicated, and bothered the women on the streets. Far from being a setback, however, Nagasaki’s peculiar street scene could not but stimulate Tsugunosuke’s curiosity. And so, while everyone else steered clear of an especially obnoxious drunken foreigner, Tsugunosuke, ever the inquisitive intellect, followed him around “just to observe his state” (tada sono yōsu o miru tame).

The lively street scene of Nagasaki was as noteworthy to Tsugunosuke as the much quieter space of the Chinese residence. In their own ways, they were both subjects of observation and occasions to learn. During his visit to the Tōjin yashiki Tsugunosuke was accompanied by the interpreter Ishizaki, by Akizuki Teijirō, and by a certain Toyota.

Once inside the residence, the “otherness” of China did not wait long to manifest itself. As he made his way inside, Tsugunosuke noticed pork meat hung to dry (“They call it rankan,” he wrote). While fish was a traditional staple of the Japanese diet, red meat and the meat of four-legged animals were rarely eaten before the introduction of beef delicacies in the Meiji period (1868–1912). The Chinese diet, on the other hand, included a variety of meat dishes. Such peculiar difference between Chinese and Japanese eating habits was not lost on the authors and publishers of travel manuals: an 1820 guide to Nagasaki’s famous places, for example, included images of Chinese banquets and even of pigs roaming freely inside the Chinese residence.

By the same token, a humorous poem (senryū) proclaimed:

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\begin{align*}
\text{Utsukushii} & \quad \text{With such a lovely face} \\
\text{kao de Yōkihi} & \quad \text{Yang Guifei} \\
\text{buta o kui} & \quad \text{gobbles down that pork.}
\end{align*}
\]

By playing on the juxtaposition of two contrasting images, the beautiful Tang dynasty concubine Yang Guifei and a sloppy pork eater, the senryū underscored, humorously, the grotesque bizarreness of meat-eaters, in this case the Chinese. While, as Tsukamoto Manabu points out, in certain regions the stigma against meat-eating was not as strong as in others, and some religious complexes showed various degrees of leniency toward meat-eating and the slaughtering of animals, it is undeniable that, in the eyes of most, the consumption of meat dishes equaled barbarism. One Japanese castaway who witnessed the slaughtering of a cow in Hawai‘i in 1838, for example, called the process “a wretched, brutal method.”

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56 Toyota had been a fellow student at the Koga academy, and now worked for the government (kōgō [no] hito nari). Kawai Tsugunosuke, “Chiritsubo,” p. 419.
Tsugunosuke and his companions were given a tour of the facility, after which they went back to “the small room” and were served a variety of foods. The banquet featured pork stew (inoko no kakuni), the aforementioned rankan, and other dishes the names of which Tsugunosuke failed to memorize. Unlike the merchant Hishiya Heishichi, who had traveled to Nagasaki in 1802 and had remarked that the closer he came to his destination, the more bizarre the food appeared due to the “proximity to other countries,” Tsugunosuke did not exoticize the gastronomic scene of the city port. Of the foods he was served, he studied the ingredients, the shape, the taste, and left it at that.

In fact, at times he was positively unimpressed: “the Chinese sake,” he wrote, “was a bit vinegary; I did not think it was all that good” (later he would make the same comment about the wine, budōshū, he was offered while visiting the Dutch factory); Chinese tea also lost out to Japanese tea on grounds of being “plain” (tanpaku naru). In light of the general propensity to exoticize, dismiss as barbaric, and/or mock the eating habits of the Chinese (and of the Dutch, of course), Tsugunosuke’s description of the culinary scene within the Chinese residence is refreshingly non-judgmental, almost “scientific” in its matter-of-factness.

On the day he visited the Chinese compound, Tsugunosuke was offered not only food, but also opium. Once again, his intellectual curiosity kicked in. What interested him, more than trying it, was observing the ways in which the paste was prepared and smoked: “place the paste at the end of a stick, then temper it on the flame of an oil lamp, place on a pipe head, and inhale; …. lay down on [your] side, rest [your head] on a pillow, and inhale.” He characterized its scent as “fragrant” (kōbashiku, yoi nioi). As with Chinese food, it is once again the absence of judgment that strikes us as remarkable. Although Tsugunosuke was keenly aware of the role opium had played in the humiliation of China at the hands of the British, he did not make any mention of it. What troubled him, if anything, was not so much the historical role of opium, as the cost of the addiction. Upon hearing that some people could smoke up to twenty, thirty monme worth of opium a day, Tsugunosuke commented that, for that kind of money, one could hire a group of entertainers instead.

Tsugunosuke missed out on the opportunity to bring out the connection between opium and defeat on yet another occasion, during a visit to the house of Ishizaki, the interpreter. There, Tsugunosuke and Akizuki enjoyed not only a magnificent view of Nagasaki from atop a hill but also a seemingly endless series of Chinese paintings, scrolls, books, and inscriptions. Ishizaki’s collection was so extensive that Tsugunosuke looked at paintings and scrolls “from the fourth hour of the morning until sunset, and I did not [even] see all of them.” Among the art pieces were works by Emperor Qianlong (1711–1799) and by Lin Zexu (Commissioner Lin, 1785–1850). Indeed, of all the works he was shown that day, Tsugunosuke admitted “the one I really coveted was the inscription by Emperor Qianlong. I also liked the Lin Zexu.” Emperor Qianlong had met, in 1711, with British envoy

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65 Of some Chinese cakes he wrote, “they were sweet. Some looked like rice-cake cubes, others—the name escapes me—appeared to be a mixture of gyūhi and sesame.” Kawai Tsugunosuke, “Chiritsubo,” p. 418. Gyūhi is made by mixing steamed rice flour, white sugar, and rice syrup.


68 We know he was familiar with the Opium War because elsewhere in the diary he describes a Chinese guest discussing “the war” in Canton. See below.


70 Kawai Tsugunosuke, “Chiritsubo,” p. 421.

71 Kawai Tsugunosuke, “Chiritsubo,” p. 421.

Tsugunosuke also mentions works by Emperor Song Huizong (1082–1135), seventh-century poet Chen Ziang, and painter Wen Zhengming (1470–1559).
Lord Macartney, while Commissioner Lin was the official who had confiscated and destroyed the supplies of British opium in 1839, setting in motion the events that led to the Opium War (1839–1842) and the defeat of China. Despite their obvious connections to China’s encounter with the West, neither one prompted Tsugunosuke to discuss such chapters of Chinese history. It was another guest, a Cantonese visitor, who brought up the issue more or less directly when he lamented, “There aren’t any beautiful artifacts like these [paintings and inscriptions] in Canton these days. During the war, everyone took them away. […] Some ended up as far away as Nanking.” In the eyes of Tsugunosuke, however, Qianlong and Commissioner Lin failed to transmit images of conflict or defeat—they were, if anything, admirable examples of China’s artistic achievements.

This reluctance to cry foul, to dwell on the role of opium as a metaphor for western aggression and imperialism, is especially indicative of Tsugunosuke’s composure before the foreign. By 1859 most Japanese intellectuals would have agreed that China had lost its face following the humiliation of the Opium War. Knowledge of the war was by no means the preserve of government officials: accounts, some more fictitious than others, were printed from woodblocks and circulated widely despite the government’s ban on literature that dealt with recent or contemporary events. Works in the league of Mineta Fūkō’s Kaigai shinwa (1849) stigmatized opium as the foremost of all evils associated with foreign (western) aggression.

Moreover, in 1858, in the attempt to secure the ratification of the Ansei Treaties, Consul Townsend Harris had specifically lectured the rōjū Hotta Masayoshi on the risks associated with the opium trade; the transcripts of his speech had eventually reached the hands of many a daimyo. He noticed how the mirrors placed around a certain room created an optical illusion whereby “one room looked like many.” Still, he was more intrigued than confused: “One does not see a place like this even in paintings,” he remarked. Further inspection of three or four other rooms fostered his admiration: “They were all beauti-

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72 Kawai Tsugunosuke, “Chiritsuubo,” p.421.
74 Wakabayashi, p. 18.
75 As Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi observes, “Bakumatsu anti-foreignism was not monolithic in nature; a particular thinker’s position on the opium issue revealed the precise character of his anti-foreign thought.” Wakabayashi, p. 24.
76 Kawai Tsugunosuke, “Chiritsuubo,” p. 418 (entry for 10/15).
ful” (mina kirei nari).77

Tsugunosuke’s fascination with Dutch glass objects is indicative of his curious nature and of his pragmatism. As a case study, glass is featured prominently in scholarship that looks at the place of material culture in the encounter between Japan and the West. Martha Chaiklin, for example, has shown how Dutch bottles, thermometers, and mirrors were popular “exotica” for many Tokugawa period Japanese; she also uses glass as an example of successful technological cross-fertilization, arguing that awareness of Dutch techniques inspired the Japanese to better their own glassmaking methods.78 Timon Screech adds that glass (in the form of mirrors, lenses, seeing-glasses, microscopes, bottles, and windows) “was integral to the notion of seeing in the manner of Ran” and played a relevant role in sustaining “scientific” approaches to the study of the West, as well as a general curiosity for things Dutch (“Hollandomania,” or Ranpeki).79 It is not surprising, then, that Tsugunosuke would also focus on this prominent symbol of western technology. Without exoticizing it, however, he simply investigated it in an effort to quench his thirst for knowledge. In a business-like manner he observed that, in Dejima, “objects like bottles are more refined (jōhin) than the ones that make their way to Japan. […] In each country the objects [people] use for themselves are more pleasant than the ones they send out to other countries.”80

While high-quality glass items may have not made their way to the Japanese markets, Tsugunosuke did in fact observe some of the potential results and practical, powerful manifestations of cross-cultural exchanges and internationalism. This occurred on two different occasions: his inspection of the Kankōmaru and his evening with the Cantonese Feng Jingru (Feng Shuang). The Kankōmaru was the bakufu’s first steamboat; a gift the Dutch had presented the Tokugawa in 1854. While Tsugunosuke was in Nagasaki, the Kankōmaru made a brief appearance, carrying on board Naval Minister (jinya taishō) Yatabori Kō.81 Tsugunosuke had seen Perry’s steamboats from afar six years prior in Uraga, and from afar he had admired the two warships anchored off the coast of Shinagawa at the onset of his 1859 trip; this time, however, he was invited on board.82 As one would expect, he inspected the weaponry (cannons, gunpowder storage, pistols), the various components of the ship (mast, padding wheel, ropes, ladders, etcetera), as well as the clocks and the pumps used to draw water from the ocean and put out fires. Many of the instruments, he acknowledged, were the same as the ones he had seen at the Dutch factory, but there were also things he could not make out (wakari mo senu), especially because some of the tools on board were “not at all like the ones one sees in the illustrations of the [encyclopedia] World Geography with Maps.”83 The tour of the Kankōmaru is another example of Tsugunosuke’s interest in foreign technology and in the practical advantages of accepting the West. One may even argue that, to a pragmatist like Tsugunosuke, the realization that the images he had seen in the illustrated encyclopedia World Geography with Maps were inaccurate may have

77 Kawai Tsugunosuke, “Chiritsubo,” p. 418.
78 Martha Chaiklin, Cultural Commerce and Dutch Commercial Culture: The Influence of European Material Culture on Japan, 1700–1850 (Leiden: CNWS, 2003), Ch. 7.
79 Screech, The Lens Within the Heart, pp. 133 and 10.
80 Kawai Tsugunosuke, “Chiritsubo,” p. 418 (10/15).
81 Also present in Nagasaki bay at the time was the much more famous Kanrinmaru, which a few months later, in the first month of 1860, would depart from Shinagawa and carry the members of the bakufu’s first embassy to the United States.
82 The invitation came as a result of Akizuki’s personal connection to Yatabori Kō.
reinforced the notion that there is no substitute for direct experience.

If the Kankōmaru symbolized the successful encounter of Japan with the world from a technological standpoint, the Cantonese guest Feng Shuang epitomized the cultural benefits of internationalism. Tsugunosuke was especially impressed by the man’s determination to learn Japanese customs (“he wants to practice the ways of Japan”)—squatting Japanese-style, serving sake according to Japanese etiquette, and even making a sincere effort to learn the language. Seamlessley transitioning from Chinese to Japanese customs, and yet never losing his refinement and elegance, Feng Shuang prompted Tsugunosuke to acknowledge that “if one meets with all other countries, one’s spirit will spontaneously expand.” The journey to Nagasaki, in short, encouraged Tsugunosuke’s already strong interest for the world beyond Japan. And while the practical aspects of cross-cultural encounters—trade and technology—remained the center of his attention, people like Feng Shuang offered him real-life examples of the more spiritual benefits of opening up to different cultures.

**Tsugunosuke and the world beyond Japan**

The 1859 encounter with the foreign, as we know, was not Tsugunosuke’s first. The arrival of Commodore Perry’s black ships at Uraga in 1853 had already exposed him to the West and had arguably piqued his interest in the debate over foreign encroachment. Even then Tsugunosuke had reacted with a remarkable degree of aplomb. The memorial he wrote for his domain lord at that time drew on Chinese historical precedent to examine Japan’s current situation. When the Song dynasty was attacked by the Jurchens, General Li Zhongding had addressed Emperor Huizong (1082–1135) encouraging him to do away with his life of luxury, cut on all extravagances, focus on politics, and replenish the treasury, for this was the only way to fight back the invader. Tsugunosuke believed that Li’s words rang true for Japan’s case as well; it was his position that each domain should strengthen its finances and its armies in order to be able to measure up to the foreigners. This process of self-strengthening, however, was not possible without an open mind. The 1859 trip to Yokohama and Nagasaki confirmed what Tsugunosuke already suspected: that knowledge was the antidote against fear. First-hand interaction with members of the foreign community arguably inspired him to fully articulate his budding ideas about the advantages of accepting other cultures and enabled him to further expand his horizons.

Tsugunosuke’s openness toward the world made him, and those who shared his beliefs, likely targets in the increasingly violent clashes between opposing factions. In the early 1860s the supporters of the “revere the Emperor, expel the barbarians” (sonnō jōi) movement carried out attacks not only against foreigners but also against those whom they believed had not done enough to block the encroachment of the West. In 1860 a group of loyalists assassinated Prime Minister Ii Naosuke (1815–1860), the architect of the 1858 treaties. On 1864/7/11 (August 12, 1864), in Kyoto, sonnō jōi activists murdered Tsugunosuke’s former tutor, Sakuma Ōzan. In a letter to his brother-in-law written on 1864/9/4 (October 4, 1864), two months after the death of Ōzan and five years after his Nagasaki trip, Tsugunosuke sternly criticized blind and senseless xenophobia. He wrote:

> [The rumors] that these rōnin who call for the expulsion of the barbarians and revering the emperor (jōi sonnō) circulate are the utmost absurdities (ugu). […] And what kind of notion is that of “expelling the barbarian-

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84 Kawai Tsugunosuke, “Chiritsubo,” p. 422.
85 Kawai Tsugunosuke, “Chiritsubo,” p. 422.
ans”? If, when the western ships arrive, we raise our discipline, strengthen the army, and enrich the country, there is no reason to be afraid (osoreru ni tarazu koto ni sōrō). But to shout “expel the barbarians, expel the barbarians” without having made any preparations, that is the nonsense of cowards (okuhyōmono no tawagoto), and that is what we should worry about. If we prepare, we will be able to pave the way for commercial relations, take advantage of the circumstances, and promote the wealth of the country. As for rumors of these rōnin without an income, is it not reckless behavior? It cannot but be deplored. I cannot help but worry that, in the end, this [behavior] will lead our country to war (tenka no ran), which is deplorable.88

This was not Tsugunosuke’s first proclamation against the narrow-mindedness of the loyalist movement. In an earlier letter to his brother-in-law dated 1860/3/7 (March 28, 1860)—written, therefore, only four days after the assassination of Ii Naosuke—he had condemned the machinations of Satsuma and Chōshū while trying to dispel any sense of fear about the outside world, and the West in particular. On that occasion Tsugunosuke had written:

Item: We can no longer avoid great changes for our country. That means the influence of foreign countries is drawing near, and political measures advocating the expulsion of foreigners (jōi) are just foolish (gumō).

Item: Coastal defense is our priority. However, it is much more important for our country to entertain relations with our neighboring countries. At this point, an error on our part would jeopardize the safety of the entire country.

Item: The relations between the Kyoto court and the Edo government are a matter of utmost concern. It is regrettable that Satsuma and Chōshū have come between them, plotting to tear them apart. [...]  

Item: Intercourse with foreign countries is necessary. If they come to this realization, both court nobles and shogunate officials without distinction will reform the way of politics, the government and the people will be in agreement, and our priority will be to work hard toward [the creation of] a rich country and a strong army (fukoku kyōhei). [...]  

Item: [...] It is possible that our customs and our institutions will be westernized. In the course of its history, Japan has already assimilated and absorbed the manners and institutions of China. And yet, even foreigners have their own way of humanity and justice (jingi no michi), therefore, from an equal standpoint, we need not fear the coming of western customs and systems.89

Having been exposed to the foreign and having assessed its usefulness, Tsugunosuke was not afraid of what came from beyond Japan’s borders. Both his missives insist on this point (“we need not fear,” “there is no reason to be afraid”) and at the same time decry the stupidity (gumō, ugu) of blind anti-foreignism. Bravery, to Tsugunosuke, meant encountering the world face to face rather than hiding in the shadow to carry out sneak-attacks. The only existing photograph we have of him radiates just such confidence.90 It was taken in 1859, during his visit to Nagasaki—while the circumstances behind its production are unclear, one may speculate that the photograph was meant to be a reminder of the encounter between the warrior and the foreign. Posing before a camera for the first time in his life, Tsugunosuke must have been fascinated. Nevertheless, in the photograph the young samurai does not look uncomfortable, confused, or stiff, nor is he posing in a way that could be conceived of as artificial.


89 In Ōta Osamu, Kawai Tsugunosuke to Meiji ishin, pp. 83–84.

90 The photo is included in the following texts: Andō Hideo, Teihon Kawai Tsugunosuke; Andō Hideo and Yokomura Katsuhiro eds., Kawai Tsugunosuke shashinshū; Ōta Osamu, Kawai Tsugunosuke to Meiji ishin.
His posture relaxed, Tsugunosuke looks confident and at ease; he stares intently into the lens with the poise of a man who has met the foreign and has accepted it, a “man with a vision” and “with a keen eye, who saw right through things.”

Epilogue

In the spring of 1860 Kawai Tsugunosuke completed his training under Hōkoku, left Matsuyama, and returned to Nagaoka. Two years later he was appointed Kyōtozume (Kyoto Official) and sent to the imperial capital. In 1864 he was transferred to Edo, only to return to Nagaoka as tozama ginmi the following year. Between 1865 and 1868 Tsugunosuke served his domain in various capacities: as district magistrate, city magistrate, Edo Official, toshiyori, and eventually karō, all the while implementing a series of fiscal and military reforms inspired by the notion of “rich country and strong army” (fukoku kyōhei).

Unlike many of the warriors of Tokugawa Japan, Tsugunosuke actually experienced battle. His concern that, some day, the clash between pro- and anti-Tokugawa forces would result in a war—a concern he had expressed in the 1864 letter to his brother-in-law—eventually became a reality, and when the Echigo Campaign began in the fifth month (late June) of 1868, he was thrust into action. Even in preparing for war he showed his openness to foreign ideas and technology when he chose to arm his samurai with efficient rear-loading Minie rifles in lieu of the less effective front-loading firearms that were common among warriors. After collecting these state-of-the-art weapons in Yokohama in 1868, he loaded them onto the steamship of his friend General Schnell and transported them to Niigata.

Tsugunosuke's interest for the foreign, which was born out of his studies, had blossomed with the 1859 trip, and had grown stronger in reaction to the rampant xenophobia of the early 1860s, lasted though the end.

Tsugunosuke fought on the side of the Tokugawa in the 1868 Echigo War and died later that year, at age forty-two, as a consequence of wounds he sustained on the battlefield. We will never know whether, before dying, he was reminded of the words he had jotted down while passing through Akō, the hometown of the famous forty-seven rōnin, on his way to Matsuyama in 1859—words that rang poetic as much as ironic: “Just an ounce of loyalty and bravery crushes iron and stone.” At the twilight of an era that had witnessed the domestication of the samurai, this curious intellect and admirer of things foreign died, in the end, the death of a warrior.

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Tsugunosuke was by no means the only tolerant thinker in late Tokugawa Japan. While it is undeniable that a good degree of anti-foreign sentiment was present, it is also true that even among those who advocated a general policy of resistance against foreign encroachment there were individuals who envisioned a compromise between western technology and “eastern” ethics. As recent studies have pointed out, even the voices coming from within the Nativist circles were far from univocal. Tsugunosuke’s case, then, should not be overstated as a brave reaction against a dominant, pervasive, and monolithic anti-foreign discourse, but rather as an especially poignant example of a trend toward compromise, a trend inspired by intellectual curiosity as much as by the desire to steer Japan away from a collision course with the West like the one experienced by China. In the case of Tsugunosuke, encountering the world meant observing, learning, and reporting without mocking or exoticizing, without feeling uncomfortable, and without drawing immediate and irrational conclusions based on fear.

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91 Inagawa Akio, “Hokuetsu no fūunji Kawai Tsugunosuke,” p. 11.
93 Tsugunosuke died on 1868/8/16 (October 1, 1868).
Celebrating Kyō: The Eccentricity of Bashō and Nampo

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Kyō (madness or eccentricity) has been a notable aesthetic paradigm in Japanese literature since the medieval period, but the concept of kyō has never been monolithic. In fact, the term in existing Japanese texts represents highly diverse authorial intentions and stances, including political resistance, religious nonconformity, aesthetic preference, social criticism, ethical concerns, and the construction of a literary identity. Kyō as an aesthetic paradigm is fundamentally established on the reversal of literary conventions. It played a very important role in Edo literature when the writers sought novel creative spaces beyond the classical canons to develop popular genres.

This paper examines how kyō or eccentricity constituted an important part of the creativity of both Matsuo Bashō (1644–1694), the greatest haikai (comic linked verse) poet, and Ōta Nampo (1749–1823), the best kyōshikyō bun (Chinese-style eccentric poem and prose) writer. It demonstrates that while both of them excelled at what Haruo Shirane has called “the literature of reversal”, Bashō’s kyō often works effectively in turning the earthy and the aberrant to the lofty and the spiritual, and Nampo’s tends to bring the refined and the classical down to the vulgar, funny, even crude meaning in claiming a distinctive poetic world of his own.

Kyō, literally meaning madness or insanity, implies behavior or thought that so radically transcends worldly concerns that it appears eccentric. In Japanese literary texts before Bashō, kyō has always been used to refer to the popular or comic genres that are distinct from their orthodox counterparts, such as kyōka (eccentric tanka or short Japanese poem), kyōshi (eccentric kanshi or poem in Chinese style), kyō bun (eccentric prose), and kyōgen (eccentric drama). Haikai as the humorous and aberrant counterpart to the serious classical linked verse (ushin no renga) was also called kyōku. In this tradition, to maintain the identity of a comic/popular literary genre means, to a great extent, to maintain its eccentric stance. When Yamazaki Sōkan (dates unknown) and Arakida Moritake (1473–1549) attempted to make comic linked verse an autonomous poetic form in the early sixteenth century, kyō became a key element in haikai poetics. However, the kyō of early haikai was centered on vulgar parody and wildness; it was used merely for the sake of creating humour. The Danrin School that had influenced the early work of Bashō also contributed to the development of the eccentric stance in haikai by promoting a style that emphasized exaggerations and falsehoods. Although the Danrin School breathed life into comic linked verse, its formalistic novelty failed to create profound poetry. In order to transform haikai into poetry of profound meaning, Bashō and his followers reinvented the kyō of haikai by creating the personae of unworldly recluse and carefree wanderer. Through this effort, Bashō transformed the nature of kyō in haikai poetics fundamentally, making it a cornerstone of Shōmon (Bashō School) poetics.

The celebration of eccentricity was a prominent theme of Bashō’s poetry since the early stage of his haikai school. In a hokku (opening verse) written on his journey in 1684, Bashō introduces himself as an eccentric poet:

With a crazy verse (kyōku) and the wintry winds—I must look much like Chikusai.

Kyōku kogarashi no / mi wa chikusai ni / nitaru kana

My discussion here owes much to Shirane’s observation in Traces of Dreams, p. 73.


2 My discussion here owes much to Shirane’s observation in Traces of Dreams, p. 73.

The same poem also appears as the first verse of a haikai sequence in Fuyu no hi (The winter days), a collection of five kasen sequences Bashō produced with a group of poets in Nagoya in 1684. In Fuyu no hi, there is a prose passage before the poem, which says:

My bamboo hat had worn out in the rains of the long journey, and my paper jacket had become crumpled in the storms. A poor man utterly destitute, even I felt pity for myself. Suddenly I remembered that a gifted man of eccentric poetry had visited this province in the past, and I uttered: “With a crazy verse / and the wintry winds—I must look / much like Chikusai.”

Bashō’s verse is a greeting to show his modesty to the hosts and to introduce his new poetic ideal of fūkyō (poetic eccentricity). The “gifted man of eccentric poetry” refers to Chikusai portrayed in Toyama Dōya’s (1634) comic tale. According to the tale, Chikusai, a charlatan who was crazy about eccentric tanka (kyōka), once traveled to Nagoya on his journey from Kyōto to Edo. By comparing himself to Chikusai and associating his eccentric haikai verse (kyōku) with Chikusai’s kyōka, Bashō advocates his fūkyō ideal through the eccentric poetic persona.

The poem and prose above show that during that period Bashō deliberately reinvented his poetic identity through the image of an eccentric. In fact, not only did Bashō celebrate the eccentric taste in his writings, but he also led the life of an eccentric recluse and perpetual traveler. In 1680, he left the city where he had a successful career teaching haikai and moved to a cottage on the banks of the Fukagawa River at the outskirts of Edo. Four years after the move, he abandoned this temporary shelter to become a constant wayfarer. In “Genjūan no ki,” (“On the Unreal Dwelling,” 1690), a haikai prose text written in his later years, Bashō describes his unique way of life as “my eccentric ways”:

But I should not have it thought from what I have said that I am devoted to solitude and seek only to hide my traces in the wilderness. Rather, I am like a sick man weary of people, or someone who is tired of the world. What is there to say? I have not led a clerical life, nor have I served in normal pursuits. Ever since I was very young I have been fond of my eccentric ways, and once I had come to make them the source of a livelihood, temporarily I thought, I discovered myself bound for life to the one line of my art, incapable and talentless as I am.

Bashō claims that he was “fond of [his] eccentric ways” ever since he was very young and that this eccentricity led him to his art, but we know little about his childhood. Existing evidence only tells us that Bashō had been teaching haikai before he moved to Fukagawa, which could hardly be described as eccentric. Nonetheless, what is significant about this passage is that Bashō draws a direct connection between his “eccentric ways” of life and his art. This emphasis on the integration of his poetic ideals and his way of life reflected Bashō’s belief in the “sincerity of poetry” (fūga no makoto). Bashō’s choice to be a hut-dweller and wayfarer was a genuine effort to pursue fūryū, which, as he saw, were embodied in the aesthetic recluse traditions of China and Japan and were highlighted by the Daoist ideal of shōyōyū (C. xiaoyaochu). The word fūryū is polysemous in both Chinese and Japanese. In Bashō’s poetry it implies an aesthetic ideal that rejects worldly values and reveres the recluse tradition, seeking beauty in a lifestyle or mental-
ity that is free of material burdens and devoted to arts. *Shōyo/xiaoyaoyou* is variously translated as free-and-easy wandering, carefree wandering, and carefree meandering. The Daoist classic *Zhuangzi* advocates it as a spiritual, ethical, and aesthetic ideal. Fundamentally emphasizing the physical and mental freedom of the individual, it highlights a quality or state resulting from being *ziran* (natural and spontaneous) and *wuwei* (inaction or noninterference), which the *Zhuangzi* reiterates as the perfect beauty and the manifestation of the *Dao*. The *xiaoyaoyou* ideal had a profound impact on the themes and theories of Chinese literature and arts and was adapted by many Japanese writers, including Bashō. Bashō’s pursuit for the poetic eccentricity and unconventionality was clearly seen in the poems written after his move to Fukagawa. *Minashiguri* (Empty Chestnuts), a collection of *haikai* published in 1683, contains the following poem:

Ice—bitter-tasting—
just enough to moisten
the throat of the mole.

*Kōri nigaku / enso ga nodo o / uruoseri* 8

This verse can be viewed to be a humorous portrayal of the hardship of a recluse’s life. The peculiar word “enso” (mole) written in two Chinese characters that are not commonly used, however, suggests that this image is not simply an animal present at the scene, but a word from Chinese sources.

As has been frequently pointed out, “enso” (C. *yanshu*) is from the Daoist classic *Zhuangzi* and hence it introduces an important intertextual link. According to the *Zhuangzi*, Yao, the legendary monarch, wants to cede the empire to a recluse called Xu You. Xu rejected the offer, using the mole as a metaphor in his reply: “When the tailorbird builds her nest in the deep wood, she uses no more than one branch. When the mole drinks at the river, he takes no more than a bellyful. Go home and forget the matter, my lord. I have no use for the rulership of the world.” 9 Evidently, the metaphor of the mole evokes a preference for simplicity and spiritual freedom, which embodies the profound meaning with which Bashō seeks to imbue his poem. The mole, therefore, functions as an allusion to the *Zhuangzi* and through this allusion an intertextual structure is formed between Bashō’s verse and the Daoist classic. In this context it becomes clear that the mole is part of a self-portrait of the speaker as an eccentric who follows the aesthetic recluse tradition and finds perfect happiness in solitude. In a *haikai* prose on the occasion of the rebuilding of Bashō-an (Plantain Hut), the hut in which he dwells, Bashō makes this aesthetic stance even more explicit:

I regard a mind that has no material concern as venerable, and a person who lacks talent and knowledge as perfect. A shelterless perpetual wanderer is next to them. A man of strong free spirit can withstand the attack of the little quail’s wings...Shaken by the wind, the plantain leaves wave like a phoenix’s tail. Torn in the rain, they look like a green dragon’s ears. Their new leaves grow each day, as what Zhang Hengqu has wished for his learning, and as if they are waiting to unroll under Master Huaisu’s writing brush. Nonetheless, I am not following these two great models. I simply spend my carefree days in the shade, admiring these plantain leaves for their serenity as they are torn in the wind and the rain. 10

While this passage is written in acknowledgement of Bashō’s disciples and friends who built a new hut for him, it is interspersed with references to many Chinese texts. The opening statement, which in many ways follows the depiction of the Perfect Man in the *Zhuangzi*, declares the

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8 *KBZ*, 1: 74. The poem is a *hokku* in the collection. Translation is from Qiu, *Bashō and the Dao*, p. 48.


essence of the poetic eccentricity in Bashō’s work. “The attack of the little quail’s wings,” which is a metaphor for the prejudice of small-minded people to the lofty eccentric, is based on the depiction of the little quail’s laughing at the great Peng bird in the Zhuangzi. Bashō contrasts the idleness of the eccentric with the diligence of two famous figures in Chinese history. Zhang Hengqu (1020–1077) was a celebrated Song Confucian scholar and Huaisu (725–785) was a priest and calligrapher of the Tang dynasty; both were known for having achieved success through hard work. It is said that when seeing the rapid growth of the plantain leaves, Zhang wrote a poem to express his wish that his knowledge would grow equally quickly. Huaisu used plantain leaves on which to practice writing skills. Bashō, whose name literally means “plantain,” announces that he follows the example of neither of the model scholars. What he prefers is to spend his carefree days in the shade of the plantain leaves, like a Daoist recluse indulging in untroubled wandering.

Bashō’s eccentric self-portrayal associates the reclusive life—either that of the poet himself or that of recluse in general—with the Chinese philosophical and aesthetic recluse tradition, making the humorous verse haikai simultaneously profound. As seen in the examples above, Bashō’s “eccentric way” of life seems to be a carefully structured aesthetic context for writing poems, and the unique quality of Bashō’s poetry owes much to his eccentric way of life as a hut-dweller and wayfarer. In other words, the eccentric reclusive life provided a context by which Bashō successfully transformed the comic linked verse to a profound art form.

Celebration of the eccentric persona continued to be an important theme and aesthetic value in Edo literature even after the death of Bashō in 1694, though it developed new characteristics. One of its most important proponents was Ōta Nampo who was regarded as the most talented writer of kyōshi and kyōbun that became popular among the literati from around the 1750s. Born about a century after Bashō, Ōta Nampo served the Tokugawa government diligently as an official for over fifty years. Yet, in his poems Nampo deliberately and confidently portrayed himself as an eccentric recluse, or, in his own word, riin, “a recluse in government.” Well-versed in Chinese poetry and classics, Nampo frequently cited Chinese texts in his writings, and he also drew upon the same Daoist sources to which Bashō had referred in creating an eccentric persona. In his Neboke sensei bunshū (The Master Sleepy Head’s collection, 1767), he portrays himself as follows:

The Master is a Chinese beast. His ancestry traces back to Mr. Lu of Handan, who had a wild dream of becoming a high official; a character derived from him is no doubt also a Chinese beast. Hence, the master named himself Sleepy Head. …A late riser who falls asleep early in the evening, he never stays up till midnight or gets up before dawn. In his sleep he would talk nonsense. He particularly loves the story in which Zhuangzi dreamt he was a butterfly alighting upon a vegetable leaf. …

This prose piece typically represents the style of kyōbun that has humor and parody as its core. Yet, the eccentric self-portrayal of Master Sleepy Head goes beyond a superficial caricature. The prose contains a number of allusions that give the comic depiction deeper implications. Mr. Lu of Handan is a poor scholar in a Tang (618–907) tale. He failed the imperial examinations and, on his way home, lodged at Handan, where the Daoist immortal Lü Dongbin lent him a magic pillow. Mr. Lu fell asleep on the pillow and dreamt that he had become the Prime Minister of the state, but awoke only to find the pot of millet still cooking on the fire. Mr. Lu was awakened to the

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11 *Asobite*, the word Bashō uses here, literally means “play.” The word is often written in a character that is the same as the last character of the word *shōyōyu*.  


illusory nature of life by the dream, and eventually became a Daoist recluse. The golden millet dream became a well-known idiom for delusions of grandeur in Chinese literature. By calling himself “a descendent of Mr. Lu,” Nampo simultaneously makes a mockery of his career as an official and expresses his preference for retreat. In this kyōbun, the authorial interest in the Daoist values is further revealed by the overt allusion to the famous parable of the butterfly’s dream in the Zhuangzi, which puts the nature of reality and dream in a relativistic perspective. By skillfully stringing together a group of intertexts and images associated with sleep and dream, Nampo cleverly imparts funny meaning into the recluse persona Master Sleepy Head.

While in Master Sleepy Head he creates a self-image as one with the propensity toward becoming a recluse, Nampo never actually physically lived the life of a hermit as had Bashō previously. To Nampo and his contemporaries, a mental preference and an aesthetic taste for solitude were enough to qualify one to be a lofty recluse. The practice of reclusion became a matter of mentality and aesthetic paradigm in China as early as the Wei-Jin period (220–420). In Jin shu (Book of the Jin), a history book compiled in the seventh century, reclusion is already defined as existing fundamentally in one’s own mind instead of the external environment. The Wei-Jin literati enthusiastically celebrated deliberate eccentricity as fengliu (J. furyū), and their tendency toward reclusion played an important part in promoting that aesthetic in Chinese literature. From the Wei-Jin period onward, it became a generally accepted, even deeply admired, concept that one could achieve lofty reclusion amid the bustle in a city, at the marketplace, or even when serving as an official, as long as one’s mind transcended worldly pursuits and remained solely devoted to art.

Early models of such aesthetic reclusion appeared in medieval Japan, as seen in the work of Yoshida Kenkō (ca. 1283–ca. 1352), and this type of “reclusion” was widely favored by the early modern Japanese literati, particularly when the bunjin (literati) movement flourished in Japan from the seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth century. It was in this context that Nampo celebrated riin (recline in government). Ri means “official” and in means “to retreat.” By riin he meant one who has maintained mental solitude while serving as a government official. Shiin is another term used popularly by the literati of Nampo’s time; in a similar vein it referred to someone who is able to attain a solitary mental state even within a city or marketplace. Both riin and shiin can also be used as verbs. Being termed a riin or shiin did not imply that one was insincere. Rather, such people were considered highly admirable for being able to uphold the recluse spirit within corrupting environments.

Although reclusive in different ways, Nampo’s description of "Master Sleepy Head" shares the same carefree attitude as that of the poetic persona of Bashō. Like Bashō who prefers to spend his days idly in the shade of the plantain leaves, Master Sleepy Head never cares to stay up late or get up early. The similarity between Master Sleepy Head and the haikai master in the Plantain Hut is deliberately created. Evidence shows that Nampo was clearly aware of Bashō’s tradition and consciously included Bashō’s works in his intertextual sources. Yomo no aka (Filth left by Yomo, 1787), the earliest collection of Nampo’s kyōbun, contains a short “Eulogy on Bashō.” The eulogy says:

He dwells amid broad plantain leaves, and wanders on the narrow road of furyū. His mind encapsulates the sentiments of winds and clouds, and his heart stays with the flow-

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14 The parable in the Zhuangzi relates the following story: “Once Zhuang Zhou [Zhuangzi] dreamt he was a butterfly, a butterfly flitting and fluttering around, happy with himself and doing as he pleased. He didn’t know he was Zhuang Zhou. Suddenly he woke up and there he was, solid and unmistakable Zhuang Zhou. But he didn’t know if he was Zhuang Zhou who had dreamt he was a butterfly, or a butterfly dreaming he was Zhuang Zhou.” See Burton Watson, trans., The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1968.), p. 49.

15 It has been noted that the comic title of collection is derived from one of Nampo’s pennames, Yomo no Akara.
ers and birds. Is he a priest, a layman, or simply a recluse? He is the singular haikai master.\(^\text{16}\)

Readers who are familiar with Bashō’s writings immediately notice that each sentence of the kyōbun alludes to a work or works by Bashō. The first sentence refers to Bashō’s prose on rebuilding the Plantain Hut cited earlier and to his best-known travel account *Oku no hosomichi* (Narrow road to the depths, 1694). The “narrow road of fūryū” concisely captures Bashō’s pursuit of his poetic ideal as depicted in *Oku no hosomichi*. The second sentence of Nampo’s text draws upon a phrase in one of Bashō’s haikai prose, “Genjūan no ki” (On the Unreal Dwelling, 1690): “My body stays with the winds and clouds that have no destination, and my feelings are with flowers and birds.”\(^\text{17}\) The third sentence is based on a statement Bashō makes in his travel account “Nozarashi kikō” (A weather-beaten journey, 1685): “While resembling a priest, I am full of secular dust; appearing like a layman, my hair is shaven.”\(^\text{18}\) Clearly, Nampo was both extremely familiar with Bashō’s writings as well as consciously seeking inspiration from this singular haikai master.

Indeed, by the time Nampo was composing, Bashō’s haikai had become part of the canonical poetic tradition. Before popular literary genres such as haikai, kyōshi, and kyōbun became mainstream during the Edo period, waka, kanshi, and kanbun were first-class literature and characterized as ga (refined and elegant). Haikai, kyōshi, and kyōka were regarded as zoku, or vulgar subgenres. As demonstrated earlier, Bashō successfully used eccentricity based on Daoist ideals to elevate the popular linked verse from the status of zoku to profound poetry, ga. Ga and zoku are pair of concepts initially used in Chinese literary criticism. Their characters in Chinese are identical to those in Japanese and are pronounced as ya and su. Ya refers to classical and refined literature whose qualities are considered lofty and superior, while su refers to the popular and common tastes of ordinary people. In early modern Japan these concepts were widely applied in instructions on literary writing. Although Bashō rarely used the terms ga and zoku directly, his teaching on haikai emphasized a thorough knowledge of the distinction between the high-class literature and vulgar vocabulary and expressions, requiring his disciples to convey lofty values through the language of common people.

Like Bashō Nampo also used the aesthetic of eccentricity to establish his literary world. His eccentric persona helped bring his kanshibun (Chinese-style poems and prose) in line with “ga” and associate his kyōka with the lofty recluse tradition celebrated by his Chinese and Japanese forerunners. However, while Nampo’s reference to the eccentric tradition sometimes also functions to elevate zoku, as Bashō’s kyō does aptly, he more frequently uses it as a parody of the canonized tradition to bring the lofty down to the mundane. For example, his kyōbun *Nezumi o semuru kotoba* (Denouncing the rat, circa 1774–1781) starts with an allusion to enso, the mole that appears in the *Zhuangzi* as well as in Bashō’s verse. However, instead of borrowing the classical image to glorify recluse values, the narrative immediately shifts to a humorous depiction of a rat in an ordinary household: “When the mole drinks at the river, he takes no more than a bellyful. Why did you lick up my inkpad, taking away the color of my seal stone? Would that you will be grazed by a cat at the daybreak, or caught by a trap at sunset . . .”\(^\text{19}\) The traditional Japanese inkpad for seal stones contains oil and, therefore, becomes the target of hungry household rats. Nampo deliberately substitutes the greedy rat for the modest mole, presenting a funny twist to the classical recluse signifier.

This kind of parody of the lofty recluse tradition is essential for Nampo who does not dwell in a hut like Bashō and who wants to maintain the iconoclastic nature of the kyōshibun as popular literature. The literature of kyō is fundamentally literature of reversal; it turns the vulgar and profane into the elegant and spiritual on one hand, and gives the earthy, funny, even crude meaning to the refined and the classical on the other. In order to make the popular linked verse a legitimate literary form, Bashō’s kyō places more

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16 “Bashō-an Tōsei ō san,” in *SNKBT*, 84: 268.
17 *KBZ*, 6: 463.
18 *KBZ*, 6: 55.
19 *SNKBT*, 84: 262.
emphasis on the former in order to seek out ga or the poetic in the humble and the ordinary. Nampo, however, wants to be considered new and popular and knows that he must distinguish himself from Bashô and earlier poets. Nampo’s “On Viewing the Snow” (Yukimi no kotoba, around 1774–1781) states:

Going astray into the world of popular poems, I scribbled what kanshi, waka, renga, and haikai didn’t even know, neither fūga nor share. As such, I didn’t care if the Second Month snow failed to fall.

Now, then, let’s do it—
making this body of mine
a rounded snow ball
and let me toss it about
in this fleeting world.

Iza saraba / maromeshi yuki to /
mi o nashite / ukiyo no naka o /
korogearikan

In order make his poetry distinctively different from the earlier poetic genres, Nampo particularly distinguishes what he writes from fūga and share, two terms used in the haikai theories of the Bashô School. Fūga is written with two Chinese characters. Fū literally means “wind,” “style,” and “view.” Ga is the same character as the ga in the dichotomic terms ga and zoku. Broadly implying literary elegance and refinement, fūga is also used to mean specifically refined poetic art. Share in Japanese normally means “witty” or “witticism,” but the word is used by the Bashô School of haikai poets to characterize the great Tang poet Du Fu (712–770) in the sense of “natural and unrestrained.” Evidently, both fūga and share designate ga or refined poetry in Bashô’s haikai theories. In Japanese literary tradition, viewing snow (yukimi) in the Second Month while composing poems is an important seasonal activity and an expression of ga. Nampo, however, tells us that “going astray into the world of popular poems,” he doesn’t care if the early spring snow fails to fall.

Nampo’s kyōka appended to the prose is an explicit parody of Bashô’s following verse on snow-viewing:

Now then, let’s go out
to enjoy the snow…until
I slip and fall!

Iza saraba / yukimi ni korobu / tokoro made

This poem was an opening verse written when Bashô was invited to a snow-viewing party hosted by a book dealer in Nagoya. The combination of the earthy word korobu, to “slip and fall,” with the poetic activity yukimi, snow-viewing, has been considered by some commentators as Bashô’s expression of fūkyō. Yet, the eccentric gesture here works effectively toward achieving ga, for the eccentric persona demonstrates that he “would risk anything for the sake of fūga.” Parodying Bashô’s verse of fūga, Nampo’s poem creates a double-faceted structure of significance through his skillful use of two pivotal words in the second half of the poem. In addition to meaning “fleeting world,” “ukiyo” is also frequently used to refer to the brothel districts in the Edo period. “Koroge” can also mean “korogemawaru,” to toss about in bed. Thus, Nampo’s poem is open to two completely different interpretations, pivoting between ga and zoku: the world of an eccentric poet who pokes fun at the fleeting world, and that of an erotic speaker who indulges in sexual pleasures.

Indeed, Nampo’s eccentricity was established on pivoting the ga and the zoku and, like other popular genres such as haikai, bringing the ga down to the zoku no doubt met the taste of the popular audiences of the time. Different from the culture of Genroku (1688–1704), which was generated mainly by elite townsmen, the early eighteenth century witnessed the growth of middle-class urban culture. The gradual spread of wealth led to the boom of popular culture by the

20 In SNKBT, 84: 253.

21 Translation of the verse is from Ueda, Bashô and His Interpreters, p. 177.

22 See Shûson’s comments quoted in Ueda, Bashô and His Interpreters, p. 177.

23 Ueda, p. 177.
Tenmei period (1781–1789) when Nampo gained his fame. Clearly aware of the popular interests of the times, Nampo characterizes his poetry as a contrast to the classical poetry defined by the canonical preface to the *Kokin waka shū* (Anthology of Japanese poetry: Ancient and present, ca. 905. Also known as *Kokinshū*), saying that “Popular poems spread the seeds of people’s laughter; they are doggerels for people of all trades.”25 Bashō’s *haikai* at times also twists the *Kokinshū* canons. The following poem, for example, creates an unforgettable image of an eccentric traveler by combining the *ga* and *zoku*.

Let’s go to
the market shoppers, and sell
the snow on my sedge hat.

*Ichibito ni / ide kore uran/kasa no yuki*26

In classical Japanese poetry since the *Kokinshū*, snow has always been portrayed as an elegant touch on mountains or in gardens. Bashō’s verse, however, introduces an eccentric traveler who sells a handful of snow that is worthless at the marketplace, mockingly contrasting the wanderer’s values with those of the commercial world. This example shows how, by reworking the canonical image, Bashō’s poetic eccentricity or *fūkyō* highlights the lofty through the mundane, and in final analysis the image of *zoku* in Bashō’s verse often serves to recapture the *ga* in transforming *haikai* to a high art form.

With the popular audiences in mind, Nampo creates eccentric personae that are somewhat different from those in Bashō’s poem. The following poem is reminiscent of the *kyōka* poet in Bashō’s poem cited at the beginning of this paper, but the *kyōka* masters Nampo portrays are clearly representing a different world:

*Kyōka* masters
in sloppy dresses are going,
one after another,
over the Emon Slope—
the Central Avenue at noon.

*Kyōkashī no / hikitokurowanu / emonzaka / uchitsuretyoku / hirunaka no chō*27

The names of the two places, “emonzaka” (Emon Slope) and “naka no chō” (Central Avenue) are both puns in the poem. When read in connection with the preceding words, “hikitokurowanu emon” also means “sloppily dressed” and “hirunaka” also means “noon.” In the topography of Edo popular culture, these place names are significant in that they imply the path towards the brothels: Emonzaka is the slope in front of Yoshiwara, the famous licensed-quarter in Edo, and Naka no chō is the central avenue in the district. Although Yoshiwara lost much of its prestige during the latter half of the eighteenth century, it remained the center of Edo popular culture. In contrast with Bashō’s *kyōka* master who traveled through austere environs amid the wintry gusts, Nampo’s *kyōka* masters are wandering toward the licensed quarters. Nampo appears to have no intention of imparting a lofty spirit into the *kyōka* masters in his poem, or, perhaps he considers the total subversion of the *ga* with *zoku* to be the true spirit of *kyō* of his time. Characteristic of their poetry, the eccentricity of Bashō and Nampo mirrors the distinct literary identities of the two remarkable poets from different periods.

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24 The first anthology of Japanese poems compiled by imperial command, organized according to various themes, including the four seasons, love, travel, laments, and miscellaneous topics. It is also known as *Kokinshū*.

25 *Yomo no aka*, in SNKBT, 84: 286.


27 KBZ, 3: 276.
The Dao of Nineteenth-Century Japanese Nativist Healing: A Chinese Herbal Supplement to Faith Healing

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People may think that traditional Japanese medicine in the nineteenth century consisted of moxibustion, cupping, acupuncture, the ingestion of herbs, and things of that nature. In other words, they may think it similar to traditional Chinese medicine. Few people would know that in the nineteenth century there were Japanese physicians who rejected those practices. For some Edo-period Japanese physicians and intellectuals, Chinese medicine had to be ideologically domesticated before it could be accepted as a legitimate alternative for the treatment of Japanese people.

The nativist scholar and Japanese physician Hirata Atsutane 平田篤胤 (1776–1843) initially disparaged the practices of Chinese medicine, and only later changed his opinion about its efficacy. Few know Atsutane as a physician and fewer still are aware of his contributions to nineteenth-century Japanese medicine, yet he wrote substantial treatises discussing both faith-healing practices and physical remedies including herbal medicines. Although he continued to advocate the practice of healing rituals that relied on kami summoned by sorcery or magic, he was eventually persuaded to consider herbal remedies a legitimate form of Japanese medicine. In this article I show how Chinese medicine, once anathema to certain nineteenth-century nativists, was re-envisioned as native practice.

Hirata Atsutane’s Written Contributions to Japanese Medicine

After an initial overview of Atsutane’s writings on medical practices this article traces a select course through those writings with the broad purpose of supporting the assertion that traditional Japanese medicine has not always been just a subset of Chinese medicine. In particular, this article seeks to suggest in detail how Chinese medical practices became acceptable to the nineteenth-century nativist Hirata Atsutane, whose extreme anti-Chinese bias made such acceptance highly problematic. A related goal is to introduce the little-known medical contributions of Atsutane, who has formerly been seen only as a nationalist pedagogue. This short examination of his writings on medicine attempts to illuminate nineteenth-century opinions concerning what we today would identify as faith healing and traditional Chinese herbal medical practices. A more specific goal is to pinpoint exactly what happened in the years between Atsutane’s early medical text Shizu no iwaya 志都能岩屋, The Peaceful Stone Hut (1810), and the later work Isō Chüikeiko 医宗仲景考, Thoughts on the Medical Lineage of Zhongjing (1827), that reversed his opinion on herbal medicine. Also between those two works, Daoist origins became so attractive to him that he was inspired to discover new strategies to claim that all effective Daoist practice originated in Japan at the hands of Japanese kami.

Atsutane’s Shizu no iwaya shows that his medical theory, despite receiving early training based on Chinese pharmacopeias, was highly dependent upon Japanese mythology. His reading of this mythology strengthened his conviction that healing depended on faith in the native Japanese kami and the magical power of ritual. According to Atsutane in 1810, Chinese medicine was a collection of defective, second-class healing techniques – a corrupt medical practice for fools.

Atsutane’s teacher Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730–1801) also swore by medical technique based on belief in Japanese kami, and early in his career Atsutane was not of a mind to break with him on this particular point of faith. Scholars view Norinaga as the most influential nativist of the Edo period and also recognize a virulent strain of xenophobia in his writings. He showered China with stinging criticisms, and nativists followed his lead in classifying Chinese culture as inferior to Japanese culture in all ways. There-

1 By “sorcery” and “magic” I mean the mechanisms by which humans induce spiritual beings to effect change on the world.
fore, it should have been a betrayal of nativist principles for Atsutane to approve of practices, such as herbal medicine, that are clearly products of Chinese civilization.

In 1827 Atsutane wrote another work on medicine titled Isō Chūkeikō in which he re-evaluated Chinese herbal medicine. In this work he introduced a new argument that the Eastern Han physician Zhang Zhongjing 張仲景 (150–219), whose well-known work on pharmacology Shang Han Za Bing Lun 傷寒雜病論, On Cold Damage and Miscellaneous Diseases, was held in high esteem by most Japanese physicians, was actually the Daoist master Ge Xuan 葛玄 (164–244). Ge Xuan was the grand-uncle of the better-known Ge Hong 葛洪 (284–364), and both were reputed to have become immortals with great power. The association of herbal medicine with Ge Hong's Daoist immortal practice was essential to Atsutane’s plan for appropriating Chinese medical techniques for Japanese physicians.

In Isō Chūkeikō in 1827, Atsutane revisited the subject of the relative merits of magical healing ritual and herbal medicine and this time pronounced them to be “two wheels of the same cart;” that is, essentially equal. His final words from this text are an admission that the practice of herbal medicine should be considered a proper addition to other shinsen 神仙 practices, that is, Daoist immortal practices he had earlier declared to be Japanese, but he added the caveat that herbal medicine without kami 神 worship would be a heretical practice.

Fortunately, there is textual evidence from the time period between his first stance and subsequent reversal that shows what may have moved him to revalue medicine formerly considered Chinese in origin. Without this textual evidence it would be nearly impossible to offer any explanation as to how a rabid xenophobe such as Atsutane, who had started his career attacking all things Chinese, could in his maturity make an abrupt about face and embrace Daoism and Chinese herbal medicine as valuable fields of study for nativists. The textual evidence also shows that while his faith in the nativist principle of Japanese superiority never wavered, his historical narrative was malleable.

This textual evidence suggests that a personal relationship with a certain strange but talented Edo street urchin named Torakichi 勁男 may have been the catalyst leading to this intellectual reversal, and so we must examine a certain text Atsutane wrote about this boy titled Senkyō ibun 仙境異聞, Strange Tales from the Realm of Immortals, written in 1822. A further compelling reason to delve into Senkyō ibun is that it also functions as a medical text. In fact, it contains scores of pages detailing nineteenth-century Japanese medical theory and technique. Furthermore, it occupies a pivotal position among Atsutane’s medical writings, and foreshadows an impending change in his thought. Therefore before examining Senkyō ibun we

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2 Hirata Atsutane, “Isō Chūkeikō,” in Shinshū Hirata Atsutane zenshū (Meichō shuppan, 1978) [from hereon SHAZ], vol.14, p. 548. All translations of Atsutane’s work in this article are my own.

3 Atsutane’s “writing sample” sent to nativist academies in 1803 when applying for membership was a vitriolic diatribe titled Kamōsho, 呵妄書, A Criticism of Deceitful Writings in SHAZ, vol. 10. This was a direct criticism of certain people he thought were too enamored of Chinese culture.

4 The real life story of an uneducated teenage boy rising out of poverty on the streets of Edo and making a name for himself as Tengu Kōzō Torakichi, claiming to have been abducted and raised by tengu in the mountains, is the subject for a fascinating biography just waiting for a biographer. The Japanese scholars mentioned in note 12 have written extensively on him as have some Western scholars including myself. What we know of his life story is too complex to explain in this venue. As a teaser I will reveal that he could channel spirits, see the future, and on one occasion he made it rain. For further details please see Wilburn Hansen, When Tengu Talk: Hirata Atsutane’s Ethnography of the Other World (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2009).
should know more about Atsutane’s pre-Torakichi medical thought.

Atsutane’s Pre-Senkyō Ibun Medical Theories

Atsutane began to study herbal medicine at age eleven from his uncle, and as an adult he was employed as a physician at the same time as he worked as a Shinto lecturer and master of his own academy. In 1810 Atsutane drafted the medical text *Shizu no iwaya*, also known as *Idō taiti*, The Essence of the Way of Healing. This comprehensive draft of his theory of healing was completed ten years before Atsutane met the boy Torakichi, and it is a document that shows disillusionment with Chinese herbal medicine created by his fervent belief in Japanese nativist theories.

In *Shizu no iwaya* Atsutane claimed that the source of all healing practices and remedies was the *kami* of Japan: namely, Onamuchi and Sukunabiko. Atsutane understood disease to be caused by the inhabitants of the Other World, and therefore sought metaphysical solutions to problems caused by metaphysical beings. He explained that although all divine healing knowledge was originally imparted to the ancient Japanese, much of it had been lost by their descendents in the time since the Age of the Kami. However, the true healing knowledge imparted by the two *kami* of healing was not irretrievably lost. Some of this had been spread to other lands as the *kami* traveled, allowing the divine knowledge to diffuse to foreign shores. Fortunately, there were some wise foreigners who managed to preserve parts of the healing traditions, most notably in China. In other words, the Chinese received all of their correct knowledge of healing from Japanese *kami*.

One of the Chinese Atsutane praised for preserving the ancient *kami* tradition of healing overseas was Ge Hong, who was relatively well-known in Japan in Atsutane’s time for his shinsen teachings and practices. A traditional power credited to the legendary Chinese immortals was the power of healing, and Ge Hong wrote in great detail about those healing arts of the immortals. In essence, Atsutane’s theory of magical faith healing was very similar to, and most likely dependent upon, ideas from Chinese magical medicine, which developed during the early stages of the growth of the Daoist religion in China. However, Atsutane’s one major departure from Ge Hong’s methods was that in 1810 his medical theory had no room for Ge Hong’s herbal healing techniques.

Atsutane accepted a theory of disease that agreed with certain Daoist teachings. Many Daoists believed that one cause of illness was a soul influenced by evil beings into corrupting the very body it inhabited, leading to sickness, death or demonic transformation. They believed the certain method for fighting off these evil beings was to name them and command them to leave or surrender, either orally or in written form on a talisman. In other words, they believed that evil beings followed a code of conduct. Years after the writing of *Shizu no iwaya*, at one juncture in his conversations with the self-styled tengu apprentice Torakichi, Atsutane confirmed his continuing belief in this spiritual code of conduct:

It seems that even in the case of *sanjin* or

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5 Atsutane was not always in agreement with Ge Hong on specifics. For example, Ge Hong felt that the most important practice in becoming an immortal was the drinking of mineral and metal elixirs while Atsutane seemed much more interested in internal qi refinement and circulation practices.

6 See Michel Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*, ed. Bernard Faure (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), particularly Chapter One on “Disease and Taoist Law”. Strickmann’s ideas are echoed by Edward L. Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiï, Press, 2001). In brief, illness was considered to be a spiritual matter caused usually by some moral failing on the part of the sufferer or some part of his/her very extended family.

7 Again the above mentioned works by Strickmann and Davis expound on the belief that illness-causing demons obey their superiors, and for further study of the bureaucratic model in Daoism see also Robert Hymes, *Way and Byway: Taoism, Local Religion, and Models of Divinity in Sung and Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).
tengu abduction, the words of the tutelary kami cannot be resisted. Furthermore, when it comes to ghosts, they cannot harm anyone who is protected by his tutelary kami.  

Reading Senkyō Ibun for Medical Information: A New Approach

Senkyō ibun reveals Atsutane attempting to establish a new discourse on Japan that includes information on supernatural healers. It contains detailed descriptions given by the boy Tengu Kozō Torakichi 天狗小僧寅吉 of the world of the supernatural in which he claimed to have been raised. Some of these descriptions are of the activities of a new type of supernatural being inhabiting this newly discovered world: sanjin 山人, who disguise themselves as tengu 天狗, but are actually benevolent, wise, powerful, and devoted servants of the native Japanese kami.

The only in-depth treatment of Senkyō ibun in English, previous to my work, is a lengthy article from 1967, in which Carmen Blacker translated several passages and provided a folklorist’s description and assessment of this text. Blacker categorized Senkyō ibun’s tales of Tengu Kozō Torakichi as an example of a folklore pattern involving the supernatural abduction of children. Her work on Senkyō ibun is thought-provoking and informative. However, the abduction I focus on in my studies of Senkyō ibun is Atsutane’s abduction of Torakichi’s stories of the Japanese Other World, using them to gain support for his own nativist assertions concerning Japanese identity and capability. For this article I concentrate on medical examples only.

Japanese scholars know Senkyō ibun as an example of Atsutane’s supernatural research and not as a medical text. As a result, these scholars have not made any serious commentary on this particular facet of this multi-faceted text. The medical information is impossible to miss, and there is no particular reason for this omission by those scholars other than lack of interest.

Senkyō Ibun as a Turning Point in Atsutane’s Medical Thinking

In Senkyō ibun we are told the story of how Atsutane met, befriended, and took in a young

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9 I have argued elsewhere that to read Senkyō ibun and undervalue or ignore the thick description of this new nativist champion and religious virtuoso, whom Torakichi and Atsutane collaboratively dubbed sanjin 山人, is to miss Atsutane’s attempt to create a new nativist discourse first seen in the Senkyō ibun text. Moreover, what is usually overlooked or missed in analyses of Senkyō ibun is that there is more than enough evidence to conclude that Atsutane manipulated Torakichi’s testimony in order to spread his own nativist message. However, it should also be made clear that Torakichi soon learned his role and participated actively in the joint creation of a public spectacle in Edo salon society that attempted to give birth to a new Japanese religious hero, the sanjin.
12 Kamata Tōji 鎌田東二 published the most recent in-depth treatment of the relationship between Atsutane and Torakichi in Japanese in 2002. See Kamata Tōji, Hirata Atsutane no shinkai fiirudowaaku (Sakuhinsha, 2002). Koyasu Nobukuni 子安宣邦 added to the commentary on Atsutane and Torakichi in 2001. See Koyasu Nobukuni, Hirata Atsutane no sekai (Perikansha, 2001). Haga Noboru’s 芳賀登 fairly recent works have on occasion included important insights into this relationship. In fact, there is also a long history of prewar Japanese scholarship on the Senkyō ibun text and the relationship between Atsutane and Torakichi, which includes commentary by Muraoka Tsunetsugu 村岡典嗣, Watanabe Kinzō 渡辺金造, and Origuchi Shinobu 折口信夫. See Hansen, When Tengu Talk, pp. 6–9.
Edo street urchin who had already convinced certain pockets of Edo intellectual society that he had been raised by tengu in the mountains of Japan. *Senkyō ibun* is rare among Atsutane’s works because it is not meant to be a straightforward explanation of his nativist theories as most of his other works are. This work is more like a diary or at least a running record of interactions with Torakichi that took place over a period of several months. I have argued elsewhere in great detail that this work is reminiscent of ethnographic studies conducted by nineteenth- and twentieth-century anthropologists, complete with the problems and shortcomings accompanying that genre of writing and investigation.  

Among the many fantastic tales and fascinating facts about the Other World  

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14 Atsutane had long suspected, believed in, and theorized about the existence of this Other World. H.D. Harootunian, in *Things Seen and Unseen* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), p. 153, wrote about this as follows:  

Atsutane posited that there was another world within the tangible and visible world in which humans normally lived. His faith in the verity of certain stories from the most ancient Japanese texts suggested to him that such a world did exist.  

For Hirata [Atsutane], *kamigoto* [affairs of the *kami*] represented an unseen reality. An invisible domain where the gods carried out their affairs, it concerned the creation of heaven and earth as well as the sacred affairs of the world of darkness and concealment. Elevation of this realm to equivalence with the world of the living provided authority to his argument concerning consolation. “It is difficult to accept the old explanations that dead spirits migrate to the land of Yomi. But where do the spirits of people who have died in this country go?” If this question were not clarified there would be no chance for revealed by Torakichi are serious and detailed instructions for healing a number of troubling human ailments. These records of Torakichi’s information concerning healing practices in the Other World signal a change in the direction of Atsutane’s research interests. In *Senkyō ibun* Atsutane began directing his inquiries toward stories of Daoist immortal, or *shinsen*, practice in the mountains of Japan.  

Although Atsutane at first disagreed with Torakichi on medical theory, his interactions with Torakichi could be understood as the stimulus that aroused his interest in the possible existence of native Japanese *shinsen* practices related to Torakichi’s medical anecdotes. However, even though Atsutane recorded his stance that herbal remedies such as Torakichi’s were inferior in quality, the text also shows Atsutane seeking some rationale that could include them as valuable knowledge acceptable to a nativist. After meeting Torakichi, Atsutane’s own attitudes toward health and healing shifted concretely toward a Daoist understanding of longevity and disease prevention. The sheer number of texts Atsutane authored on Daoism in the decade subsequent to his daily interactions with Torakichi stand as evidence of this shift. These works strongly suggest that in the 1820’s Atsutane’s brand of Japanese nativist health and healing theory was expanding to include herbal medicine verified by Japanese mythology.  

**Torakichi’s Medical Knowledge in *Senkyō ibun***  

Atsutane’s *sanjin* were actually the Japanese equivalent of the Chinese immortals and as such medical practices were also essential to their identities. In *Senkyō ibun* recorded in 1822, Torakichi claimed that his master who had achieving genuine happiness. The question was rhetorical, since Hirata had already established the coexistence of a realm that remained unseen and hidden to all but the departed spirits and a visible world inhabited by the living.  

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trained him in the medical arts was a kami-worshiping sanjin, a practitioner of the shinsen arts in the mountains. Torakichi’s sanjin master was to become the model for Atsutane’s new nativist culture hero, and this new hero was a healer. In fact, this sanjin’s first appearance in Senkyō ibun was in a medical role when Torakichi first spotted his master-to-be selling pills on the street.

Torakichi’s explanation of his meeting with his Japanese immortal master shows his indebtedness to the tradition of Daoist immortals and their medical associations. Torakichi said that one day while playing by a temple he saw a man who had been selling medicines roll up his rug and put himself and all his wares into a very small jar which then levitated and flew away. His story of his first sighting of his future sanjin master is taken directly from Daoist literature. The precursor to his story can be found in Go-kansho, 後漢書, Later Han Writings, from fifth century China, which contains the story of the Daoist student named Fei Changfang who saw Sire Gourd, an exiled immortal, selling medicines and later climbing into his gourd. Sire Gourd then invited Fei Changfang to join him in the gourd, which contained a Chinese immortal’s heaven.¹⁷

¹⁷ The story of Sire Gourd and the Immortal’s Heaven found in his gourd seems to have been well-known in Edo Japan. Drawings of this kind of tale decorated gourds, silks, and even game pieces in this era of the nineteenth century. It is likely that Torakichi heard the story somewhere or saw it, or both. See Chigiri Kōsai, Sennin no kenkyū (Tairiku Shobō, 1976), p. 520. The name of this legendary character was mentioned once as a topic of conversation in Senkyō ibun, but there was no elaboration. In addition, in his work Kassenōden 葛懸翁伝, Biography of the Immortal Master Ge, Atsutane mentioned Fei Changfang, who also appears in Ge Hong’s Shin-senden, 神仙伝, Biographies of Immortals. Still, this imitation never seemed to have been a reason to doubt Torakichi; rather, it seemed to be held in his favor. For more on gourd heavens see Rolf Stein, The World in Miniature (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), or Robert Ford Campany, To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth: A Translation and Study of Ge Hong’s Traditions of Divine Transcendents (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

Fourteen-year-old Torakichi himself was a healer. On the very day that Atsutane had Torakichi dragged into his house,¹⁸ Atsutane found he had come down with a fever, which relegated him to his bed. He recorded that Torakichi came to his bedside and administered a cooling spell that quickly made the fever go away.

On the several occasions when the visitors to Atsutane’s salon asked Torakichi about the medicine practiced in the Other World, he was always ready with recipes and regimens used to cure all sorts of complaints and diseases.

Kunitomo Yoshimasa put a question to Torakichi saying, “A certain person asked me...Isn’t there some kind of medicine that can cure the sicknesses which the medical treatises label to be incurable, such as, paralysis, tuberculosis, stomach ailments, and leprosy? What about that?”

Torakichi said, “For paralysis eat blackened toadstools that grow on plum trees. For tuberculosis blacken both female and male geckos and without letting the sick person know, slip them in to whatever you feed him, and get him to eat it somehow or other. For stomach ailments the fresh liver of a crane is effective. For leprosy take a piece of cotton soaked in shōchū, light it and while it is burning pat it down over and over [on the afflicted areas].”

Somebody asked, “I know someone who suffers from gout, isn’t there some treatment for that? Also, do you know any medicine for burns or hemorrhoids, and do you know any methods to stop bleeding?”

Torakichi said, “For gout, scorch flat moss from a plum tree, knead it with rice
starch and smear it on. This has a potent effect. For burns, grind young Japanese cedar leaves and cold rice together and smear this on. If you do this over and over, the heat will be drawn out of the afflicted area, the pain will go away, and it will heal without leaving a scar. For hemorrhoids, first dry out clumps of algae that have washed up on the seashore, and then scorch them before applying them. To stop bleeding a Kumano fire starter is very effective….

Someone asked, “For years I have suffered from colic and spasms, do you know of any medicine for those things?”

Torakichi said, “For colic, scorch some silver vine powder and bitter oranges, combine equal portions, and drink the mixture frequently. For spasms, pickle a kangarasu in a chamber pot for thirty days. Wash it and blacken it without gutting it. Eat that mixed with an equal part of the powder of the fried shell of the red conch. These cures are effective for gas, heartburn, and all other stomach ailments.”

An example of the extraordinary range of complaints which could be cured by the sanjin came up when Torakichi was told a story of a woman who went to sleep during the middle of the day only to find that a snake had crawled into her vagina. The woman subsequently died, but Torakichi claimed that sanjin medical knowledge could have saved her.

Torakichi said, “When a snake enters the vagina or the rectum and does not come out, one should take five shaku of sake mixed with one go of tooth dye, heat it, and drink it and the snake will come out. However, it is quite rare that a snake would enter anyone like that.”

Torakichi answered questions that sprung from Atsutane’s theory of demonic causes of disease, yet Torakichi’s answers in no way recognized evil beings as the source of all illness. He only recognized them as an overall source of calamity and did not relate them specifically to diseases. Torakichi’s medical theory was based on the idea of poisons (or reptiles), which could be physically located and expelled.

Torakichi’s inventory of herbal medicines listed in Senkyō ibun could easily have come from traditional Chinese pharmacopeias. Knowledge of herbal medicine had been collected in several famous pharmacopeias in China, which had been transmitted to Japan centuries earlier. However, Torakichi claimed that the cures that filled those volumes were also well known in the mountains of Japan. According to Torakichi, the Japanese sanjin like the Chinese immortal had the technical know-how to cure all diseases without consulting Chinese medical books.

**Difference of Medical Opinions**

Medicine was one of the few subjects where Torakichi’s opinion seemed to differ radically from Atsutane’s. Atsutane had been affecting and manipulating Torakichi’s responses in many other fields of knowledge throughout the period of their collaboration, but he did not do so at all times, and only occasionally in a heavy-handed manner. Torakichi stood firm in his claim that

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19 This is a type of ignition device made of cattails, used in this case to cauterize.

20 This is a type of crow with a white patch on its back.


22 An important question to ask about the relationship between Atsutane and Torakichi is just who was influencing whom. In my previous work concerning this relationship I detail various scholars’ opinions about the power relationship between Atsutane and Torakichi. I conclude that Atsutane was using Torakichi to give spiritual verification to theories Atsutane truly believed in. In other words Atsutane was not duped by Torakichi, but rather found him useful. For example, in this case Atsutane was not duped by Torakichi, a suggestion which smells a bit like an apology for some of Atsutane’s more irrational and outrageous claims. Other scholars see differing levels of cooperation
there was nothing as effective for illness as herbal medicine and that it was foolish to perform any spell or chant incantations without trying medicines first. He did state that one should pray to the kami, but only after medicines had been administered.

Torakichi made his position on herbal medicine clear when Atsutane asked him why he seemed reluctant to perform magical healing rituals comprised of chanting spells and drawing apotropaic symbols.

Torakichi said, “The common people seem to be enamored of mystical spells, but personally I’m not much in support of them. But sometimes I like to do them just in fun…. Besides that, I think it is foolish to perform mystical spells first when the best course of action is to take medicine appropriate for the illness. Once you have been seen by a good physician and have taken his herbal medicine as the first course of action, then you should pray to the kami. People think that the constant evidence of effect of the mystical spells is due to the concentration of the ritualist and the faith of the patient, but that’s not the case.”

This statement was directly opposed to Atsutane’s firm belief in the power of faith-dependent magical healing rituals and he immediately countered Torakichi’s argument.

You [Torakichi] have said that the [medical] incantations and spells do not seem to be effective… and on top of that, you claim results from taking herbal medicine. You are right when you say prayer to the kami works, but I am not at all satisfied with your answer. It must be common knowledge in the Other World, just as we know it here from reading the texts concerning the Age of the Kami, that both spells and medicines come from Onamuchi no mikoto and Sukunabiko no mikoto. Furthermore, in the most ancient of times, spells came first. After that, all the spells got mixed together with Buddhist methods. If we could take those Buddhist methods out and get rid of them, figure out the true spells from ancient times, then the spells would surely come first, with medicines coming second. I am convinced that that would be the best and right way.\(^{24}\)

The position that Atsutane was advancing in his dialogue with Torakichi was extensively explained years earlier in *Shizu no Iwaya*.

Because of the ancient legends we know that the kami Onamuchi and Sukunabiko established the magical techniques. Even though the physicians we have now do not use it, magic was used for most illnesses long ago in ancient Japan and even in foreign lands. Even in Chinese medical practices, people first started healing by means of magical shamanic incantations.\(^{25}\)

Atsutane went on to document in *Shizu no Iwaya* that ancient Chinese sources prove this assertion and also cited sources that show a gradual development of medicinal treatments secondary to the development of magical treatments. Although such documentary evidence was not available for Japan, he claimed that the development must have followed the same path, and Japanese physicians were ignorant of the history of medical treatment. He backed up this claim for the priority of magical treatments by explaining his etiology of disease.

All illness is caused by the actions of the kami of calamity. Therefore whether you use medicine or spells, only the spirit of the kami of recovery cures illnesses. When the suffering person believes in this spirit and receives it, then this kami of treatment

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responds to this belief. This is a certain cure for illness.\(^{26}\)

Atsutane did not absolutely deny claims of effectiveness for all herbal medicine treatments, but he explained that it was not the herbal medicine itself that had salubrious effect. In Atsutane’s theory of healing, herbal medicines were taken by those who were spiritually impaired. They were tools employed by the weak, and as such he did recognize their merits but not without adding his lamentations and even contempt for a world replete with weaklings who needed such things to nurture them.

Therefore, if people had faith in spells there would be no need for herbal medicines. If both are effective, what is the difference between them? Compare the situation to the pacification of an enemy. It is like the difference between conquering with words or weapons…you can directly strike and destroy the various areas of illness or aid the patient’s own divine qi in driving off the malevolent qi. The latter is similar to crushing the foe using weapons. To continue the metaphor, you first make the patient take aggressive herbal medicines like daiō or hazu.\(^{27}\) Then you let them take soothing herbal medicine and then follow it with something like rice gruel. It is the same as after having subdued the enemy with arms, and then comforting them by providing compassion and benevolence…Even though illnesses were cured by spells in ancient times, over the generations the hearts of the people were perverted and they lost their belief in spells. When there was no faith in them they became ineffective, and so gradually the practice died out. That is how we ended up where we are now curing illness by means of herbal medicines.\(^{28}\)

Atsutane had a textual source that laid the blame for the start of herbal medical practice in Japan at the feet of foreigners.

The first herbal medicine ever taken internally in Japan seems to have been brought over from foreign shores. According to the Kojiki this happened in the reign of Oasuzumawake no Sukune, the twentieth emperor following Emperor Jimmu, later known as Ingyō Tennō. It is said that a person named Komuhachimu Kamukimu cured Emperor Ingyō’s lingering illness. Even though that passage does not clearly indicate that he ingested something, all indications point to this probably being the first case of drinking medication. When we wonder why we do not see people drinking medicine in ancient times, the answer is truly due to the precious nature of Japan, which provided an ancient past devoid of any illness….This explains how from early on foreign lands had numerous illnesses owing to weakness in their national [ethnic] make-up, and therefore turned their attention to Sukunabiko no mikoto, and developed extensive medical treatments relying on his august spirit. These arts were then quickly refined. That is the reason that within the medical treatises that have come over from foreign countries there are so many entries for cures never seen nor heard of in this country.\(^{29}\)

In summation of this section concerning Atsutane’s opposition to Torakichi’s medical beliefs before his forthcoming “Daoist epiphany,” it should be noted that in 1822 in Atsutane’s first year of association with Torakichi he takes virtually the same stance on the efficacy of herbal medicine in comparison with magical healing practices as he had in 1810’s Shizu no iwaya. That is, faith-based magical healing is qualitatively different, and has greater divine legitimacy

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\(^{27}\) Both of these are plants used for their powerful laxative effects.


than herbal practices, which to their detriment have an unfortunate association with Chinese culture. It should also be noted that Atsutane had already admitted that there were examples, which he brought up himself, that verified the undeniable efficacy of some of the practices of Chinese herbal medicine.

**Atsutane’s Daoist Epiphany**

In *Senkyō ibun* as well as earlier writing we see that Atsutane was pre-occupied with prescriptions for preventing illness and living a long and healthy life, perhaps this was the tendency that made him susceptible to Torakichi’s “Daoist” influence. In his work *Kassenōden* written in 1825 a few years after he met Torakichi, he introduced and critiqued, usually quite favorably, the Daoist alchemist Ge Hong’s writings on the practices of immortality and longevity. In this text Atsutane exhibited his admiration of and adherence to many Daoist beliefs and practices.

Although Atsutane wrote in *Kassenōden* that in the previous years, the early 1820’s, he had learned of certain *qi* circulation techniques that would allow people living in the unnatural environment of the city to live for two hundred years or longer, these longevity techniques were not attributed to Torakichi. Even if they had been, we know from the following quote that Atsutane’s belief in the benefits of a hybrid form of *qi* circulation can be traced back to *Shizu no iwaya*, which was written long before he met Torakichi.

The most important part of medical treatises and the fundamental reason for having medical treatises, no matter your occupation or your Way of practice, is to enlighten us on how to compress and store up your *qi*. This was studied in India long before Shaka’s time. Even in the Brahman practices they had something called the cultivation of mind. That thing which might be referred to as the goal of tranquility in which all religions alike take refuge is nothing other than this. This is also what has been handed down as the Way of the Sacred Immortals from China. This is also what the Daoists strive to achieve. They know that if they can accumulate and keep all their *qi*, they will not get sick. Not getting sick serves to sustain longevity. These are what are called the unaging and undying techniques. The lower entryway to your reservoir of *qi* is called the *tanden*. It seems to be called that because it is the *den* [field] that stores your medicinal tan [cinnabar elixir of life].

Among the various practices for cultivating and storing the *qi* below your navel, there is one that is quite simple. My father lived to be eighty-four years old and when I was young he got sick quite often, far more than usual; that is, until he learned a technique from a certain elderly man. For over thirty years he practiced this technique unfailingly and never got sick again in all that time. If others learn this and become accustomed to it they will not doubt the miraculous effect when they are living long lives without illness.  

Obviously, Torakichi did not introduce Atsutane to longevity practices of *qi* circulations, which Atsutane himself described as foreign in origin; however, meeting Torakichi encouraged him to embrace the Chinese Daoist connection rather than water it down with the first attribution to Brahmanical Indian practice as we see he did in 1810. Torakichi’s stories of Japanese immortal *sanjin* from 1822 gave Atsutane the opportunity and rationale to claim *shinsen* practices clearly rooted in Chinese Daoism as originally Japanese. Furthermore, after meeting Torakichi, Atsutane’s father’s lifespan of eighty-four years was no longer as impressive to him when he learned certain people such as Torakichi’s mountain master could aim for thousands.

Atsutane’s expanded interest in *shinsen* research led him further into Daoist studies as can be seen by another *qi* circulation ritual recorded after meeting Torakichi.

**Instructions for Technique Number Five**

**Qi Circulation**

From the two openings behind the area of the lower *tanden* and following the vessels along the spine ascending to the *niwan*.  

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31 The spiritual center at the crown of the head.
Three consecutive inhalations promote the release of the inner original qi retained in the lower tanden. The intent is to force it out and into the two openings. Visualize the two lines of white qi rising up in tandem along the spine drawn directly into the niwan. The fragrance infiltrates all the palaces radiating luxuriantly downward through everything, the hair, face, head, neck, both arms, and down through the fingers. Then it goes down into the stomach and into the central tanden, reaching the kami of the heart palace. Then it is forced through the five organs circulating back into the lower tanden and even lower through the three vital points in the lower limbs running down all through the thigh and knees pooling up into a bubbling spring.

This is just part of one of many qi-related practices which Atsutane recorded, praised, and attributed to Ge Hong. His knowledge and his passion for these longevity practices increased as evidenced by his Daoist related writings from the decade of the 1820s and the fact that he expresses no distaste for using Daoist terminology in describing qi circulation. Yet, as Chinese and Daoist as his textual production became during the 1820’s, and even though he seriously adopted the Daoist terminology, he never abandoned his fundamental religious article of faith that any technique that works owes its efficacy to the kami of Japan.

Atsutane’s own writing strongly suggests that his talks with Torakichi inspired him to attempt to appropriate Daoist immortal (shinsen) practices as original Japanese practices, which can be seen in the following direct quote from Atsutane’s 1825 Kassenōden, his study of Ge Hong.

An explanation concerning the realm of the immortals appears elsewhere in a work called Senkyō ibun, which is a secret record chronicling my investigations of it. The time will come for it to be released to the public, for they should read about this. Anyway, [Ge Hong’s] teachings concerning the realm of the immortals, about which I was just writing, were perfected and practiced by the original practitioners of the Way of the Kami. The traditions of celestial immortals and terrestrial immortals can be seen in classical sources on the kami.

This quote specifically cites Atsutane’s conversations with Torakichi; that is, Senkyō ibun, as an authoritative source on Japanese shinsen practices, which he equates with ancient practices created by the original practitioners of the Way of the Kami. He further claims that this assertion can be backed up with textual evidence, “classical sources.” Atsutane is claiming that there is a historical trail of evidence that proves that the traditions attributed to Ge Hong are Japanese in origin, worthy of nativist adoption. Two years later in Isō Chūkeikō Atsutane would claim that the famous Chinese herbalist Zhang Zhongjing was Ge Hong’s ancestor the Daoist immortal master Ge Xuan, wrapping up a genealogical lineage of Japanese medicine that includes herbal healing.

Conclusion
This article locates the textual sources from nineteenth-century Japan that reveal Atsutane’s changing thought processes concerning the value of Chinese medicine. These sources document Atsutane embracing first one historical position asserting the deep connection between the failings of herbal medicine and the influence of Chinese culture, and then a decade or so later reversing his stance with as much intensity as he had embraced his earlier position. The reversal is clearly illustrated in the medical text from 1827 Isō Chūkeikō wherein he announced his approval of a famous ancient Chinese text on herbal medicine.

In the preface of Shang Han Lun it is written, “When kami resides in the herbal medicine, its essence seeks to fulfill the

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32 A dwelling of one of the many gods inhabiting the human body in Daoist thought.
magical ritual.” This should make us aware that this work has its origins in the Ancient Way [of Japan]. Therefore, the person who practices medicine must first thoroughly study the Way of the Sacred Immortals [Daoism]. He must learn the magic rituals to control potential illnesses as well as the herbal medicines to control manifest illnesses. Potential illnesses are eternal while manifest illnesses are contingent. How does he who does not know how to control the eternal then know how to control the contingent? Thus to depend carelessly on the measuring spoon after learning only about herbal medicine is to steal the title of physician for a gang of idiots who only busy themselves calculating their own profits. How can this be called a humane and benevolent profession when those kinds of people pursue an occupation with the power over life and death and have no qualms about recommending those herbs to their fathers and their Lords.35

This is not a ringing endorsement of the practice of herbal medicine in Atsutane’s Japan; however, it does show an important adjustment in Atsutane’s attitude concerning the effectiveness of these techniques. Instead of herbal medicine being the inferior and sometimes dangerous techniques of the depraved Chinese healer, it is being revalued and redeemed by the insertion of Japanese spiritual power, and given the nativist seal of approval based on the claim of a textually traceable Japanese origin for the practice. If not for Torakichi and Senkyō ibun, Atsutane’s reversal would be an act bewildering to all who are familiar with his former medical theory and his standard and consistent line of xenophobic argumentation.

Carol Richmond Tsang

War and Faith: Ikkō Ikki in Late Muromachi Japan

Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007

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Carol Tsang has produced a comprehensive history of an important social and religious movement, the Ikkō ikki, a phenomenon comprised mostly of commoners that commanded the attention of medieval political leaders. The topic has been treated in less detail in studies of the Jodo Shinshu school of Buddhism and in various works of political history, including several studies of Oda Nobunaga. No other work in English, however, gives the Ikkō ikki central consideration. My comments here are chiefly on Tsang’s work as political and social history, but she does not ignore the religious basis of the movement. She places its early history in the emergence of sectarian Patriarchs, and she ties its evolution both to their teachings and to their control over their followers. Tsang employs a wide array of primary sources. She gives sectarian sources careful attention but includes aristocratic diaries and other non-religious sources as well.

Tsang weaves political, military, religious, and organizational aspects into a chronological narrative. This is both a strength and a shortcoming: her approach reveals the full social and political complexity of the age, but as a result the narrative is sometimes dense and lacking in thematic coherence. At times one feels that there is too much information to absorb and too few visual aids. (A genealogical table of Rennyo’s family, for instance, would have been helpful to the non-specialist of religion.) This is especially frustrating when, as is often the case in medieval topics, there is also a lack of the kind of definitive information that allows clear-cut conclusions. I sympathize fully with this dilemma and can supply no easy remedy. The fact is that model- or theory-driven narratives of medieval topics often veer toward misrepresentation in their tendency to oversimplify and omit. Nor can a character-driven narrative be fashioned for a phenomenon composed mostly of commoners undifferentiated from one another in sources. I admire that Tsang eschews such approaches in favor of a careful and thorough treatment of sources, but the result can be a challenging read.

To her credit, Tsang does characterize the Ikkō ikki as part of the larger ikki phenomenon. Although its immediate causes were local as she points out, the Ikkō ikki can be seen as part of a larger historical trend starting in the early medieval period with the formation of estate ikki followed by debt amnesty ikki, religious ikki (Ikkō and Lotus), and provincial ikki, and eventually extending into the Tokugawa period. Her comparative discussion of the contemporaneous Ikkō and Lotus (“Nichiren”) ikki is especially useful and illuminating. As Tsang makes clear, the ikki phenomenon cannot be generalized simply as lower orders rising up against elites. These leagues were each formed for a specific purpose and as a result they could have a socially diverse membership. Even more emphasis on Ikkō ikki as part of the larger ikki phenomenon might have provided greater narrative coherence.

A related way of contextualizing the Ikkō ikki might be to characterize the entire Sengoku period, from the Onin War until the Tokugawa victory, as one in which Japanese society became militarized at many levels. This is not so much to say that warfare was endemic but rather that many people came to be organized in a military or paramilitary fashion that could dominate their lives at times. In the sixteenth century we see religious ikki phenomenon evolving into an all-consuming lifestyle. Appropriately, Tsang focuses on the exclusive nature of Lotus and Ikkō teachings that drove its members to fight not only each other but adherents of older forms of Buddhism as well.

Tsang firmly lowers the curtain in the late sixteenth century, noting factually that the Ikkō ikki were destroyed and that religious ikki had no direct descendants in Tokugawa times. She asserts that the lasting legacy of the Ikkō ikki was the firmly anti-Christian stance of early modern rulers. Participants in ikki, Tsang argues, were basically defending their own temples, encouraged by the Patriarch’s guarantee that participation in ikki—in warfare, that is—would be rewarded with rebirth in paradise rather than in
hell. Furthermore, she characterizes the Honganji as regarding the emergence of one national leader (Nobunaga) as contrary to its interests. It is logical to think that Nobunaga’s Ikki experience made clear to subsequent rulers that their grip on power could be threatened by those holding allegiance to a spiritual cause; how much more so if that cause could be backed up by foreign military power? Ikki were too subversive to exist in the early modern world of political confederation; from the perspective of the rulers they had to be destroyed. Christianity likewise would not be tolerated. These are useful observations, implicitly acknowledging the early modern exercise of authority as a new beast. Religious or not, however, Ikki occurred frequently in the Tokugawa period. The impulse to form a league based on a common goal was fundamental to all Ikki, from medieval through early modern times. As social and political events, therefore, they were a stye in the eye of the authorities over about seven centuries. This does not contradict Tsang’s analysis of the demise of the Ikki Ikki, but simply acknowledges their significance in a larger historical context.
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