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“The Procurement of Rarities is a Sign of Peace”: Yanagawa Shun-san’s *Yokohama hanjō ki*

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Travel and travel literature are familiar tropes of the Japanese experience. The religious pilgrimage was the archetypal journey, dating back as far as the Heian period (794-1185), but it was during the Tokugawa period (1603-1868) that pilgrimage and/or secular travel rose to the status of what Constantine Vaporis has characterized as “a national pastime” in Japan. The rise of a commercial economy and the extensive development of overland routes led, Vaporis says, to a “travel boom” that ushered in the “culture of movement” during the nineteenth century.¹ Although travel was monitored and regulated by the Tokugawa regime, ordinary citizens still traveled in great numbers; by the nineteenth century secular spots were incorporated into larger pilgrimages, or else functioned as destinations unto themselves. Shrines, temples, famous spots (*meisho* 名所), and historical sites (*kyūseki* 旧跡) all served to feed the public appetite for travel.

Like travel itself, the literature of travel also has a long history in the Japanese experience, and by the mid-Tokugawa period, travel accounts, maps, and tourist guidebooks were published every year in great numbers. For tourist and ‘armchair traveler’ alike, print media proved an invaluable source of knowledge about the world beyond the city or village. Moreover, information about strange places and people helped Japanese define their own concept of Japan at a time when, as Marcia Yonemoto has noted, the “geographic consciousness” of the Japanese people was very much in flux. Works by authors such as Nagakubo Sekisui 長久保赤水, Furukawa Koshōken 古川古松軒, and Tachibana Nankei 橋

南谿 explored the relationship between Japan and the foreign world in a fashion that blended literary descriptions of *meisho* with empirical observations of Dutch, Chinese, Ainu, and others.²

Although the bakufu maintained limited contact with the world beyond the Japanese archipelago, the two and a half centuries of Tokugawa rule were anything but cosmopolitan in character. In 1853-4 and 1858, however, Western gunships and diplomatic pressure forced Japan to sign a series of unequal treaties that allowed foreigners to set up embassies and port facilities in five cities. The most crucial of these was Yokohama, a port close to Tokyo, envisioned as a hub of interaction between the Japanese government and people and the foreign community. In 1859, this new tourist attraction officially “opened” to the public. Yokohama was unique to Japan in that it hosted a community of foreign residents (perhaps a few dozen at most in the early 1860s, but significant nonetheless) living within a short journey of Japan’s largest city. While foreigners were not permitted in Edo, the Japanese—provided they checked their swords at manned entrance posts—were allowed to descend upon the settlement and see the foreign guests with their own eyes. “Word has spread in our country, and people gather nonstop to spend a night or two sight-seeing in Yokohama,” wrote the woodblock author and artist Hashimoto Sadahide 橋本貞秀 in 1862.³ Accordingly, literature related to Yokohama—guidebooks, maps, woodblock prints, and poetry collections—enjoyed great popularity in

² Marcia Yonemoto, *Mapping Early Modern Japan: Space, Place, and Culture in the Tokugawa Period (1603-1868)* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003).

³ Hashimoto Sadahi 橋本貞秀, ed. Gyokuransai 玉蘭齋 (pseudonym of author), ill. Go’untei Sadahide 五雲亭貞秀 (pseudonym of author). *Yokohama kaikō kenbunshi* 横浜開港見聞誌. 6 fascicles; 2 vols. Vol. 1 (fascicles 1-3) published in 1862; vol. 2 (fascicles 3-6) published in 1865. Reprinted with an introduction by Kida Junichirō 紀田順一郎 by Meicho kankōkai 名著刊行会, 1967. For passage quoted above, see 1967 edition, p. 1.

¹ Constantine Nomikos Vaporis, *Breaking Barriers: Travel and the State in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Council on East Asian Studies, 1994), p. 218-219.

the waning years of the Tokugawa period.

In the course of this short essay we will explore one such guide to Yokohama, entitled *Yokohama hanjō ki* 横濱繁昌記 (“A Record of Yokohama’s Prosperity”).⁴ The work of scholar-journalist Yanagawa Shunsan 柳川春三 (1832–1870), *Yokohama hanjō ki* was likely composed in the decade of the 1860s, though the text contains no publication date. The style and appearance of the work—it is written in literary Chinese (*kanbun* 漢文) and very sparsely illustrated—seems to indicate that its main readership was the educated elite of Yanagawa’s own circle, rather than the public at large.⁵ For contemporary readers, the title of Yanagawa’s work would have immediately brought to mind *Edo hanjō ki* 江戸繁盛記 (“An Account of Edo’s Prosperity”), a gently satirical look at the shogun’s city written by Terakado Seiken 寺門静軒 between 1832 and 1836. Seiken’s guide to Edo was “an album of whimsical, satirical, or straightforward sketches in kanbun of the key concentrations of Edo spirit,” written not so much to define the city’s role as economic metropolis but to point out “the conspicuous affluence and ostentatious leisure culture made possible by the radiation of wealth.”⁶ This description also proves apt for Yanagawa’s work, as we shall see in the pages that follow.

Yokohama hanjō ki runs some fifty pages and is divided into nine sections: “Foreign Ships Entering the Harbor” (Banhaku nyūshin 蕃舶入津) “Foreigners Learning Language” (Bankyaku

go [o] mana[bu] 蕃客學語), “Miyozaki” (港崎), “Western Songs” (Yōjin kakyoku 洋人歌曲), “Foreign Officials” (Gaiban kanri 外蕃官吏), “Imported Books” (Hakurai shoseki 舶來書籍), “Foreign Paintings” (Yōga 洋画), “Glass and Diamonds” (Biidoro oyo Jiyamanto 玻璃及金剛石), and “Tigers” (Tora 虎). This essay will not treat each section at length; rather, we will examine representative samples of *Yokohama hanjō ki* to better understand Yokohama’s symbolic significance in bakumatsu Japan. First, was the presence of the “exotic other” Yokohama’s defining feature? Furthermore, did Yokohama represent—as one might assume, considering the port opened as a direct result of the “unequal treaties” signed in the 1850s—a humiliating loss of sovereignty, a source of cultural contamination, and/or a symbol of national shame in the face of imperialist aggression? Finally, how might Yokohama have been understood as a source of pride or “prosperity,” as indicated in the work’s title?

Yanagawa Shunsan

Yanagawa Shunsan 柳川春三 was the son of an Owari 尾張 tool-maker, born in Nagoya in 1832. Proficient in Chinese and Japanese at a young age, he also studied Dutch, English, and French, as well as a host of academic subjects such as mathematics, artillery, and traditional pharmacognosy (*honzōgaku* 本草学). At age twenty-five the talented Yanagawa left Owari for Edo and then Nagasaki, where he studied photography and compiled the first Japanese-language manual on the subject. He also established himself as a master of literary Chinese, as evidenced by his *kanbun* versions of popular Japanese songs and his punctuation work on the Japanese version of the *Zhihuan qimeng*, “a work comprising lessons on English, Christianity, and natural science, based on James Legge’s Chinese translation.”⁷ In

⁴ Kinkei Rōjin 錦溪老人 [pseudonym of Yanagawa Shunsan 柳川春三], (*Yokohama hanjō ki* 横濱繁昌記, ed. Taihei Isshi 太平逸士, revised by Kikka Senkyaku 喫霞僊客. Edo 江戸: Bakutensho-ya 幕天書屋, n.d. The author wishes to thank Fan Wei for her assistance in the translation of certain passages of this text.

⁵ The absence of any publication information or colophon would seem to corroborate the argument that the manuscript did not receive wide circulation.

⁶ Andrew Markus, “Terakado Seiken’s Blossoms along the Sumida,” *Sino-Japanese Studies* vol. 3 (1991), p. 9.

⁷ Joshua L. Fogel, “Recent Translation Theory and Linguistic Borrowing in the Modern Sino-Chinese Cultural Context,” *Indiana East Asian Working Paper Series on Language and Politics in Modern China* 2 (Summer 1993),

1861 Yanagawa was appointed instructor at the Kaiseijo. 開成所, the Tokugawa shogunate's translation bureau, and in 1868 he was named its head. That same year, with a group of fellow translators known as the "Translation Association" (J. Kaiyaku-sha 会訳社), he edited the pro-bakufu *Chūgai Shinbun* 中外新聞, hailed as Japan's first Japanese-edited newspaper.⁸ While many of his colleagues in the "Translation Association" went on to become prominent figures in the new Meiji government, Yanagawa did not enjoy such good fortune. He died suddenly in 1870.

A Record of Yokohama's Prosperity

Yanagawa opens *Yokohama hanjō ki* with a general description of the establishment of trade and exchange:

The huge eastern continent of Asia is the place where those wise and kind first appeared. The people are many and prosperous, and the various grains are abundant. Atop the five continents is Great Japan, towering to the east of the sea.

Imperial favor extends continuously, and the common people are content. Since our founding in Genna 元和, the ocean has been calm and the winds silent. The artisans are all peaceful in their work, and tens of thousands of businesses all gain their shares of profit. Our domestic products are plentiful, and their excellence is without peer among the nations overseas: five grains, copper, steel, lacquer, mother-of-pearl, earthenware, crystal, glass, silk thread and fabric, silk crepe, paper, tea, sake, oil, wax, soy sauce, medicinal roots, camphor, wood, bamboo products, umbrellas, folding fans, color paintings, whale whiskers,

sea cucumbers, agar, and hundreds of other things, none of which is lacking. For this reason, various foreign countries from the western oceans come begging one after another to trade.⁹

This rhetoric should ring familiar to anyone versant in Japan's nineteenth century history. Yanagawa was one of many who composed portraits of Japanese superiority in broad strokes: owing to the munificence of the emperor, "Great Japan" is self-sufficient, but condescends to barbarian requests nonetheless. Thus before the reader has been told anything about the port itself, the context is already clear: first, Yokohama was not created at barbarian cannon-point, but rather as an act of imperial generosity; and second, the port served no real economic function domestically, given the fact that Japan already had everything it could possibly need. What, then, does Yanagawa tell us about the port itself?

The Fishmonger and the Flatfish

Our initial look at Yokohama comes in the first major section of the text, entitled "Foreigners learning language." The section describes an account of a commercial transaction between a Japanese fishmonger and a recently-arrived foreigner, and the opening passage sets the scene:

The two sides of Hon-chō are lined with mansions, and directly to the east are the foreigner's residences. Foreigners routinely interact with the local merchants who come to ply their trades. One foreigner, in a navy wool coat, wearing a black hat and a pair of long leather boots, walks along in a leisurely manner. In front of him he sees a

http://www.indiana.edu/~easc/resources/working_paper/index.htm.

⁸ Albert A. Altman has written profusely about Yanagawa and the newspapers of the Meiji period. For example, see his "The Press and Social Cohesion During a Period of Change: The Case of Meiji Japan," in *Modern Asian Studies* 15 (1981): 865-876.

⁹ Ibid, p. 7-8. Genna is a reign date for the period corresponding to 1615-1624. It was in Genna 1 (1615) that Tokugawa forces finally extinguished the Toyotomi clan, effectively ending the Warring States period and ushering in the Pax Tokugawa.

man carrying a fish basket slung on his shoulders. The fishmonger smiles, and sets down his baskets.

The ensuing discussion between the two men—while written in *kanbun*—is also transcribed phonetically in katakana *furigana* form, according to a unique glimpse into the quotidian conversation of these two Yokohama residents. The language used was a simplified Japanese known among the foreigners as the “Yokohama Dialect”; as we shall see, its speakers relied upon a very limited grammar and vocabulary (not entirely of Japanese origin, though further discussion of this point is beyond the scope of this essay) in order to convey meaning. The translation below, while awkward, is intended to give a sense of the ungrammaticality of the Japanese spoken:

- Fishmonger: Good morning you.
 Foreigner: Good morning, Japan!
 Fishmonger: Today I fish, very cheap. You buy?
 Foreigner: You cheap, I buy. You expensive, I no good.
 Fishmonger: Very cheap! I sincere.
 Foreigner: This flatfish—one. How many *tempō*?
 Fishmonger: I sincere. Two Japan *ichibu*.
 Foreigner: You expensive! Japanese traders, Fuji mountain, the same.
 Fishmonger: I will make it a little lower.
 Foreigner: Seven *tempō*, okay?
 Fishmonger: You okay, [but] I sincere no good. All one *ichibu*. Still you cheap.
 Foreigner: I see. Ten *tempō*, okay?
 Fishmonger: Okay okay.

At the close of the conversation, Yanagawa adds, “a black slave runs up to take the flatfish and carries it off in his hand.” The author concludes by noting that the foreigner “is some official who has recently arrived, and that is why the conversation is so difficult. One who has been stationed here a long time can carry on a conversation easily and there are no problems.”¹⁰

This first section—containing the only extended dialogue in the entire text—reveals that Yokohama was a place where international communication and commerce were possible. The next section, to which we shall now turn, develops this theme in a more intimate fashion.

“Foreign Ships Entering the Harbor”

The second section of the *Yokohama hanjō ki* is titled, innocently enough, “Foreign Ships Entering the Harbor.” In fact, the title is a metaphor for sexual relations between Japanese prostitutes and the foreign community. Following its own precedent set in Nagasaki, the bakufu established a licensed prostitution quarter in Yokohama in time for the port’s opening in 1859. Yanagawa begins with a complex comparison between the seafaring ships and the life of a prostitute:

Some people say that large ships from such countries as the “flower flag” [i.e., the United States of America] range from twenty to thirty *jō* 丈 in length, and even the smaller ones are longer than ten *jō*. Small ships carry from seventy to eighty people up to two or three hundred, and big ones carry up to a thousand people. A courtesan from the “willow alley” [*ryūkō* 柳巷; euphemism for licensed prostitution district] may receive guests numbering in the tens of thousands within ten years in the bitter ocean of her profession. Small skin boats, only three *sun* 寸 in length, launch upon a pair of autumn waves.”¹¹

In the last sentence in the passage, the author is making a pun in triplicate: “Autumn waves” [*shū ha* 秋波] is a literary conceit referring simultaneously to the calm ocean waves of autumn as well as the amorous glances of a demure young lady that such a scene suggests. The “pair of waves” may thus be interpreted both

¹⁰ Ibid, pp. 14-17.

¹¹ One *jō* was roughly equivalent to three meters; one *sun*, roughly three centimeters.

as the waves themselves as well as the courtesan's alluring eyes. Furthermore—and given the context—the image of a “skin boat” [*hisen* 皮船] launching upon the “pair of waves” cannot but additionally suggest a reference to the penis and the *labia majora*, complicating the image even further. Yanagawa concludes the passage thus: the waves “[either] make a man's spirit venture forth, and his feelings grow stronger; or else they cause him to overindulge and sink. Despite a foreign ship's sturdiness and girth, are they not the same? Are they not the same?”¹² In contemporary parlance, Yanagawa is suggesting that “size doesn't matter”—in the final account, foreigners are no less susceptible than natives to the temptations of the flesh.

Miyozaki

Yanagawa's lengthy treatment of the Miyozaki red-light district—the subject of the third section of *Yokohama hanjō ki*—is at once descriptive and literary, perhaps the most vivid rendering of the area that exists in prose:

Miyozaki—also called the “New Yoshiwara,” after the Yoshiwara of Edo—is connected to the settlement via a single road. There is a bridge outside the gates, and a moat flows around it. Willow trees hang down thread-like branches, forever beckoning guests to arrive. Upon entering the gates, the scenery is altogether different than that of the mundane world—tiles of red mansions align, while tea-house rafters run parallel alongside. The music of stringed instruments, the sounds of singing and laughter; serving girls sending off patrons, young courtesans and their apprentices accepting visitors; iron rods and wooden clappers clanking during the evening rounds; blind persons shouting offers for massage and acupuncture—all varieties of sound mix and mingle, and one's ears simply do not

have enough time to listen to all.¹³

Added to this quotidian detail is a rather more poetic description, which betrays the author's knowledge of Chinese folklore:

Courtesans appear by request, attended by apprentices and young men carrying umbrellas. It is as though Chang'er 嫦娥 had descended from the moon, or a lake goddess appeared in the ordinary world. Such a sight truly resembles a real-life version of the heaven of Penglai 蓬莱 Island. . . . Flowers are planted along the main avenue, and there are plants in blossom all year round.

Yanagawa's prose is exhaustingly descriptive, and one cannot but feel that Miyozaki must have been quite a spectacle to behold.¹⁴ Nonetheless, one is intrigued by the initial absence of foreigners in the author's description; was not the area built to service the needs of Yokohama's foreign community? We will return to this theme later on, but for the present it will suffice to consider the possibility that the attractions of Miyozaki (and Yokohama in general) were not necessarily coterminous with that of foreign exotica.

After the author has described the courtesans and scenery (and treated the reader to a wistful verse, not included here), Yanagawa at last turns his gaze to the Western visitors to Miyozaki. Foreigners were only permitted to patronize one particular establishment in the district, the Gankirō 岩亀樓, a frequent subject of woodblock prints in the early 1860s.¹⁵ As we shall see, Yanagawa's

¹³ *Yokohama hanjō ki*, p. 17-18.

¹⁴ Compare this to the descriptions provided by Harold S. Williams (“the first of Yokohama's many ‘Dirty Villages’”) or Pat Barr (a “swampy area behind the town” which housed the “expansive and expanding” [?] Gankiro Tea-house”). See Williams, *Tales of the Foreign Settlements in Japan*, p. 41; Barr, *The Coming of the Barbarians*, p. 147.

¹⁵ There are numerous volumes in which such prints appear, both in Japanese and English. The most comprehensive in English is Anne Yonemura,

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 14.

emphasis was not so much on the visual element, but rather on the financial and business side of the operation:

When Miyozaki first opened, the Gankirō moved here from Shinagawa—it was the first in the whole region to do so. The mansions are in half-imitation of Western style, and are absolutely magnificent. Among all the houses of ill repute, it is the only one where Westerners can enjoy their revelry and pass the evening. Several other places are by no means inferior in terms of their magnificent surroundings, but they only allow Japanese patrons, and never let foreigners in. If a foreigner wants to contract the services of a courtesan from another house, he must go himself and look at all the beauties. If one suits his tastes, he takes her hands and touches her lips, tugs on her dress and then she stands up. With translators leading the way, and attendants following behind, all are sent directly to the Gankirō.¹⁶

This conjures up a striking mental image, but merely hints at the treatise to follow. Yanagawa next addresses the practice of overcharging foreigners for the procurement of sexual satisfaction. We will let the author speak for himself *in extenso*:

Prominent courtesans are commonly referred to as *oiran* 花魁, and the cost of an evening's pleasure is four or five Western silver dollars. Courtesans next in rank cost two dollars; and for the next, one dollar. The cheapest prostitutes stay in row houses and cost two *shu* 朱 (In Edo, such places are referred to as 'cutshops' or the 'gunshops' and usually charge two *zeni* 錢). The prices quoted above are for foreigners;

if the patron is Japanese, the prices are the same as those in Yoshiwara [in Edo].

The reader therefore may rightfully wonder: it is the law of impartiality that the ten thousand things under Heaven do not differ in price. However, the practice in this region is to charge two different prices when peddling sex—does this not contradict the law of impartiality? I will explain it to you: under Heaven, it is only law that can control emotion; if there is no law established, greed and selfishness cannot possibly be restrained. However, because the licensed houses of this area sell sex and peddle emotions, they must accordingly establish law according to emotion.¹⁷

Yanagawa thus argues, very likely with satirical intent, that it is the *ethical* duty of the red-light district to regulate prices for sexual services; without such regulations, emotions would predominate, and personal greed (and prices) would spiral out of control. Laws are guided by emotion, but also serve to control those who would sell emotion. He continues:

Every person has his own tastes. Do not the sayings go, 'two of a kind go together'; 'even a broken jar has its own lid for a companion'; and 'the demon has his demoness to match'? The elegant young lord from Edo is not necessarily loved by a Kyōto beauty, and a high-ranking courtesan from Yoshiwara has every right to look down on some fellow from the countryside. Accordingly, why should we expect that the hundreds of famous Miyozaki beauties would be willing to share the same quilt with some patron with a hawk's head, long moustache, emerald eyes and a lofty nose? Only the power of almighty cash could make someone do something against one's will. . . . [Therefore] isn't the difference in

Yokohama: Prints from Nineteenth-Century Japan (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 21-22. The *shu* was a rectangular silver coin equivalent to one quarter of an *ichibu*. The *zeni* was the least valuable coin in circulation during the Tokugawa period, with a value that varied between 1/100th and 1/250th of an *ichibu*.

prices appropriate?¹⁸

In other words, Yanagawa argues that the “law of impartiality” which regulates (and is in turn regulated by) emotion may be circumvented if the appropriate conditions are not met. And those conditions were guided, no doubt, by neo-Confucian precepts that equated morality with maintaining one’s proper role in society. A high-ranking courtesan was no match for a country bumpkin, so for her (or her employer) to charge a higher fee was not at all unethical—nor a violation of the “law of impartiality”—but rather a means to maintain balance and propriety. How much more so, the author says, if the courtesan was forced to service a creature whose description suggests some sort of half-animal/half-human ogre. To charge a higher fee in such a case was not only fair, but essentially an ethical mandate. Yanagawa continues his justification as follows:

In addition, I have heard that the cost of prostitutes in other countries is extremely high: prominent courtesans cost twenty or thirty dollars, while less prominent ones cost between seven or eight and fifteen dollars. Even the lowest-ranked prostitutes are not less than one dollar. The cost for prostitution in Miyozaki is the least expensive of all those among the ten thousand countries; therefore, Westerners enjoy the beauty of the ladies as well as the cheap price. The brothels are happy because they can charge three times more than they do in Edo, and the courtesans also enjoy the lavish tips of the foreign patrons. Since there is no one unhappy with the situation, the price differential neither violates propriety [J. *ri* 理] nor does it interfere with emotion.¹⁹

In other words, charging foreign patrons for sexual favors was not simply a matter of simple profit, but was rather part of a larger debate about the propriety of action according to one’s proper station. Since the foreigners were not considered

on a par with beautiful Japanese courtesans, to charge them more was fair and impartial; and since no one was dissatisfied with the situation, the norms of propriety were not violated. Yanagawa’s argument neatly absolves Japanese brothel owners from the sin of greed, while simultaneously asserting the inferiority of the hawk-headed foreign patron—they are like broken lids, demonic spouses, backwoods rubes with big noses and long beards. Japan might have to share her quilt with the foreigner, but she could also overcharge him; to fleece the foreigner was ethical.

Trampling on the Buddha: An American Goes Native

Our next look of *Yokohama hanjō ki* comes from the section entitled “Foreign Officials.” Yanagawa here invents a fascinating account of an American official who has “gone native” and refused to return to the United States. In order to fully appreciate his point, we must first understand his initial reference to “stepping on images” [J. font ok?>*fumie* 踏絵]. The images in question were those of Christian figures (or of the cross) used during the Tokugawa period to identify adherents of Christianity, which had been proscribed in 1613. Suspects were ordered to trample on the images, presuming that those who refused or hesitated would reveal themselves to be Christians. The author begins:

In the current epoch there is a practice of stepping on images; it is written into law as a protection against Christianity. I have heard that there was a certain American official stationed in Yokohama who did not return home for a long time, nor did he send any correspondence. His wife waited for him forlornly, and his son cried for him bitterly. Someone slandered this official to the president, saying that ‘this official has eaten so much rice that he no longer desires to come home. How is it that one can stop caring about his family at home, not to mention you?’ At first the President did not believe this, but after hearing it over and over even a lie becomes the truth, and the President became even more confused. One

¹⁸ Ibid, p. 22.

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 23.

day he convened a meeting of all his officials in a public hall in Washington to discuss the official's integrity; some decried the official, while others praised him, but there was no agreement reached. The President grew even more worried, so one of his advisors offered the following piece of advice: 'have you not heard? The Japanese have a law of stepping on images in order to determine the rectitude of the populace, and this is a truly smart method. I once saw a large Japanese ship in Nagasaki, and am quite familiar with the scene on board. At the base of the large mast there is a sacred image referred to as the Ship's Exquisitely Radiant Deity; the image is of a heavenly princess known in Chinese as *pusa* 菩薩. . . . I secretly think that we should send someone to Japan to ask for this great Buddha [image], and then order the official to return and trod upon it. If he does so, then he is loyal; otherwise, he is a traitor. Loyalty deserves commendation, and treachery deserves punishment. By this one move we can tell if he is a stone or a piece of jade.' The President praised him and all those seated could not stop admiring the idea.²⁰

The tale, of course, is surely apocryphal, but that should not prohibit us from delving further. First, there is the matter of "stepping on the images," or *fumie*. This practice was originally introduced by the Tokugawa regime in response to the ideological threat (perceived or real) posed by Christian belief. What, one might ask, was so threatening about Christianity? Quite simply, the possibility that loyalty to a higher power might undermine the Tokugawa state: the bakufu was predicated on the belief, derived from Neo-Confucian philosophy, that the world is organized according to a systematic hierarchy, so it was a moral imperative that ruler and ruled maintain and respect the division between them. Christian belief in a higher source of loyalty than the ruler

²⁰ Ibid, p. 34. *Pusa* is in Japanese rendered as *bosatsu*; in Western languages, the Sanskrit term *bodhisattva* is most commonly used. The image on board the ship is probably a statue of Kannon.

(whether the ruler was daimyō or shogun) was perceived as a threat for the new regime, which, as we have seen, went to great lengths in order to extirpate all traces of Christian belief in Japan.

Therefore, for a Japanese to step on a Christian image was at once to reject the foreign and to swear allegiance to bakufu rule. Yanagawa provides the reader with the reverse image of that original: rather than a Japanese trampling on a Christian image, we have a foreigner (presumably intended to be a Christian) trampling on an image of the Buddha in order to proclaim allegiance to the United States. The foreign official, in fact, is so attached to living in Yokohama and eating rice that he has apparently forgotten his own wife and children, and forsworn allegiance to his home country. If one extrapolates from Yanagawa's story and assumes that the foreign official in fact refused to step upon the Buddha image, he would then be a traitor to his homeland—but by that same logic, he would also be loyal to Japan. When considering the overlapping narratives of the imperialist experience, we would do well to remember Yanagawa's short narrative. Japan, he tells us, is not only able to resist the foreign intrusion, but can actually win over converts—and high-ranking Americans converts at that.

Tigers

The fishmonger and the courtesan have shown us that Japan might profit from the foreigner; the apostate American carries us one step further along in the narrative of Japanese exceptionalism. *Yokohama hanjō ki* closes with a final short passage that drives the point home, simply entitled "Tigers"²¹:

The four seas are calm, and there is no manner of article which does not arrive [in Japan]; even tiger-hide seat cushions or leopard-hide knife sheaths are not at all difficult to obtain, and hardly worth consideration [i.e., because they are so commonplace]. Even in Western countries,

²¹ Ibid, pp. 48-49.

however, catching a live tiger is difficult—but despite this, foreign ships sent a leopard last year and brought in a tiger this year, and together they are shown at the exhibition grounds at Edo. These are my private thoughts: if something as difficult as tigers and leopards have already come, then the *kirin* and the *hō* must soon be next.²² I have heard the current theory of traditional pharmacognosists that the *kirin* belongs to the category of deer (newly classified as a ‘giraffe’), the *hō* belongs to the category of fowl, and that both animals exist in foreign countries and their appearance does not necessarily portend the coming of the sages.²³ This

saying seems to make sense—but if there was not peace under Heaven, then guests speaking different languages would not have arrived; and if distant guests had not arrived, then exceptional things would not have arrived, either. Therefore it is not at all unusual to say that the procurement of rarities is a sign of peace, and a fortunate symbol of a sagely epoch.

With this *Yokohama hanjō ki* draws to a close, and we would do well to consider this final passage in detail. Yanagawa tells us the “four seas are calm.” Most historians consider the time this text was written—that is, the decade of the 1860s—anything *but* calm; even the casual student of modern Japanese history connects this period with *naiyū gaikan* 内憂外患, or “trouble within, disaster outside.” The “disaster outside,” of course, was the opening of Japan to foreign trade. Yanagawa, like many of his pro-bakufu contemporaries, understood this development in another way: Japan was not unwillingly pulled into the world of global capitalism, but rather deigned to allow the barbarian pleas for trade. Furthermore, the author saw foreign trade not as a “disaster,” but as just the opposite—a boon, a “sign of peace,” a “fortunate symbol” of better times to come. This is not to say that the author’s view was unique in this respect, since *kaikoku* 開国 advocates had been making their voice heard for decades by this point. Rather Yanagawa’s tiger tale suggests that Yokohama might be understood as a source of national strength and pride, rather than simply as a tourist destination.

Conclusions

What might a hypothetical reader have learned about Yokohama on the basis of Yanagawa’s work? First, there is the matter of Yokohama’s reputation as “exotica central.” It would be inherently Eurocentric to assume that the primary draw for Japanese tourists was to encounter first-hand foreigners and foreign exotica. However, it is surely commonsensical to make that same assumption: the creation from whole cloth of a

²² Written as the compound *rinpō* 麟鳳. *Kirin* 麒麟 refers to a mythological beast said to portend the appearance of sages according to Chinese legend. The kirin was said to have had the body of a deer (but larger), the tail of a cow, and the hooves of a horse. Although the same word has come to mean ‘giraffe’ in modern-day Japanese, Yanagawa means the beast of myth in this context. Unfortunately, the most common English translation of the original (non-giraffe) *kirin* is ‘camelopard’; as neither camels nor leopards figure into the equation, however, it has been avoided here in favor of the Japanese term. *Hō* (usually appearing in compound form as *hō’ō* 鳳凰), usually rendered in English as ‘phoenix,’ is equally problematic; for our purposes it will suffice to note that it was legendary bird of Chinese myth with a similarly complicated physiognomy.

²³ Traditional pharmacognosists: Literally, the “study of primordial herbs” (J. *Honzōgaku* 本草学), traditional pharmacognosy as an academic discipline dates back to ancient China. Its original focus was medicine, but later expanded into the study of living things. Traditional pharmacognosy was introduced to Japan during the Nara period but attained its greatest popularity during the Tokugawa period. As a young man Yanagawa studied with the discipline’s most prestigious scholar, Itō Keisuke 伊藤圭介.

large foreign community, not twenty miles' ride from the largest and most sophisticated urban center in all of Japan, would seem to have been a natural attraction for curious Edoites. As we have seen, however, this was certainly not the whole story. Our reader would have learned that Yokohama's foremost attraction was not the foreign district, but rather the bustling streets of the native quarter and the licensed prostitution district. The familiar, it seems, still held sway over the foreign.

Moreover, our reader would also have taken away from the text some sense of Japan's economic prosperity and global prestige. Yanagawa's pro-bakufu interpretation of Yokohama as both *source* and *symbol* of economic pride is evident on nearly every page. triple space here In the author's view, Japan was the most munificent, prestigious, and powerful nation on the face of the globe, and the barbarians who came begging to Yokohama were there only by virtue of "imperial favor." While such assertions were certainly inaccurate—Japan in the 1860s was a shaky federation of agrarian states, rather than any sort of wealthy global power—that does not rob Yanagawa's text of its ability to inform and entertain. Far more than mere loyalist rhetoric, Yanagawa's *Yokohama hanjō ki*, much like Terakado Seiken's *Edo hanjō ki* before it, deftly combined the satirical and the straightforward into a complex portrayal of affluence and leisure culture. While the author's contention that "the procurement of rarities" would bring peace did not hold true—Japan lapsed into civil war within a short period after the text's composition, and Yanagawa himself is said to have died as an indirect result of the Tokugawa collapse²⁴—we are at least the richer for having access to this remarkable document.

²⁴ James L. Huffman, *Creating a Public: People and Press in Meiji Japan* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), p. 47.

To Romp in Heaven: A Translation of the *Hōsa kyōshaden* (Biographies of Nagoya Madmen)

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In premodern Japanese poetry, Nō plays, confessional ‘recluse literature,’ and the iconography of painting, seclusion and deviant behavior have long stood as expedient means of acquiring moral currency.² Deviance had little intrinsic significance of its own; its literary interest lay in its utility for actualizing the detachment necessary for proper Buddhist practice. Works like the *Hosshinshū*, for instance, a collection of *setsuwa* usually credited to Kamo no Chōmei (1153-1216) about pious individuals seeking inner purity through seclusion from society, align the strange and the mad with Buddhist salvation. Following the Chinese practice of including biographies of recluses in official dynastic histories, several such works were produced in early Tokugawa Japan, such as the monk Gensei’s *Fusō in’itsuden* (Biographies of Japanese Recluses, 1664) and the *Kindai yasainja* (Modern Stylish Recluses, 1686) compiled by Ihara Saikaku’s disciple, Sairoken Kyōsen.³ Such works were the antecedents of a genre of

biographical writing on eccentric individuals that enjoyed a sudden revitalization from the late eighteenth century.

This essay introduces the *Hōsa kyōshaden* (1778) as a means of elucidating the intellectual traditions that grounded Edo period biography. Revisiting intellectual contexts is especially important because of the dramatic reorientation of that genre that resulted from the considerable commercial success of Ban Kōkei’s (1733-1806) *Kinsei kijinden* (*Biographies of Eccentrics of Recent Times*, 1790) and his introduction of the term *kijin* 畸人 – using the character 畸 rather than the more common 奇 – which thereafter became the signifier of choice for biographers wishing to attach moral currency to their subjects. (While in early modern and modern Japan the label *kijin* (eccentric) has commonly been attached to any strange, deviant individual, the 3rd century B.C.E. text *Zhuangzi* deploys it to signify voluntary seclusion, extraordinary talent, and a detached, aestheticized lifestyle. There are also numerous possible translations of *kyōsha* 狂者 (mad person⁴) or *kyōjin* 狂人. As discussed below, translators of Confucius, Mencius and Zhu Xi have opted for wild, ambitious, impetuous, or ardent. The meaning of *kyō* 狂 is unspecific or context-specific, but in the context of the Confucian classics it generally connotes unrestrained, egocentric, or self-absorbed behavior. In early modern Japanese usage, the *kyōsha* is a reckless, aloof person who occupies a self-made world in defiance of the moral economy. Simple translations of the terms *kijin* and *kyōsha*, in other words, belie the numerous, nuanced meanings that underlie their actual use. Rather than digress into lengthy etymologies, below I will use the vague terms eccentric and madmen to reflect the vagueness of the terms *kijin* and *kyōsha*.) This sudden attention on the *kijin*, invariably emphasized as a Daoist word, has eclipsed the Confucian precepts that had long validated seclusion and deviant behavior as themes in Edo period biographies. In order to appreciate these developments it is important to know the context in which they

¹ The author wishes to thank Chia-Lan Chang for her assistance with Chinese sources and the anonymous reviewers for their helpful suggestions.

² Overuse of seclusion in some literary genres, on the other hand, has caused seclusion to be judged as contrived and thus patently immoral. This loss of credibility is largely the result of a discourse coming from China positing that urban recluses are more authentic than those in the wilderness, for more on which see Alan J. Berkowitz, *Patterns of Disengagement: The Practice and Portrayal of Seclusion in Early Medieval China* (Stanford UP, 2000).

³ Lawrence E. Marceau, *Takebe Ayatari: A Bunjin Bohemian in Early Modern Japan*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 17-18.

⁴ The reader is reminded that this term does not connote the modern meaning of insanity or mental illness.

emerged, and so we begin with a brief discussion of Kōkei and his *kijinden*. We then move on to consider the *Hōsa kyōshaden* as an example of how Confucian thought permeated the theme of reclusion within biographical writings.

Kōkei is credited with pioneering biographical writings on eccentrics, and indeed most of the numerous *kijinden* produced in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries invoke his work as a matter of course. Not only is Kōkei's book – together with its sequel, the *Zoku kinsei kijinden* (1798) – considered the progenitor of a genre of biography writing and the literary monument by which that genre identifies itself, it is also central to the codification of the early modern eccentric identity. Though the signifier *kijin* was a well known term from the *Zhuangzi*, and perhaps from other lesser known imported works such as Mateo Ricci's *Kijin jippen* (*Ten Chapters on Eccentrics*, 1608), it was absent from native Japanese print culture until Ueda Akinari's *Ugetsu monogatari* (1776). It is natural, perhaps, that Tokugawa period readers and interpreters of the *Kinsei kijinden*, published during the height of the Kansei Reforms (1787-93) and the same year as the Prohibition of Heterodox Studies, would see in this invocation of Daoist values an enticingly risqué spirit of resistance against orthodox ideology. Though Kōkei probably had no such intention, the popularity of his works thus had the effect of attaching Daoist trappings to eccentricity. It also had the effect of eclipsing historical inquiry into the construction, expression, and terminology of eccentricity prior to 1790.

The *Kinsei kijinden*'s deployment of the term *kyōjin*, for example, has gone virtually unnoticed. Unlike *kijin*, the labels *kyōjin* and *kyōsha* had acquired cultural currency earlier in the Edo period as writers and intellectuals discovered a means of satirizing society within a number of 'mad' literary genres. Stirred in part by the recent popularity of Wang Yangming and Daoist teachings, they turned to idiosyncratic styles of cultural production – *fūkyō* (poetic madness), *kyōka* (comic tanka), and *kyōshi* (comic Chinese poetry) – that expanded potential for self-expression. Nativist thinker Masuho Zankō (1655-1742) and eclectic scholar Hiraga Gennai (1728-1779), for instance, converted the spirit of

kyōgen (comic Nō farce) and *kyōka* to humorous, satirical prose through earthy motifs and fashionable colloquialisms. The popularity and quality of this *kyōsha no bun*, or *kyōbun* (comic Chinese prose), helped give credibility to *kyō* as both an aesthetic and a form of conduct, thereby elevating writings of and about *kyōsha* above the plane of lowbrow entertainment. Cultivation of the *kyōsha* identity through experimentation in 'mad' literary genres was thus a license to challenge social norms.⁵ "Kyō was a declaration of detachment from the world order, a space in which the mind was free to play uninhibited," writes historian Takahashi Hiromi, and in the restlessness of the eighteenth century the will for uninhibited play was becoming pervasive.⁶ Indeed, the madness of cultivated inhibition and intuitive, unfettered living was not the exclusive realm of the restless literatus. *Kyō* was an identity trait that extended across the boundaries of status and occupation.

The above remarks provide context for reading the *Hōsa kyōshaden* (Biographies of Nagoya Madmen), translated below. Authored by the Owari domain samurai, *kokugaku* scholar and poet Hotta Kōzan (1709-1791) under the sobriquet Rikurin, the work is a compilation of displaced, cast out, and otherwise marginalized individuals from the present-day Nagoya area. Rikurin composed the work in 1778, about the time when *kyōshi* composition was at the height of its popularity, clearly intending to take advantage of the cultural currency enjoyed by the aesthetic of *kyō*. The following year the literatus Kinryū Keiyū added a preface. From a purely literary standpoint, the *Hōsa kyōshaden* is a shorter, less ambitiously compiled precursor to the *Kinsei kijinden*. It assembles accounts of twenty-five local individuals occupying the social margins, all of whom the author claims to have observed. As Rikurin never published the manuscript, it was generally unknown until 1941,

⁵ Haruo Shirane, ed. *Early Modern Japanese Literature: An Anthology, 1600-1900* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 532-33.

⁶ Takahashi Hiromi, *Kyōto geien no netto-waaku* (Tokyo: Perikansha, 1988), 183.

when it was rediscovered and printed by Nagoya Onkokai Sōsho. An annotated reprint then appeared in the 2000 publication of the *Shinnihon koten bungaku taikei*. In that this text predates the *kijin* phenomenon triggered by Kōkei, its reappearance forces a careful reassessment of early modern representations of eccentrics.

The *Hōsa kyōshaden*'s numerous references to Chinese historical texts and figures leave little doubt that Rikurin had considerable knowledge of how the discourse on *kyōsha* had developed on the mainland. By privileging Chinese over native traditions, a practice popular among eighteenth century *bunjin* (independent literati⁷), Rikurin demonstrates his own erudition while bringing cultural prestige to his text. In addition, given that the text's success hinges on his ability to recast skid row dropouts as moral or enlightened beings, comparing them with those eminent poets, recluses and deviants from Chinese history is a failsafe means of imbuing them cultural currency. This means of contextualization, as well as Keiyū's references to Confucius and Mencius in the preface, make it clear that by invoking continental culture Rikurin is drawing on a prestigious tradition well known to himself and his peers.

Collectively, the text's various subjects – the recluse, the deprived, the deformed, the crippled, the alcoholic, the idiot, the prophet – are meant to embody a set of themes which, separately or jointly, indicate madness. These recurrent indicators of madness invoke the very tools of play long recognized in the Daoist sage: drinking, singing, dancing, poetry composition and recitation, wandering, world rejection, and nature appreciation. It is fitting that Rikurin uses allusions to Zhuangzi and known Daoist tropes to flesh out the non-conformist aestheticism of his

own subjects. Several appear to be modeled after Zhuangzi's hunchback, Zhili Shu,⁸ whom Rikurin mentions lest the comparison escape our attention.

In light of the text's undeniably Daoist overtones, and considering the prevalence of nineteenth and twentieth century biographies on eccentrics that invoke Ban Kōkei's *kijinden* while privileging only the more heterodoxical notions contained in that work, Keiyū's invocation of Confucius and Mencius in the preface may come as a surprise. The misconception that Daoism was the tradition of choice for nonconforming individuals carries with it the danger of overlooking the fact that the mad or wild (*kyō*) are discussed thoroughly in the Confucian canon. From Confucius through Wang Yangming, Confucian thinkers have consistently expressed guarded admiration for the madmen of their time. As Zhuangzi aligns the *kijin* with the Heavenly realm, in other words, Confucian theorists have also taken a positive, though qualified, position on the *kyōsha*.

This discourse exists within the context of human character, potential, and proximity to the ideal middle way of the Confucian gentleman. For Confucius and his interpreters, those occupying the extreme margins are closer to the middle way than those masses occupying no particular position at all. One such extreme is *kyō*; the other is *ken* 狷 or *kan* 簡: being fastidious and aloof from mundane matters and material pursuits. The respective talents and intentions of *kyō* and *ken/kan* are not intrinsically subversive; they merely lack the regulation and guidance to be socially constructive. The extremism of madness, then, is a wasted resource for which the Confucian answer is regulation. Confucius has the following to say on the matter: "If you cannot manage to find a person of perfectly balanced conduct to associate with, I suppose you must settle for the wild 狂 or the fastidious 狷. In their pursuit of the Way, the wild plunge right in, while the fastidious are always careful not to get

⁷ 'Persons of letters' and 'literati' are the most common translations of the term *bunjin*, though in using the latter term we must take care not to confuse *bunjin* with China's class of scholar-officials, also called literati. Marceau, who prefers the rendition 'independent, free artists,' has shown that the term is often used ahistorically to signify a disparate group of individuals who in any case never identified themselves as such. See Marceau, pp. 2-7.

⁸ The severely deformed Zhili Shu thrives on the margins of society using his handicap to curry special treatment and dodge social obligations.

their hands dirty.”⁹ Here Confucius asserts that those overcome by either impetuosity or caution are preferable to those lacking such qualities. Even a gentleman who follows the middle way is easily corrupted by the world’s disorder, but the wild and fastidious follow their own principles with the ambition of gentlemen. While they cannot conform to the orderliness of society and are consequently relegated to the margins, their intentions nonetheless support the potentiality of virtue.

Mencius extends this graded view of human worth based on actual and potential proximity to the middle way. The gentleman is closest, followed again by the wild and the fastidious. These individuals on the margins carry within their ambition a potentiality lacking among the common lot, whom Mencius calls “the thieves of virtue.”¹⁰ Extending Confucius’ hopeful view of the mad and elaborating on precisely what separates them from the masses, Mencius here redeems *kyō* and clarifies the relationship between the deviant identity and the middle way.

Zhu Xi (1130-1200) also takes up this discourse on the wild and fastidious, suggesting that although they are distinct from and inferior to the sage, they at least complete their endeavors thoroughly, either achieving their ambitions or withdrawing to maintain their integrity. This conscientiousness allows them to be regulated by the sage and, potentially, to return to the middle course. Those able to tread the middle course, Zhu Xi maintains, are rare because they have the motivation of the ambitious but behave more cautiously; they also have integrity or know how to regulate themselves so as not to become overly detached.¹¹

Though the *Hōsa kyōshaden* contains little direct reference to Wang Yangming’s (1472-1529) thought, it does affirm Wang’s central tenets of

intuitive action and self-reflection. Wang himself was far from silent on the matter of *kyō*, and his followers in China and Japan made important contributions to the critique of Neo-Confucian orthodoxy and its support of moderation and self-regulation. Wang’s declaration: “There is *kyō* within me. Don’t run and hide from my words,” and his successor, Wang Longxi’s assertion that “The path to sagehood lies in the hands of *kyōsha*,” were inspirational to Edo period heterodox thinkers, who maintained that *kyō* and *kyōjin* were unfettered by internal conflict and therefore more advanced, progressive, and socially useful.¹² This view also positioned *kyōsha* closest to the way of the Sages, providing Wang’s followers with an impetus to distance themselves from orthodoxy. Confucian scholar Hattori Somon (1724-1769) switched his allegiance from the Sorai school to Wang Yangming, referring to himself specifically as a *kyōsha*, and *bunjin* like Akutagawa Tankyū (1710-1785), Ike Taiga (1723-1776), and others who would later be labeled as *kijin* also subscribed to this school thought.

Clearly, the Confucian intellectual tradition held qualified support for *kyō*, seeing it as a set of personality traits that brought the *kyōsha* closer to heaven or sageliness. After the Kyōhō period (1716-36) Daoist thought became more prominent, bringing the idea of *ki* 氣 as defined by Zhuangzi alongside that of *kyō*. Historian Nakano Mitsutoshi has posited that Wang Yangming’s take on social deviance approached the thought of Laozi and Zhuangzi to the extent that what the former were calling *kyō* the latter had called *ki*, and that the values these two terms shared – individualism, intuitiveness, and detached aestheticism – informed the early modern *bunjin* approach to art.¹³ In the mid-eighteenth century, therefore, intellectual support for individualism, nonconformism, and self-determined spirituality converged from disparate intellectual orientations and traditions. The esteem that madness had long received from progressive

⁹ *The Analects* 13:20. Edward Slingerland (trans.). *Confucius Analects: With Selections from Traditional Commentaries*. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2003, 149.

¹⁰ See Mencius VII:B:37 for this passage.

¹¹ Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi sishu youlei* (The Words of Zhu Xi: The Four Books), vol. 3, bk. 43 (Shanghai: Kuchi chubanshe, 1992), 1109.

¹² Nakano Mitsutoshi, “*Kyōbun ishiki no haikai*.” *Bungaku gogaku* 54 (December, 1969): 47.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 48.

Chinese thinkers disposed Japanese individuals to take it up with relative peace of mind.¹⁴

Kyō was therefore a mature and distinguished discursive tradition in China well known within Japanese scholarly circles at the time Hotta Rikurin wrote the *Hōsa kyōshaden*. Kinryū Keiyū's preface displays this Confucian orientation most

¹⁴ Ibid., 48. The Chinese discourse on *kyō* is not limited to Confucius, Mencius, Zhu Xi, and Wang Yangming. It was also taken up by a number of Song and Ming Dynasty authors, though it is unclear if and to what extent they were known in early modern Japan. It was further extended, for example, by Song Dynasty hermit Wan Shi (d. 1157) in his 100-chapter book, *Kuangjian ji* (Collection of the Wild and the Fastidious). In the preface Wan Shi accepts personal responsibility for transmitting Confucius' teachings to later generations, thereby self-identifying as a Confucian instructor and equating himself with the madmen his book anthologizes ("Tuo Tuo Song Shi" (Song History), in *Sibu beiyao, Shibu* (The Collection of History), book 457, Biography 216, part 1 (Reclusion) (Taipei: Taiwan Zhonghua shuju, 1971), 14042-3). A further addition to the *kyō* discourse includes the ten-volume *Kuangjuan caizhong* (Regulating the Wild and the Fastidious in the Middle Course) by Ming scholar Yang Shijuan, of whom little is known. This book records Yang's comments on loyal, filial, and righteous people from the Warring States period to the Yuan dynasty. The preface warns that taking an undeserved reputation and making bold claims is inferior to behaving in a manner consistent to one's own nature. Therefore, none are more wild or fastidious than those who are ambitious, humane, loyal and filial (Li Xueqin and Lu Wenyu, eds., *Siku dacidian*, vol. 1 (Changchun: Jilin Daxue chubanshe, 1996), 1522). The three-volume *Kuangfu zhiyan* (The Words of a Madman) and its two-volume sequel written by the Ming scholar Chen Jiru (1558-1639), finally, compile and comment on unusual, heterodox individuals, carrying the Confucian discourse on *kyō* into to a genre of biographical writing on eccentrics (Chen Jiru, *Kuangfu zhiyan* (Taipei: Iwen, 1965).

directly by revisiting "the wild and the fastidious" from the *Analects* and the *Mencius*. "These individuals have admirable intentions, but their deeds do not correspond to their words," he recounts. "Some move ahead with their plans; others hide and protect themselves against intrusive outsiders. Yet the world looks down on them, and only Confucius has been disposed to see their worth." Keiyū goes on to describe Rikurin's role as Confucius' surrogate in his willingness to step forward and redeem local *kyōsha*. This, he assures us, is a particularly urgent endeavor given the declining state of the world and the fact that moral degeneration has caused a scarcity of these individuals. Keiyū's closing admission that this state of affairs has triggered within him extreme, uncontrolled grief, finally, posits Keiyū himself as a *kyōsha*.

The preface, written in Chinese, thus locates the text within a canonical discourse and attaches it to Chinese interpretations of *kyōsha*. In situating itself within this esteemed tradition it thereby presents itself, an ostensibly popular work, as a philosophical treatise. This reorientation of high and low is matched by an identical attitude toward hierarchy and human worth. As repositories of spirituality and moral virtue, the figures in the *Hōsa kyōshaden* live with one foot in society's gutter and one in the heavenly, a condition that transcends the logic of social class. Despite the conspicuous absence of samurai in this work – and it is understandable that Rikurin would not openly indict his family and lord by including the warrior class in the text – the work is notably egalitarian. It arranges and discusses outcasts (Sōsuke), pious monks (Goranbō), tea masters (Hechikan), townsmen (Ishimawari), and transients (Odoribaba) together without distinction. To this group Rikurin includes the blind, the odd-looking (Kōsuishi), the mentally challenged (Ogosa), and the crippled (Shinrokubō). Class is rarely mentioned or missed, for it is usually irrelevant to the narrative. "All people are born with a Buddha nature, the potential for enlightenment," Rikurin reminds us, "so why make distinctions?"

Rikurin's parallel assertion that "even a mad person's ravings can serve to praise Buddha" proposes that the subjects of his book are especially equipped for this purpose. This proposi-

tion is more than a nod to egalitarianism; it is an overt indictment of the class system. Deprived of status and wealth, his subjects are unencumbered by the vanities of social position and worldly affairs and thereby enabled to access a superior moral realm. The dim-witted Ogosa's deluded chatter, for example, emanates from an unfettered heart and thus is superior to the self-serving ambitions of common people. As his intentions are innocent, he is not to be chastised for divulging delusional fantasies. "For him," Rikurin assures us, "doing so is superior to those foolish, errant thoughts of common men." This reiterates a familiar Buddhist ontology, but one that Tokugawa literature had rarely delivered through outsiders and the outcastes.

These egalitarian sentiments appear at a time when a number of progressive thinkers were elaborating on Ogyū Sorai's (1666-1728) historicist observations by issuing criticisms of the class system as a politically motivated economic structure that was counterintuitive in its placement of producers at the bottom and consumers at the top. The stigma attached to outcastes, however, was more deeply embedded. Even the empirical Kaihō Seiryō (1755-1817), one of the more brazen critics of the hierarchical order, harbored an exclusionary attitude toward outcastes, considering them to be "like animals" utterly lacking in morality.¹⁵ From Rikurin's perspective, of course, voiding oneself of morality is precisely the point; it is the very course by which one achieves "a state of no-self, no-mind, of escaping the shackles of the self to romp in Heaven."

In sum, we should resist the temptation to equate the subversive potential of madness with the subversive potential of heterodoxy. The *Hōsa kyōshaden*'s use of Confucian values, in other words, is as essential to its construction of *kyōsha* as its use of Daoist allusions and Buddhist morals: the beggar Sōsuke demonstrates humanity and a proper sense of entitlement by accepting only what alms he needs, even if it is less than what is offered; the Robin Hood figure Goranbō, who deplores his family's wealth and turns over

to the poor whatever donations he collects, exemplifies benevolence and frugality; and the alcohol abusing beggar Kihei embodies humility in his ability to recognize and accept honestly his moral frailties. One imagines that invoking such Confucian values was the perfect loophole for Rikurin and Keiyū to avert suspicion while they celebrated this potentially subversive cohort, and that this strategy of elevating untouchables to moral untouchability would have enticed many other writers to follow suit. Indeed, it was twelve years later that Ban Kōkei's pioneering work attached the same egalitarian and moral ideals to his representation of *kijin*.

This text thus reveals that social critics were experimenting with this genre of writing before the *kijinden*'s existence, and that even after the latter's appearance the *kijin* was only one of multiple existing representations of deviant personae. The notion that madness and eccentricity did not preclude intrinsic human worth indicates an escalating desire to judge people more for their talents, virtues, or idiosyncrasies than for their pedigree. Such were the attitudes and values that were to guide nineteenth and twentieth century biographers as they constructed their own representations of the eccentric and the mad.

The translation and many of the annotations below are based on the 2000 reprint in *Shinnihon koten bungaku taikei*. To the translation I have added subheadings that in the original text appear in the form of a table of contents. In the title I use Nagoya instead of Hōsa, which is a Sinitified pseudonym for Nagoya meaning to the left of Mt. Hōrai.¹⁶

¹⁵ Herman Ooms, *Tokugawa Village Practice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 292.

¹⁶ Tanemura explains that Nagoya is located to the left of Mt. Hōrai, one of the three sacred peaks, as viewed from Shanghai. According to legend, the mountain was revered as the home of a plant which bestowed immortality (Tanemura, 208). Nakano Mitsutoshi relates that orienting Nagoya's location in this way actually confuses Mt. Hōrai with the Atsuta Shrine.

Hōsa kyōshaden (Biographies of Nagoya Madmen)

Preface

Long ago in the state of Lu there were many madmen (*kyōsha*).¹ These were people like Qin Zhang, Zeng Xi, and Mu Pi.² As a consequence, when Confucius was in Chen he lamented that the mad and unpolished there did not know good judgment, and this was the very reason that he repeatedly sighed, “Let us return.” In Owari,³ as well, there have been more than a few madmen, but their stories have not been told and regrettably they have since vanished from history without a trace. The madmen of recent times are of Ogosa’s⁴ ilk, cold and distant⁵ and engaged in arbitrary self-seeking along disparate paths. How sad that their ambitions isolate rather than unite them. Hotta Rikurin has collected and recorded the words and deeds of those madmen, and there are places in his text which call for deep reflection. His subjects have admirable intentions but their deeds do not correspond to their words.⁶ Some move ahead with their plans, others hide and protect themselves against intrusive outsiders. Yet the world looks down on them and only Confucius has been disposed to see their worth. Now, like Confucius, Rikurin has stepped forward to tell their stories.

Time has passed and these days the Way is in

¹ As explained above, Keiyū’s use of the term *kyōsha* invokes *The Analects* (13:20) and the *Mencius* (VII:B:37).

² Qin Zhang, Zeng Xi, and Mu Pi appear in the *Analects* as Confucius’ disciples.

³ Owari is the name of the feudal domain surrounding Nagoya.

⁴ Ogosa is the subject of the first entry in this collection.

⁵ “Cold and distant” is from the same passage (VII:B:37) in *Mencius* in which Confucius complains that “good men from the villages” malign the *kyōsha*.

⁶ This phrase is taken from the same passage wherein Mencius explains that the mad are styled as such because their actions do not correspond with their words.

decline. It is difficult to find gentlemen who return to the Middle Way. But madmen are equally hard to find. Nowadays there are many who only try to please others and in following worldly customs become corrupt. Deeply dismayed by this, I weep and write this preface.

Kinryū Dōjin Keiyū, Summer, An’ei 8 (1779)

Biographies of Nagoya Madmen

There is one who roams through the wetlands in Sawabe reciting poetry like Qu Yuan.⁷ “People treat him like dirt,”⁸ and yet he is unwavering. From ancient times to the present, so many accounts of such individuals have been duly transmitted that they can hardly be counted. Ever since I can remember, I have run across such types in and around this province. Then, as now,⁹ there are few who know anything about *kyōsha*, so I take it upon myself to write a little about them.

Ogosa

Near the end of Hōei (1704-1711) or the beginning of Shōtoku (1711-1716) there were three madmen: Kuhei, Otatsu, and Mantoku – though I was so young at the time that I don’t remember much about them. There was a certain Kosaburō, though, who lived in Suginochō around the

⁷ Qu Yuan (340-278 BCE) was related to the imperial family and enjoyed a successful career as a statesman and minister. He was banished when jealous officials who opposed his counsel to the Emperor slandered him, and he spent his remaining years wandering the countryside and composing tragic poetry, finally drowning himself as protest against political corruption.

⁸ This phrase (*J. kuzu no matsubara*) is from a poem in Saigyō’s (1118-1190) *Senshūshō* and refers to someone whom society disdains yet who marches on defending their own principles.

⁹ The phrase is *ima wa mukashi*, an invocation of the 12th century *setsuwa* text *Konjaku monogatari*.

same time. Although he was born to a formerly wealthy family, the household fell into decline after his parents' death and he thus survived only through the attentions and generosity of his wet nurse. From birth he was stupid and had a weak constitution. When he was about thirty years old he wore the same set of dirty, vertically striped clothes all seasons of the year and a fur wrap during even the hottest month. Though virtually bald, he had sparse wisps sticking out in all directions. Morning 'til night he drifted directionless around the village, and when the children saw him they would holler, "Ogosayo! Ogosayo! Alley cat! Alley cat!"¹⁰ Without understanding the meaning, he would become entranced by the rhythm of the chanting. It was a condescending joke for locals of that time to call such a dim-witted man "your lordship."¹¹ "Whose lordship?" "Why, his lordship!" For, calling someone a lord who is so far from being one is like calling him "your stupidity." What's more, if you exchange the first character of his name, *ko*, with the honorific character *o*, you get Ogosō from Kosaburō.¹² No one knows who started calling him that, but soon everyone just called him Ogosō. This is the reason that these days it is said of fools: "he's quite an Ogosō," and that's the origin of the term.

Where people worshiped before Buddhist statues and preached Buddhist doctrine, at shrine festivals and other crowded places, whether near or far, wherever people congregated Ogosō invariably appeared. Or, drawing water at roadside teahouses, he washed pots and cleaned pipes without being asked, scrubbing like a busy bee. People would ask, "Ogosō, why haven't you been around lately?" He would say, "For a long spell I've been working on that land reclamation pro-

ject, making new paddy fields and turning the bay into a stretch of Tōkaidō roadway running to Kuwana. The whole thing's going to cost about a million *ryō*, so I've also been out finding sponsors for it." Or with a straight face: "I live up-town now. I bought a house for three thousand *ryō* with an entrance sixty *ken*¹³ long. I've also had my hands full putting up five or six warehouses and so haven't come around much." Or as if dreaming, he would reply: "I had incense-smelling functions," or, "I had flower arrangement gatherings to attend."

In their hearts, most people don't really know what satisfaction is. In the tediousness of sleepless autumn nights, they let their minds wander to thoughts of finding a wad of money, building a house, and having luxurious food and clothing. Finding one hundred *ryō* is not enough; one thousand wouldn't be either. At dawn they arise with a confused heart, ashamed of dreaming of money and detesting the sinfulness of such errant thoughts. But for Ogosō there is nothing sinful about disclosing his grandiose thoughts and ambitions. For him, doing so is superior to those foolish, errant thoughts of common men. How much happiness it brings to the heart.

In Ogosō's time there was a *kyōsha* of about the same age named Kume. He was an illegitimate son of a good family. With his hair tied up in back, pointing toward Heaven like Zhili Shu's,¹⁴ he drifted around from village to village, hounded by children. A short sword in his left hand and an opened fan in his right, he danced, singing, "The first foal of spring...."¹⁵

Odoribaba

In the mid-Kyōho Kyōhō (1716-36) years there was a dancing woman who went from gate to gate asking: "Shall I pen a letter for you? Or

¹⁰ "猫出せ、猫だせ" *neko dase, neko dase*. Tanemura notes the use of 色子 *neko* as a colloquialism for 色男 *irootoko* (handsome man; paramour). The children's taunt may be viewed as combining the images of a stray cat and a dashing lady-killer (Tanemura, 209).

¹¹ *Dono* 殿 (Lord) is the suffix added to the individual's name.

¹² With this substitution, Kosaburō 小三郎 becomes Ogosō 御小三.

¹³ As one *ken* is about 1.82 meters, a sixty-*ken* entrance would be 109 meters long.

¹⁴ Zhili Shu is a hunchback in the Zhuangzi who finds peace and enlightenment in his uselessness. See footnote 9 above.

¹⁵ These lyrics are from the popular song *Harukoma*.

would you prefer a small song and dance?" She would sing part of an old song, displaying notable cultivation. Give her a small donation and she'd make funny little gestures while singing and dancing to *Mt. Miyoshino*, again revealing her classical refinement. Without being asked she mentioned that when she was young she broke up with her sweetheart and traveled west. She wept and laughed without embarrassment at Sei Shōnagon's story of the nun who sang *Tsukubayama koishi* and seemed to have adopted the latter's visage for herself. This is what one person wrote as the lyrics to that dancing woman's short song:

The willow planted by the gay quarters
gate, dripping in spring rain. Only my
dusty hands for a pillow, I embark on a
trip,
Leaving my hut in the green morning.
The willow in spring, the willow in spring.
I sip from a small wine cup and extend it to
you, I sip from a wine cup.
My slanting shadow faces west. Across
the Akama strait,¹⁶
When have my traveling companions be-
come so scarce?
When have my traveling companions be-
come so scarce?¹⁷

She sang this three times as her hands awkwardly mimicked koto plucking.

¹⁶ Akama is an alternate name for the Shimonoseki strait.

¹⁷ An illustration in the manuscript depicts the *odoribaba* beneath a willow tree. The accompanying poem, titled *Yōkan sanjōkyoku* (C. *Yang-guan sandie qu*) and written by Wang Wei (701-761) reads:

Spring rains in Xianyang moisten the earth
By the inn, budding, a verdant weeping
willow, verdant weeping willow
I extend to you another cup of wine, a cup
of wine
In the East one leaves Yang Guan,
Leaving old friends behind, leaving old
friends behind.

Then, too, there was Yojirō. At every house in town, he sang: "Hey, I am Yojirōhei. I just felt like dropping by!" while keeping time with his hands. For a donation of food he'd perform a *kyōgen* play.

Prophets on the Street

In the Shōtoku period (1711-1716) there was a frail, old Buddhist priest who wandered the streets. He gave his ink paintings of bamboo to the children, and the beauty and vitality of his brushstrokes rivaled the works of Huang Pinlao and Zhang Changsi.¹⁸ It is said that you can tell one's fortune from the character of their painting. In Fushimichō there is a curious person named Satō something-or-other. One day he decided to have his fortune told the next time the priest wandered by. People from the neighborhood gathered around, and one by one they wrote a single character or signed their names on slips of paper. An outcaste sandal repairman happened to pass by the gate at that time and so they had him write a character, as well. They also took a writing sample from a nobleman and mixed them all together. Presently the fortune-teller came by, whereupon they presented him with their collection of paper scraps. Carefully reflecting on them, the priest picked out the nobleman's paper, gently placed it in his hand and had him lay it at the seat of honor. He then proceeded to display inexplicable powers of divination by foretelling the auspicious and inauspicious fortunes of each onlooker, one after the other. He had never been wrong in the past so everyone trusted his predictions. When he got to the outcaste's paper he immediately blew it out of the pile onto the ground. "This is contaminated! It shouldn't be with the others!" he shouted angrily. Everyone applauded in awe as if he were a supernatural being. They asked his name, catching at his sleeve as he tried to leave, but he did not answer.

¹⁸ Huang Pinlao and Zhang Changsi are Song Dynasty artists celebrated for their bamboo paintings. Reputedly, Zhang did his best work only after becoming drunk.

In Jōsai Biwajimabashi¹⁹ there is a blind priest who comes out every day and sits with his cane beside him. Passersby give him coins, ask whether the day will be lucky, and he tells their fortune from the sound of their voice. Whether bright or ominous, prosperous or penurious, fortunate or unfortunate, he accurately foretells each person's prospects every time. When he has enough money in front of him, he treats himself to a cup of saké at the Tiger Tavern, then leaves, singing merrily: "Gently blowing wind; the Yi river is cold."²⁰ Nobody knows where this urban recluse²¹ goes, making them all the more curious about who he really is.

Kawarake was a mad child from that same area. And around that time and place there was the madman Ōkōbe, who was always racked with fever. One day he was sprawled out on the sandy banks under the bridge when an unexpected flood came and swept him far downstream. People in the village where he washed ashore took pity on him and fished him out. He had swallowed so much water and his stomach was so swollen that he didn't look human. From that day, though, his fever abated and he enjoyed good health. The will of Heaven rules over the events of life and death.

The Stone Seller of Yadamura

Every day in the area of Ōzone, Akatsukachō, and Uwamachi, east of Nagoya castle, Sakunouemon came out to sell stones that he had gathered and hauled from the riverbed in Yada-

mura. Walking along calling "Flints! Flints!" in a hoarse voice and looking cold in his ragged, short-sleeved robe, he was a portrait of foolishness. Life feels as if it passes like the spark from a flint. Loitering around the public square, he would preach from memory about the fleeting vicissitudes of human life, the strange twists of karmic fate, the biddings of Heaven and Hell, and, one time, the teachings of the five ethical commandments.²² Once he had earned enough money to tide him over for the day, he dumped his remaining rocks on the roadside and returned home. The next day he would be back at the riverbed gathering and selling rocks, and then would dump the leftovers the same way. There was a basket maker in ancient times who also used to throw away his unsold baskets every evening. Only those who truly understand can envy such people as these, they who live as if entrusting their fate to the whims of the four winds.

Ishimawari

There was a man who had taken the peculiar nickname Ishimawari. As the only son of a certain merchant, he inherited the family business, but as he often became ill his relatives were obliged to take over the work. Thus it came to be that he lived off of their good graces. He liked arithmetic but did not grasp its usefulness. He mentioned to the apprentices in his house: "Even if you learn the abacus, what can you do with it? In general, calculation is of no use, you know." Though he eventually did learn how to use an abacus, he never understood what it was used for. He was that stupid. When he went out he usually stuck his finger in a knothole in a post at the front door as he walked by. If his finger didn't go into the hole on the first try he would go back inside, come out, and try sticking his finger in again. If it worked the second time he continued out the gate with a satisfied look

¹⁹ Nishi ward in present-day Nagoya.

²⁰ This is from a famous verse by the assassin Jin Ke as he stood by the Yi river before his failed attempt to kill the Emperor of Qin.

²¹ The notion of urban recluse as superior to recluse in mountains and forests was first articulated by the Eastern Jin (317-420 AD) poet Wang Kangju and subsequently became a popular trope within the discursive tradition of recluse in China and Japan. Later, Bo Juyi (772-846) refined this classification by adding the notion of middle recluse. See footnote 60 below.

²² These five Confucian virtues are benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom and faithfulness.

and turned south.²³ His actions were swift and effortless, as if he were riding on the wind.²⁴ Before the Wakamiya gate in Suehirochō there is a particular rock that he would walk around three times. There is also a stone in front of the Niō-mon gate at Ōsu Kannon temple that he used to walk around. After circling these two rocks, he would return home with a joyful look on his face. He had no intention of doing anything besides this.

Sōsuke from Atsuta

Long ago in Kyōhō times was a strange, crazed monk who would screech clamorously in a hideous voice: “I am Jikaku from Atsuta!” He was a monk who had forsaken the world, like a wandering poet noticed only by playful dogs.²⁵ I once saw him go to Nagoya castle and receive alms.

In the same place around Mt. Dambu there was a fellow named Sōsuke who was supremely filial to his mother. When she was alive he came to the Inari shrine but refused to cross the Ōkido gate between Nagoya and Atsuta. When one asked him why, he replied, “I receive generous alms when I go to Nagoya but I can’t travel that far now because Mother is waiting.” If I bought a rice cake for him he wouldn’t receive it, saying: “I am a beggar, not someone you should buy things for.” If you offered him a bite of something half-eaten, though, he would take it happily. Or, if an itinerant peddler gave him a *sen* he would refuse it and scold him: “How wasteful! Don’t spread your money so thinly.” By contrast, he never refused alms from even lower samurai, always intoning his humble gratitude. When returning home from Ōkido gate, he helped other travelers by pulling their carts or carrying their loads free of charge.

If they offered compensation he would say, “that’s too much,” and keep only five or six *sen*.

After his mother died, he sometimes came to Nagoya. Someone asked him: “You were filial to your mother in life, but why don’t you perform Buddhist services for her now?” He replied: “My mother and I have always been outcasts. There are no Buddhas or deities for us beggars. For us, the only Buddhas and deities are public officials. It’s thanks to them that I was able to look after Mother while she was alive. So what’s the point of performing Buddhist services?” He never desired a wife, either, and dismissed anyone offering to make an introduction. “No. A wife is for having children, and the fewer beggars in this world the better. They only darken future prospects.”

I read of these accounts in a book called *Hikagegusa* by a great writer from Edo. Through this book Sōsuke is now known as an oddball in other domains, as well. He passed away at the beginning of the Meiwa reign (1764-1772), and local people mourned him and erected a memorial on Mt. Dambu. Someone there wrote:

One caring nothing for affairs of the world
Leisurely treads a way different than others
Ask them why and they’ll say
That we live a butterfly’s dream²⁶

According to talk in the street, in the spring of the third year of Meiwa (1766) Sōsuke was reborn on a large hill in a land to the north.

Kihei from Furuwatari

In Furuwatari village south of the castle was a cutler named Kihei who had fallen onto hard times. Summer and winter alike he was clad in only a short, coarse robe. He walked around

²³ South is an auspicious direction according to Yin Yang theory.

²⁴ Riding on the wind is a further allusion to Zhuangzi and Daoist immortals.

²⁵ This is a reference to a phrase in passage 89 in Yoshida Kenkō’s *Tsurezuregusa*.

²⁶ This is a reference to the famous parable in the *Zhuangzi* in which Zhuangzi awakes unsure if he had been dreaming about a butterfly or if he was then living in a butterfly’s dream. Nakano Mitsutoshi points out that the poem posits Sōsuke as a reincarnation of Zhuangzi.

town with a small box slung over his shoulder calling, "Razor and knife sharpening! Scissors and tweezer repair!" When he acquired a small sum he spent it on saké, whereupon he would croon sorrowful tunes as if nobody else were around. He looked very cold when I called him into my house to sharpen something one day. I asked: "Why don't you stop drinking? For your own sake, why don't you tend more to your daily needs?"

"Long ago I had a livelihood fitting to one of my status, but by some turn of fate I lost it all and was cast out into the elements to fend for myself. As I have an ill elder brother and an old mother I must work morning to night to keep them fed. This is the type of shameful person I've become." Remembering that when Fan Ju²⁷ was cold his employer took pity and offered him new clothing, I gave Kihei enough money for a layer of clothing. He took it, left, and never returned. One day my servant saw him in the street and asked, "Why didn't you ever come by again?"

"Because I immediately spent your master's money on three cups of saké. I betrayed him and don't have the face to go back there," he replied, and turned away. It is heartening to know that there are people who are so ashamed of themselves.²⁸

The Wheelchair

In the final years of Shōtoku, an old, crippled man with bent arms and legs could be seen riding in a wheelchair in front of Ōsu Kannon Temple. In a feeble voice he read aloud a book of stories about karmic causation, explaining that doing so helped atone for his sins. Those who heard him felt pity and offered him alms.

Later there was a similar person called Shin-

²⁷ This anecdote is from *The Biography of Fan Ju* in Sima Qian's (c.145 BCE – c.90 BCE) *The Records of the Grand Historian*.

²⁸ Rikurin is paraphrasing a passage in the *Mencius* which praises one who is ashamed of one's own wickedness and detests the wickedness of others.

rokubō who also used a wheelchair. He was in better health than the former man, and rode his chair on a pilgrimage to the Western countries²⁹ and to far-off Nachi. At the foot of Mt. Nachi he suddenly stood up, straightened his back, and began to move his legs. The purpose of the pilgrimage being realized, he left the wheelchair as an offering at the Tanigumi Kannon Temple. Kannon most surely possesses the power of salvation.

Nobō

There was once an odd monk called Nobō. According to one explanation, this nickname was an abbreviation of Kawarake Nobō, but it is unclear whether they are one and the same person. He was also called by the strange name, Odadabu. When he was about twenty years old he contracted an illness that caused his face, arms and legs to swell into an unsightly form. Though a laughingstock among the neighborhood children, he accompanied their jeers by blowing on his flute and feigning a Shinto song and dance. This was his only livelihood.

At about the same time, south of the castle in Hisayachō, there was a madman named Nisaku who every morning appeared from nowhere and at nightfall went off home to some unknown place. When he was feeling good he sang loudly, though he was ignorant of both Kanze and Komparu³⁰ chanting techniques, and cleaned in front of townspeople's gates every morning. Each house awaited his arrival and set out their dirty clogs or sandals at the gate entrance. Even if they set out brooms, each time he would conscientiously repair and clean them. He did not collect money, but would be pleased to receive a piece of paper from each house. The townspeople acquired an affection for him and gave him food and clothing, yet he received only enough to

²⁹ This pilgrimage around the Kinai plain and present-day Gifu Prefecture was a circuit of thirty-three temples devoted to Kannon, the Buddhist bodhisattva of compassion.

³⁰ Kanze and Komparu are two schools of Nō chanting.

fill his stomach. The clothing he received he passed on to haggard vagrants, although his own clothes were tattered. Day after day he swept the village streets, but there were two or three houses that he didn't clean. When asked: "Why don't you attend to those dwellings?" he answers, "That land is in Miyachō. My home is Hisayachō, so why should I sweep up other towns?" There were many occasions when he appeared angry and hurled abusive language at people. Sometimes he yelled at people from their front gates, unleashing a tirade of things which should never be uttered. But people did not reproach him for this, for soon enough he settled down and moved on, smiling and singing. After he had been there for several years he gradually stopped urinating and defecating in town. Nobody knew where he was doing it because nobody ever saw him do it. He habitually wore a towel wrapped around his head and at times carried a thick cane. He had physical strength and would stand guard over the town in the face of anything. It is not known what became of him.

Hechikan

Long ago in Kyoto there was a peculiar tea master named Hechikan who walked about carrying his various tea utensils in a leather bag slung over his back. He was liable to unload his utensils and enjoy a cup whenever and wherever, seemingly unaware of being on the street. In those days, "Hechikan's leather bag"³¹ was a saying describing a good-for-nothing. This was an [intentional] mispronunciation of "a leather bag for sponge cucumbers,"³² the expression still used today to refer to useless things. The 'hechi' in Hechikan's name was from 'hechi-hotsu' – curving from right to left; curving from left to right. From his name it strikes one that his was a heart that did not lead straight ahead.

Here in Nagoya it is said that a "hechimono" is a crooked fellow. On a back street south of the castle there was a certain fellow called Hechimono. He ran a small store of used books

and other items but didn't make much effort to sell them; he too was self-absorbed and cared nothing for the affairs of the world. Day and night he coveted saké; through the mountains in spring, by the river's edge in autumn, he strolled wherever his heart led him. He always carried a saké bottle and upon his return at nightfall he would throw down the empty bottle, smashing it. The day of his next outing he would locate a new bottle but then smash it on his way home. Someone queried about this curious habit, whereupon he replied: "Why? Saké is my friend so we have to be together every day. That's why I have to carry a bottle with me when I go out. When I return, why should I trouble myself to carry a bottle if my companion is gone?" A friend once admonished him, saying: "You'll need someone to take care of you when you get old; why not take a wife?" He replied, "True. And that'd be fine if she helped me, but if she fell ill what a burden she would be." He was single throughout his life, and his words and deeds were always commendable. Regrettably, I have forgotten them so can't recount them here.

(Headnote): Hechikan remained in seclusion in Awataguchi outside Kyoto.³³ From behind the blinds of a hermitage he extends a dipper and one by one passing cart-pullers and traveling porters fill it with scoopfuls of rice. For him, one full dipper was enough for that day's meal. Once Hechikan summoned old Sen no Rikyū³⁴ and Imaōji Dōsan³⁵ to his house; extending hospitality, he prepared tea. Dōsan said playfully, "you should change the character 貫 (*kan*) in your name and use 桓 (*kan*) instead, which you can rearrange to make *nihon ichi*, best in Japan."

³³ Awataguchi is a suburb east of Kyoto.

³⁴ Mention of tea master Sen no Rikyū (1522-1591) here helps us date Hechikan but invalidates Rikurin's claim to having firsthand knowledge of every *kyōsha* in the work.

³⁵ Imaōji Dōsan (1507-1594) was a physician from Kyoto and an acquaintance of Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi.

³¹ *Hechikan ga kawa no dabukuro.*

³² *Hechima no kawa no dambukuro.*

Goranbō

The monk Goranbō was born to a wealthy family and though accomplished at various arts he was extremely malcontent in the world. Upon careful consideration, he concluded that the best way to distance himself from the corruption of worldly affairs was to be a beggar. Every day he shuffled about, pretending to be a beggar, accepting food and alms, though his parents, brothers and sisters admonished this behavior. Upon his nightly return, proffering his bowl, Goranbō shared with the outcastes all that he had accumulated in alms that day. Even now, his house with the purple shop curtain is famous, so I'd better not divulge anything further.

Kōsuishi of Gosebō

Kōsuishi from Gosebō was a shriveled old monk whose Chinese style calligraphy was highly acclaimed. His appearance was strange, so when he went out [as in the case of Ogoza, mentioned earlier] people called him Lord Kōsuishi and laughed condescendingly. He left the housework to his children and went out at the crack of dawn to roam the town streets. Brandishing his cane, he would stroll far and wide, but would then stop, salivating, in front of the liquor shop, looking unable to resist. Then, fumbling through his pouch for change, he'd disappear lickety-split behind the shop curtain. He always threw down fifteen *sen* by the fireside and then set to swigging from a jug, happily chuckling to himself. In time he would totter his way out. On those days when he was penniless the best he could do was pick up a discarded wine cask cork and sniff at it as he moped home.

At crowded events, near or far, whether it was theater performances, the unveiling of Buddhist images at temples, or flower viewing, wherever a dozen people were gathered he was sure to be among them. To this day his form is visible in Montai's³⁶ painting of a large crowd at Ryūsenji Temple, as well as in the crowd painted on the folding screen in Manpei's³⁷ house.

³⁶ Unidentified.

³⁷ Unidentified.

When he grew old and was facing death he summoned his progeny to his bedside. "For seventy years I have represented myself as an utter fool and thereby lived effortlessly in the world," he professed. "People have always sneered and called me stupid, and I never disputed it. In return, I played with lies, deceiving them by displaying the façade of an imbecile; isn't it actually they who are the fools to be laughing at me? I am amused by those who laugh. I have deceived thousands, and only I enjoy knowing so. Since being born into this fleeting world, bringing many people amusement has been my long-cherished desire. In my life I have made fools of thousands, and amidst the world's confusion I alone have remained aloof. You all must do the following during your sojourn through human society: under no circumstances, if you are smart, will you behave wisely." Thereby revealing all, he expired. Thus, it is as they say: "A bird sings true on its deathbed." When I heard this story sweat stood out on my face from embarrassment, as I had been one of those deceived.

The Monk Okikubō

From what I've heard, Wankyū from Naniwa was acclaimed for his rendition of "Matsuyama, that fountain of woes."³⁸ Endō Musa's unrequited love for Kesa Gozen³⁹ finally forces him to reject the secular world and don a monk's robe. One cannot help believing strongly that choosing the wrong road ends only in disaster.

One currently finds the monk Okikubō, born to a formerly wealthy family, wandering around the town square. Disregarding public censure and his parents' admonitions, he fell in love with the wrong woman and ultimately encountered

³⁸ These words – *sue no matsuyama omoi no tane yo* – are lyrics from the bunraku play *Wankyū sue no matsuyama*, which debuted in 1710.

³⁹ As told in the late Kamakura period (1185-1333) text *Gempei seisuiki*, Endō ultimately kills Kesa Gozen and renounces the world to become a monk.

only a “fountain of woes.” His heart broken, he was thrown into confusion. Since, he has rejected the world, believing it a fleeting place, and forgotten himself and his home. These days he variously finds himself engrossed in cherry blossoms, chasing after the moon, reproached by a barking dog on a snowy evening, or bitten by mosquitoes on a cold, wind-blown bridge. Yet he does not consider these disheartening things. In broad daylight, face down in the street, he loudly chants lines from a puppet play in the *Gidayū-bushi* style.⁴⁰ It has been so long since a razor touched his head that his unkempt hair now falls around his shoulders in a state that would surely arouse the ire of his old mother.⁴¹ He wraps himself in a straw mat, invoking pity as once did that poor soul atop Mt. Kataoka.⁴² Once he stopped before someone’s front gate, but did not beg the way people do normally; instead he called out the owner’s name, saying, “Hey, don’t you know it’s lunch time? Why haven’t you set out a meal?” A maid brought out a meal and chopsticks, but he glared up at her fiercely. “You treat someone to a meal but give them old chopsticks?” he accused, and threw them to the ground. “This household has really gone to hell. It looks like you’ll be living off cold rice before long.”

He once ran into an old friend on the street: “Hey, was your name *Tarō* or *Jirō*?” he said, and proceeded to reminisce about past events. At times he laughed and at others he cried. On the

occasion that alms were being distributed by the public office, someone asked: “Hey, *Okikubō*. Why don’t you go receive alms?” As often happened, he became angry. “What do you think I am? I’m not a beggar, I’m an urban recluse,”⁴³ he said, and left.

Of those rogues whose stories are compiled in this book, few still tread gracefully through the world. Society does not hesitate to condemn them, but, not letting this bother me, I undertook the foolish endeavor of writing this book anyway. All people are born with a Buddha nature, the potential for enlightenment, so why make distinctions? Clogs, fried *miso* – all things are different yet the same in essence. This is to say that while “there are many roads at the foot of the mountain,”⁴⁴ they all merge into one at the summit. If I showed this book to *Suketomo* in the *Tsurezuregusa*⁴⁵ he would wryly present me with his most contorted bonsai tree, knowing I would like it. One cannot compare disparate things [like clogs and fried *miso*]. It is said that even a mad person’s ravings can serve to praise Buddha. That being the case, perhaps even my poor rhetoric can do the same.

“There is nobody else in the world like me,”⁴⁶ or so goes the lament of those who complain of society’s uniformity. Among them are those who ask why there are no others like them. By the same token, there are souls who never enter-

⁴⁰ *Gidayū-bushi* is a school of *bunraku* chanting popularized by *Chikamatsu Monzaemon* (1653-1724) and others during the *Genroku* period (1688-1704).

⁴¹ This phrase echoes a verse from the *Gosenwakashū* (951), a *waka* anthology commissioned by Emperor *Murakami* (r. 926-927).

⁴² In the *Nihon Shoki* (Book 22), *Shōtoku Taishi* encounters a starving man at the top of Mt. *Kataoka* and offers him food and clothing. Though the man perishes the next day, his tomb was later found empty, evidence that he had been a divine being (W.G. Aston, *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697*, vol. 2 (Rutland, VT and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1998), 144).

⁴³ According to *Bo Juyi*’s “Middle Reclusion” (*C. Zhong yin*), recluses in cities and at court are superior to those who keep to the mountains, whose reclusion tends to be disingenuous.

⁴⁴ *Nakano Mitsutoshi* attributes this phrase to the *Tatoezukushi* and finds a similar phrase in *Ikkyū*’s (1394-1481) *Gaikotsu*.

⁴⁵ In section 152 in *Yoshida Kenkō*’s *Tsurezuregusa*, *Hino Suketomo* (1290-1332) mocks the idea that something is venerable merely because it is old and decrepit.

⁴⁶ This phrase is from section 124 of the *Ise monogatari* and expresses the speaker’s sense of isolation. It implies that since nobody exists who can truly understand me, I might as well keep my thoughts to myself.

tain such grievous thoughts. Some complain of isolation, others do not, but in fact there is no meaning in asking if there are kindred souls in the world. If there isn't meaning in asking it, neither is there meaning in saying it. People's whims are as individual as their faces.⁴⁷ One cannot allow one's heart to become fixated on loss and gain; one must release it to play to its own content. The old man who said: "my body resembles Chikusai's"⁴⁸ did not say that his heart resembled Chikusai's. He knew that one can speak only of appearances. That being the case, how can I know who is like me?

From the outset I have recounted the exploits of madmen, but now they are past memories and only Okikubō remains.⁴⁹ In their own day they followed their hearts, finding sanctuary from the encumbrances of court,⁵⁰ and from their place of quiet retreat they became consumed by a strange poem or a game of Go, losing track of day and night. All those souls, the down-and-out, blown by the cold wind of society, resemble each other. They all resemble Okikubō, shivering in the biting wind. Yes, they surely do, but their hearts are not alike.

Beckoning to a friend from a pine branch,
he'll come
Though lying flat, Okikubō continues prattling.⁵¹

⁴⁷ This is a citation from the *Hōbutsushū*, an early Kamakura period compilation of didactic Buddhist tales.

⁴⁸ The old man is Matsuo Bashō (1644-1694), who, in verse, compares Miwa Chikusai to a withered tree. Chikusai was a fellow poet.

⁴⁹ Okikubō dies in 1782.

⁵⁰ Though here Rikurin uses the term 蘭省 (J. *ranshō*), language alluding to responsibilities accompanying a position in the Chinese government, this is merely an inflated reference to affairs of the mundane world.

⁵¹ An illustration in the manuscript suggests that it is an owl which calls to Okikubō. The second line refers to the account of Okikubō laying face down in the street chanting lines from a puppet play.

Hooting in the pines, hiding among orchids and chrysanthemums, *kyōsha* occupy the margins like those possessed. Theirs is a state of no-self, no-mind, of escaping the shackles of the self to romp in Heaven. Like those transformed into Hotta Rikurin,⁵²

Eleventh month, An'ei 7 (1778)

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⁵² Rikurin signs the work simply as *Kyōin* 狂隱, "Mad recluse."

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**Lee Brusckhe-Johnson, *Dismissed as Elegant Fossils: Konoe Nobutada and the Role of Aristocrats in Early Modern Japan*, Japonica Neerlandica 9 (Leiden: Hotei, 2004).
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Among the longest-enduring families of the Japanese nobility is the Konoe, a branch of the Northern Fujiwara family that traces its origins back to Fujiwara Motozane (1143–1166). For centuries the Konoe family stood at the head of the *gosekke*, the five lineages of the Fujiwara family from which imperial regents (*sesshō*) and chancellors (*kanpaku*) were selected during the premodern period. This stature gave them close proximity to the imperial line, even during the medieval period when the Konoe had no direct blood ties to the throne, and ensured that its members would be active in politics and the transmission of courtly cultural traditions in almost every generation. This remained true well into the modern period. The twenty-sixth family head Konoe Atsumaro (1863–1904) was appointed *kōshaku* (duke or prince), served as president of the House of Peers, and helped establish the aristocratic Gakushūin University. His oldest son and the twenty-seventh family head, the ill-fated Konoe Fumimaro (1891–1945), served three times as prime minister, oversaw the establishment of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere, and after the end of World War II committed suicide under suspicion of war crimes. Fumimaro was said to be on such intimate terms with the Shōwa Emperor that he was one of very few people allowed to sit in a chair in the Emperor's company. The current family head, Konoe Michitaka, was a longtime history professor at the University of Tokyo and is currently the director of the Yōmei Bunko in Kyoto, a library of Konoe family treasures that is methodically publishing the most important of its some 200,000 documents related to family history. These figures were only the latest in a long line of culturally influential and politically active family members that counted such famous figures as Hisamichi (1472–1544), Sakihisa (1536–1612),

and Iehiro (1667–1736) among them. The most celebrated Konoe of all, however, is undoubtedly Nobutada (1565–1614), a master calligrapher and central figure in the aristocratic community during the uneasy and oftentimes violent transition to Tokugawa rule. Nobutada is the subject of a new monograph by Lee Brusckhe-Johnson, *Dismissed as Elegant Fossils: Konoe Nobutada and the Role of Aristocrats in Early Modern Japan*.

As the title makes clear, Brusckhe-Johnson's book is intended as a corrective to the majority of English-language studies of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries that focus on the "three unifiers"—the warlords Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and Tokugawa Ieyasu—while neglecting the political, social, and cultural significance of the imperial court and its network of aristocratic families. As such the book echoes the work of recent publications such as Lee Butler's *Emperor and Aristocracy in Japan, 1467–1680: Resilience and Renewal* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2002) and the articles collected in Elizabeth Lillehoj, ed., *Critical Perspectives on Classicism in Japanese Painting, 1600–1700* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004). Furthermore, its general attention to the resistance to Tokugawa rule after the death of Hideyoshi parallels the concerns of Andrew Watsky's *Chikubushima: Deploying the Sacred Arts in Momoyama Japan* (University of Washington Press, 2003), which, among other things, addresses Toyotomi sponsorship of religious monuments after the passing of Hideyoshi. The focus of Brusckhe-Johnson's study on Konoe Nobutada provides an opportunity for a reassessment of the court's significance in this period from fresh perspectives, both because of its approach as a case study of a single aristocrat and its subject's prolific and innovative output as a calligrapher.

The book's first six chapters divide into two parts, with three chapters offering historical background, and a subsequent three focusing on Nobutada's artistic output. All six are linked, however, by the underlying goal of the book, to recast Nobutada as a proactive participant in both political and aesthetic realms. The final chapter of the book surveys the fate of the Konoe in the century following Nobutada's death, giving an overview of the lives of Go-Mizunoo and Nobu-

tada's descendents in terms of their tense and ever changing relations with the Tokugawa shogunate. Thus Brusckke-Johnson casts her net wide in covering a lengthy period of history and a large body of material. She begins with the century preceding Nobutada in chapter 1, "Politics and Art in Kyoto, 1450–1596," which introduces members of the Konoe family from the late Muromachi period, paying particular attention to Nobutada's father Sakihisa. This chapter provides a context for understanding the significance of the Konoe family within Japan's early modern political order by demonstrating the extent to which the Konoe utilized intermarriage with the Ashikaga and the imperial court to maintain their prominence over several generations. Such strategic matrimonial ties culminated in the accession of the highly influential emperor Go-Mizunoo (1596–1680) in 1611, establishing Sakihisa as "the first Konoe grandfather of an emperor since the late thirteenth century" (35).

Nobutada's biography is the subject of chapter 2, the first extended historical sketch of this individual in English. Details of each phase of his life are given with continual reference to primary sources, from his youth to his attempt in 1585 to become *kanpaku* that had been the birthright of his ancestors (but that was foiled by Hideyoshi's own assumption of the title), to his exile in Kyushu from 1593 to 1596, to the last decade of his life back in Kyoto, when he bore witness to both the accession of Go-Mizunoo and the looming threat of Tokugawa hegemony. Chapter 2 not only traces the major events in Nobutada's life and the historical and political events of the day, but also suggests his role in shaping many of them. The most notable example of Nobutada's political intervention is the infamous incident involving the inscription on a temple bell for the monastery Hōkōji, established by Toyotomi Hideyori (1593–1615). A purposeful misprision of the inscription gave the Tokugawa a justification to launch the Osaka campaign of 1614 that ultimately led to the eradication of the Toyotomi. Brusckke-Johnson demonstrates the possibility of the court's role in the composition of the text and of Nobutada's involvement, given his close relationship to the monk charged with composing the inscription (47). These and other analyses establish a pattern of subtle behavior suggesting

that Nobutada and his fellow courtiers were doing everything within their circumscribed political reach to support a Toyotomi return to power under Hideyori, which would have provided the best environment for a political regeneration of the court.

Chapter 3, "Politics and Art in Kyoto During the Keichō Era (1596–1615)," broadens the discussion to encompass the cultural and artistic community surrounding Nobutada. As the previous chapter asserts, Nobutada (as all members of the aristocratic community) had a vested interest in supporting the Toyotomi regime. This chapter expands the circle of anti-Tokugawa agitators to include Hon'ami Kōetsu and Shōkadō Shōjō, who along with Nobutada would later on be canonized as the "Three Brushes of the Kan'ei Period," as well as the painter Kano Sanraku, who fled Kyoto after Hideyori's fall, and the tea master Furuta Oribe, who was forced to commit ritual suicide because of his connection to Hideyori. Brusckke-Johnson explains in this chapter why certain cultural figures had reason to support the Toyotomi, and goes into more detail about Nobutada's agenda in holding out for a Toyotomi regime. She documents Nobutada's likely allegiances to the monk Dōchō (d. 1608), his uncle, as well as to one of Hideyori's scribes who studied calligraphy with Nobutada and practiced the "Sanmyakuin style," named after his posthumous title.

In chapter 4, "Nobutada and Calligraphy," Brusckke-Johnson provides a context for a discussion of Nobutada's works by describing new developments in calligraphy and its appreciation in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, such as the mania for accumulating samples of calligraphy in ancient hands into albums (*teka-gami*), as well as the establishment of the Kohitsu family of calligraphy connoisseurs, who happened to be on close terms with the Konoe family. The practice of hanging calligraphies at tea gatherings is also reviewed before the chapter proceeds to a discussion of Nobutada's training and stylistic development. Here the analysis would have been buoyed by an awareness of the importance of calligraphic style as a transmission of family lineage, as a sort of genealogical signature. By Nobutada's time the Konoe family boasted a distinguished pedigree of accomplished calligra-

phers, including Hisamichi and Sakihisa, and Nobutada was not so much attempting to break with or radically transform received brush habits so much as add his own inflections to a highly developed lineal practice. For that matter, more context is necessary to situate Nobutada's work within the social history of elite Japanese writing, not only that of the Konoe family but of other aristocrats of his day; after all, the late medieval period witnessed the emergence of no less than seventeen new calligraphic lineages.¹ Instead, the reader is left with the impression that there was little else besides the dominant Shōren'in school. Nevertheless, Bruschke-Johnson's relatively in-depth discussion of Nobutada's stylistic tendencies, calligraphic compositions, and use of paper help the reader unfamiliar with calligraphic practice.

Chapter 5, "Nobutada and the Courtly Tradition," provides a useful introduction to a wide array of art works by Nobutada and his contemporaries on subjects such as the *Wakan Roeishū*, *The Thirty-Six Poets*, *The Tale of Genji* and works in ink, namely scrolls of *Tenjin Crossing the Sea* (*Totō Tenjin*). The primary aim of the chapter is to demonstrate that Nobutada did more than simply continue the tradition of his forebears, but actively experimented with new formats and approaches as he produced works associated with the literary canon. Bruschke-Johnson suggests that these efforts were not only artistic, but went hand-in-hand with Nobutada's political engagement and a desire to reinvigorate the court. One does get the sense that Nobutada broke new ground with his calligraphy for paintings such as *The Thirty-Six Poets* and the *Hyakunin isshu* poets, dramatically enlarged for the surfaces of large-scale folding screens. Yet the nature of Nobutada's involvement in the creation of these screens is unknown, leaving open the possibility that a patron, artist, or some combination of individuals motivated the new approach. Only through more focused contextual and formal studies of individual works can Nobutada's reinterpretation of age-old courtly themes be properly

fleshed out. While the production contexts of many works are unknowable, one opportunity for carrying out such an analysis is a *Tale of Genji* album in the Kyoto National Museum, mentioned only briefly in the book, with calligraphy by 23 high-ranking aristocrats including Nobutada and other Konoe family members, and signed by the artist Tosa Mitsuyoshi. One scholar has argued that Nobutada commissioned this album as a gift for his sister Sakiko, a consort of Go-Yōzei.² With Nobutada as the likely patron, the inner workings of the album, the selection of its texts and images, the social networks of calligraphers involved, and how the album compares to previous examples, hold great promise for understanding the extent to which Nobutada reinterpreted courtly classics.

Much attention in this chapter on the courtly tradition is devoted to Nobutada's images of *Tenjin Crossing the Sea*, Nobutada's signature subject. According to later legend, Nobutada executed one thousand *Tenjin* paintings, and virtually dozens of these images, not all authenticated, survive. The author catalogues thirty examples attributed to Nobutada in an appendix. While scholars have suggested that religious devotion may have inspired Nobutada's efforts, Bruschke-Johnson posits that the *Tenjin* paintings possessed talismanic value for their creator related to events in the years Keichō 14 or 15 (1608–1609), the only dates found on the extant works. This was around the time when Nobutada's nephew, the future Go-Mizunoo (r. 1611–1629) was about to become emperor, which was by no means a foregone conclusion, and it seems Nobutada may have brushed the *Tenjin* images as a personal prayer for a Konoe emperor. Slightly different interpretations are also possible when the subject is viewed within the long durée of its production in the sphere of Zen monks. Bruschke-Johnson does note that Nobutada studied Zen Buddhism with Daitokuji and Shōkokuji monks, and a further exploration of his relationship to this community might have strengthened the validity of her assertions. These works might also be ana-

¹ Shimatani Hiroyuki, "Sanjōnishi Sanetaka to Sanjō ryū," *Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan kiyō* 26 (1990): 7–191.

² Inamoto Mariko, "Kyoto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan hokan 'Genji monogatari gajō' no kansuru ichikōsatsu," *Kokka* 1223 (1997): 7–19.

lyzed from the perspective of Nobutada's poetic activities and their use at *waka* and *renga* gatherings. The preferred forms of *Tenjin* paintings to display at poetry gatherings were first and foremost "name scroll" (*myōgo*) calligraphy hangings, and then paintings of "Tenjin in court dress" (*sokutai*); *Totō Tenjin* images showing Michizane in Chinese garb crossing the China Sea with a Chinese poem usually inscribed overhead were apparently deemed inappropriate for *waka* or *renga* events. Interestingly, several of Nobutada's innovations in this theme could be interpreted as ways of transforming the *Tenjin Crossing the Sea* into a suitable poetic icon. Nobutada in effect turns the figural Tenjin image into a "name scroll" by embedding the characters for "Tenjin" in the body of the brushed figure, while he emulates the "court-dress Tenjin" paintings by tending to inscribe his works with *waka* as opposed to Chinese poems. And we know that by the Edo period, *Tenjin Crossing the Sea* paintings were displayed at *renga* gatherings.³

In chapter 6, "Establishing New Conventions," Brusckke-Johnson treats Nobutada's large-scale calligraphy screens. These works are famous screens, but the author succeeds in defamiliarizing them for her reader and demonstrating their innovative qualities. Large-scale calligraphy screens are rare in Japan; a handful survive in the Shōsōin collection from the time of Emperor Shōmu (701–756), but the medieval period is virtually devoid of examples. Nobutada's innovation is all the more dramatic when one realizes how he radically enlarged stylistic patterns developed originally for small formats without losing the charge—the kinetic tension—of the writing. These screens would have operated within architectural settings that demanded different types of relationships to viewers and their surroundings, making them virtually impervious to traditional analyses that are brought to bear on Japanese works of writing. A telling comparison

to screens brushed by Prince Hachijōnomiya To-shihito with diminutive characters and a restrained compositional style set Nobutada's forceful aesthetic in high relief. Viewing works such as the *Hatsuseyama Poem Screen* in the Zenrinji collection, or his *Poetry Screens* in Hōki'in on Mt. Kōya, one senses that they embody Brusckke-Johnson's vision of Nobutada that permeates her entire study, that of a proud scion of a prestigious aristocratic family, bristling with self-confidence, and unlikely to take a passive role in the art or politics of his day.

Brusckke-Johnson's study is rich in details and makes responsible and reliable use of primary source material and secondary literature. The author is honest about the many structural limitations to the historical study of Nobutada—especially concerning the large number of documents in the Konoe family archives at the Yōmei Bunko Library that remain untranscribed—and compensates ably through an emphasis on the cultural and political contexts in which Nobutada's deeds and writings acquire meaning. The presentation of these contexts are framed and motivated by a perceived lack of scholarly attention to Nobutada and the courtly culture of his era, but one wonders if this characterization of the historiography of the period is not misleading. In the English-language sphere, because of a lack of a critical mass of cultural historians of pre-modern Japan, all too many worthy subjects have not yet been given their due. Among Japanese scholars, however, Nobutada has benefited from his early canonization by the Kohitsu family of connoisseurs, and at the very least one has to consider the possibility that his calligraphy has been canonized all out of proportion to its relative merits vis-à-vis other forms of aesthetic writing in his day. Furthermore, courtly culture of the Momoyama period has indirectly been the focus of a modern historiographical tradition that tends to group Kyoto aristocrats and urbanites (*machishū*) of this period together as working in uniform resistance to Tokugawa hegemony. The postwar dean of this tradition, the historian Hayaishi Tatsusaburō, was so influential that a small cottage industry of studies emerged in his wake that viewed cultural figures of this period as members of a heroic, anti-shogunal *résistance* movement based in Kyoto. Needless to say, this

³ Kanō Hiroyuki, "Teinai yūrakuzu no seiritsu katei ni kansuru shiron," *Gakusō* 8 (1986), cited by Yamamoto Hideo, "Kano-ha no totō Tenjin zō," in Imaizumi Yoshio and Shimaō Arata eds., *Zen to Tenjin* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2000), p. 188.

characterization of the political affiliations of this period is overly simplistic and should be treated with suspicion.

Although Brusckke-Johnson is careful not to employ such a schematic framework, perhaps she could have done more to articulate the complexity of the politics and social networks that underwrote the cultural production of a figure such as Nobutada. From the Ōnin War onward, Japan's political landscape was thoroughly decentralized into fragments of the early *kenmon* ("gates of power") order—namely the imperial court, aristocracy, and traditional Buddhist sects, a weakened shogunate, national networks of Zen and Pure Land monasteries, and a whole host of traditional and newly risen warrior houses. These entities were in constant flux, rallying around one node at a given moment, whether it be the shogunate, court, or one of the unifying hegemon, only to disperse and reconfigure in different allegiances around a different node. The dynamism of this decentralized politics had lost considerable momentum by Nobutada's day, but had by no means settled into stasis, especially at the time of Nobutada's death in 1614. A future sequel to this study may excavate the unsettledness of the nobility and Nobutada's ambivalences toward not just the Tokugawa but other institutions and peoples of the polity.

A nuanced awareness of the sociopolitical culture of this period would then animate Nobutada's extant calligraphic works with new meaning. Ultimately, however, the significance of individual works will rely upon a recovery of the contingencies of the production context of each individual work: who the recipient was; what the expectations were for certain types of texts, formats, and occasional writings; whether money or gifts in kind or more abstract forms of compensation were given in return; and what types of human relationships were presupposed by calligraphic transactions. To answer these questions properly would admittedly require enormous labor, but provide nothing less than a social history of early Japanese calligraphy, something that has not been attempted in any language thus far. The greatest merit of Brusckke-Johnson's study is that it takes the first and most difficult steps in this direction.

John M. Rosenfield, *Mynah Birds and Flying Rocks: Word and Image in the Art of Yosa Buson*, The Franklin D. Murphy Lectures 18 (Lawrence, KS: Spencer Museum of Art at the University of Kansas, 2003)

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Mynah Birds and Flying Rocks: Word and Image in the Art of Yosa Buson is a concise introduction to some of the most compelling aspects of the painting and poetry of a major artist of the eighteenth century. Buson (1716–1783), who was outstanding both as a *nanga* painter and as a *haikai* poet, presents formidable challenges to viewers and readers of his work, in no small part because of his impressive productivity. Buson completed around 800 paintings, composed nearly 2,800 *hokku*, and participated in some 120 linked verse sequences; he also authored numerous short prose pieces—mainly prefaces to *haikai* anthologies and *haibun* (*haikai* prose). As an artist who was exceptionally skillful at both painting and poetry, Buson's work makes a cross-disciplinary approach virtually essential, requiring students of art history and of literature alike to extend their reach into less-familiar ground. Rosenfield addresses these challenges by keeping the focus of the book very narrow; instead of trying to take on the entire scope of Buson's work, he selects two motifs—birds and rocks—as a starting point for his discussion of a number of issues that figure prominently in Buson's paintings and *haikai*. While the limited space of the book (around 60 pages of text) does not allow for very deep exploration of any one of these issues, it provides an excellent introduction to key ideas in Buson's work, and points the reader in the right direction for further investigation of Buson and the art and literature of the late eighteenth century.

The book starts with an introduction that outlines basic information about Buson's biography, reception, and interaction with his contemporaries. The remainder of the book is in three chapters, each of which examines a different category of Buson's paintings. The first looks at "poetic pic-

tures," that is to say, paintings that demonstrate a literary sensibility and an affinity with examples drawn from both the academic and scholar-amateur schools of Chinese painting. The second considers poems and pictures combined, or *haiga*—a genre of simple-looking paintings that integrate a *haikai* inscription. The third discusses a category of extremely simplified paintings without an accompanying text employing what Rosenfield calls "indexical imagery;" his term for visual images that have become so well known from their literary context that they need no written explanation to be comprehensible. There are also several appendices, including a translation of the preface to *Shundei kushū* (Shundei verse anthology), as well as glossaries of terms and names that should prove very helpful for specialist and novice readers alike.

The introductory chapter provides an overview of Buson's biography, his place in the communities of painters and *haikai* poets, and the reception of his work. The biographical section is informative—its emphasis Buson's relationship with Hattori Nankaku is too strong perhaps, as there is no evidence that the two ever met—but otherwise it works well. The section on "Buson's Reputation" could have gone into much more detail. The chapter as a whole does a good job in describing the contrasts inherent in Buson's work, in particular, the friction between Japanese and Chinese cultural traditions, and between high and low culture, that informed Buson's aesthetic.

However, I was surprised and interested to read Rosenfield's characterization of Buson as "first of all a poet." The quality and quantity of Buson's writing certainly justifies the impression that he made poetry the center of his life. However, painting, not poetry, was the way that Buson earned a livelihood; painting was behind his choice of residence after the death of his *haikai* teacher Hayano Hajin: his moves to Tōhoku, Tango, Sanuki, and eventually the decision to establish himself in Kyoto were all motivated by his need to study paintings or find clients. It is true that he wrote some *haikai* in all these places, but even though the *haikai* he wrote was often extraordinarily good, it was also a means to make connections with people who would support him as a painter. He did not "reopen" his teacher's Yahantei school until he was well into his fifties,

and he was a reluctant leader in the *haikai* community even then. The periods in his life when he was most active as a poet were also those in which he was most active as a painter, and there were times, such as when he was in Tango and Sanuki, when his focus on painting was so intense that he wrote (or preserved) very little *haikai* at all. In other words, one could easily say Buson was primarily a painter who wrote poetry, in no small part because poetry was vital to his work as a painter.

The chapters that discuss the three different kinds of Buson's painting are the strongest part of the book. Rosenfield's first topic is a pair of paintings, *Mynah Birds Fighting in Plum Tree* (dated 1776) held by the Freer Gallery in Washington, DC. Rosenfield tells us that while Buson borrowed the subject of mynah birds from Chinese paintings that had recently been imported to Japan, the energy, skill, and "spirit of *haikai* verse" that it displays marks it as a considerable improvement on the paintings that were its models. The painting combines techniques derived from both native and Chinese painting traditions; it owes at least as much to the academic flower-and-bird style then filtering into Japan through Nagasaki as it does to the scholar-amateur style (also called *nanga* or *bunjin-ga*) with which Buson is more commonly associated. Rosenfield uses this example as evidence of Buson's dislike for orthodoxies. Self-trained as a painter and schooled in eclecticism as a *haikai* poet, Buson's work typically embraces and reconciles elements of apparently contradictory styles with relish, and Rosenfield provides the reader with an insightful analysis of the way that this takes place and helps position Buson in the context of the scholar-amateur painting community of the time.

The second part of this chapter looks at the ways in which bird imagery figures in Buson's *hokku*. This section was a little more problematic. The translations are excellent, and the *hokku* indeed make use of bird imagery, but it was not so easy to see how these verses were related to the paintings, or whether it was necessarily of any significance that Buson also mentions birds in his poetry. This section, and a similar discussion of rock-related *hokku* in the chapter on indexical imagery, is one of the few parts of the book that raise questions. Rosenfield states in the acknowl-

edgments (x) that he deliberately avoids a theoretical approach in his discussion, and there is nothing wrong with this. However, one of the most remarkable and fascinating things about *haikai* is the fluidity with which it can move between the realms of verbal and visual expression, almost as if there was no difference between mentioning a bird in a poem, and painting one in a picture. We see this most obviously in *haiga*, of course, but it is especially relevant to discussions of the poet-painter Buson. Indeed, the subject of "visuality" in Buson's poetry, or "*haikai* spirit" in his painting, is one that commentators have been grappling with at least since the time of Tanomura Chikuden (1777–1835), and is probably the most interesting aspect of Buson's work; so just a sentence or two that would help the reader frame the word-image problem here, or to understand Rosenfield's take on it, would have been very useful.

The next chapter discusses *haiga*, a hybrid form of painting and poetry. Rosenfield gives us a brief overview of the form, paying particular attention to the contributions Matsuo Bashō made to its development, and then compares a Bashō *haiga* (*Gate to the Bashōan*) and a collaborative *haiga* by Bashō and Hanabusa Itchō (*Bagworm*) to one of Buson's (*Young Bamboo*). The analysis here is excellent, and does a lot more to explain the dynamics of *haiga* than would an abstract, general description. The next short section of the chapter is less impressive, however: in setting out to define the aesthetic principles of *haikai*, Rosenfield quotes lengthy passages from Haruo Shirane's *Traces of Dreams: Landscape, Cultural Memory, and the Poetry of Bashō* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998) with almost no comment (41-2). The quotations themselves are illuminating and persuasive, and anyone could be forgiven for thinking that they could not have said it better themselves, but it would have been good to know Rosenfield's own views on *haikai* more directly. The rest of the chapter is much stronger; it examines several more *haiga*, two by Buson and one that was a collaboration with Maruyama Ōkyo.

The last chapter focuses on a screen painting, *Rocks* (1783), now in the collection of Kimiko and John Powers, an example of the category of painting where Buson simply presents an image

without an accompanying inscription, confident that his viewers would understand that it was a literary allusion—in this case, to the writings of Bashō, in whose memory it was painted. Rosenfield tells us that when the painting was first shown in the United States, some viewers compared it to the René Magritte painting *Clear Ideas* (1958), which shows a rock floating in the air between the sea and a cloud. Other viewers, some of whom were art historians, regarded *Rocks* with suspicion, calling it at best an anomaly among Buson's paintings and at worst a fake. Rosenfield defends it by assigning it to a category of "indexical images," the kind of pictorialized literary motif that Joshua Mostow talks about in *Pictures of the Heart: The Hyakunin isshu in Word and Image* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996). These are images of things or places so well known from literature that they can be put forward without a contextualizing comment, as every literate person already knows what they refer to. The rest of the chapter, which explains the relationship between the *Rocks* screen and Bashō on the one hand, and Chinese painting guides like the *Mustard seed garden manual of painting* on the other, is very detailed and informative. As in the "Poetic Paintings" chapter, we are given a list of *hokku* with imagery that relate to the painting.

In short, this is an excellent book by one of the most eminent historians of Japanese art that greatly contributes to scholarship on early modern art and literature.

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- Timothy H. Barrett, "Tominaga Our Contemporary," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Third Series 3, no. 2 (1993): 245-52.
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