

**From the Editor's Desk:****Early Modern Japan Network Annual Meeting**

We have two very good panels and a workshop on utilizing Japan's National Diet Library Resources for work on early modern Japanese studies lined up for our next meeting. Full details follow. Looking forward to seeing many of you there!

**March 26, 2015, 12:30 p.m. (Finalized)**  
**(Room to Be Announced)**  
Sheraton Chicago Hotel & Towers

**Panel I: China Viewed Through Tokugawa Eyes**

**Panel II: Pre-Meiji Modernity – *Kinsei* Japan in Transition**

**Panel III: Online Resources of the National Diet Library: An In-Depth Guide Focused on Pre-Modern Materials**

Panel I: China Viewed Through Tokugawa Eyes

Our presentations examine allusions to and adaptations of Chinese literature and depictions of Chinese people in a wide variety of narrative genres throughout the Tokugawa period, concluding with an analysis of early twentieth-century film adaptations of Chinese literature reset in Tokugawa Japan. The timeline thus represented begins in the late seventeenth century with David Gundry's examination of the admiring gaze directed toward, respectively, Tang-period and contemporary China in two fictional works by Ihara Saikaku. Fumiko Jōo picks up the thread in the eighteenth century with her explication of the transformations wrought by Arakida Reijo in her adaptation of Qu You's popular ghost narrative "The Story of the Peony Lantern." William Hedberg's presentation demonstrates the ways in which works by late-Tokugawa fiction writers Santō Kyōden and Takizawa Bakin "domesticated" *The Water Margin* by "taming" morally and politically troubling elements of this sprawling Chinese vernacular novel. Sean O'Reilly provides an epilogue to the panel's narrative on narratives with his analysis of three "Edo-ized" film adaptations of Chinese literature made during the Sino-Japanese War of 1937-1945. Together these presentations shed light on narrative stances toward China ranging from admiration from afar to what Sean O'Reilly terms "romantic imperialism towards and appropriation of China."

1. Visions of China in the Fiction of Ihara Saikaku  
David Gundry, University of California, Davis

Premodern literary texts associated with Japan's aristocratic and samurai elites frequently allude to Chinese literary and historical texts in such a manner as to borrow the prestige of Chinese court and literati culture and imply an equivalent level of refinement on the part of Japan's imperial and Shogunal courts. This presentation examines the ways in which Ihara Saikaku's fiction invokes both these Japanese literary precedents and their Chinese

models, often drawing parallels between high *chōnin* culture and these predecessors, and in noteworthy cases using the latter in narratives with seemingly risky political implications. In a satire of the cultural pretensions of the Tokugawa era's ruling status-group entitled "A Man's Handwriting from a Woman's Hand" (1687), an elderly, high-ranking samurai retires to a life of erotic self-indulgence compared by the narrator to the story of Emperor Xuanzong and Yang Guifei, but in the end the protagonist shows his true samurai colors by resorting to grotesque violence. In an equally provocative passage alluding to a male aristocrat who became a favorite of Xuanzong, the title character of *The Life of an Amorous Man* (1682) longs for a forbidden trip to China, then enjoys the next best thing by visiting Nagasaki, whose male Chinese residents engage in aphrodisiac-fueled sexual marathons beyond the capacities of Japanese men. *Amorous Man* thus obliquely expresses dissatisfaction with the Tokugawa ban on foreign travel, and implies a relative emasculation of Japan's politically and geographically hemmed-in commoners in comparison with their Chinese counterparts.

2. Together Forever: The Ghostly Couples of Arakida Reijo's "Floating Weeds" and Qu You's "Peony Lantern"  
Fumiko Jōo, Johns Hopkins University

The early-Ming writer Qu You's *New Tales for the Trimmed Lampwick* (*Jiandeng xinhua*) was one of the most popular Chinese texts in early modern East Asia. From this collection "The Story of the Peony Lantern" was especially favored in Japan from the eighteenth century onward. The eighteenth-century woman writer Arakida Reijo's adaptation of the tale as "Floating Weeds (*Ukikusa*)" altered this demonic ghost story set in late Yuan society into a Japanese courtly romance. I argue that Reijo's rendering of "The Peony Lantern" produced a narrative that sides with the supernatural heroine and dispenses with her demonization in the original. Though Reijo's novellas were not published during her lifetime, her adaptation is significant as it demonstrates that her consciousness as a woman writer inspired her to recreate the malignant relationship between the living and dead into that of a mutually loving couple. Furthermore, by comparing "Floating Weeds" to other variants of "The Peony Lantern" from late-Ming fiction miscellanies, this paper reveals that the subjugation of the ghost couple by religious authority was contingent on social and cultural circumstances. The different endings created by Arakida Reijo and the male literati of the Ming dynasty suggest that factors such as literary genre, local discourse on the supernatural, and the writer's gender consciousness vastly altered the destiny of the ghost lovers.

3. Moral *Mitate*: Taming Chinese Vernacular Fiction in Edo-Period Japan  
William Hedberg, University of North Carolina at Wilmington

This paper explores early modern Japanese interest in the Chinese vernacular novel *The Water Margin* (Ch. *Shuihu zhuan*, Jp. *Suikoden*). The story of 108 bandit-gallants who set themselves in opposition to the Song empire, *Shuihu zhuan* was first imported into Japan in the opening decades of the Tokugawa period. Although translated and redacted in a variety

of adaptations during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the potentially subversive content and dubious morality of *Shuihu zhuan* continued to engender unease among even its most enthusiastic readers. My study focuses on Japanese attempts at “domesticating” or taming these elements through an examination of such works as Santō Kyōden’s *Chūshin suikoden* (“The Loyal and Righteous *Water Margin*”) and Takizawa Bakin’s *Nansō satomi hakkenden* (“Eight Dog Chronicles”). I argue that Bakin’s relationship to *Shuihu zhuan* in particular was presented by later scholars and literary critics as a way of exploring and re-ifying cultural, epistemological, and moral boundaries between China and Japan. By positioning these texts as synecdochic stand-ins for Chinese and Japanese literary and political culture, readers of the late Edo and Meiji periods invoked the *Shuihu*-Bakin binary in larger discussions of Confucian ethics, (proto)national essence, and political relations between China and Japan.

4. Consuming “China,” Consuming “Edo”: Nostalgia, Imperialism, and Cultural Appropriation in Early Japanese Cinema  
Sean O’Reilly, Harvard University

Interest in Chinese literature, transposed to some degree into the Edo period, surged in late Taishō and early Shōwa Japan, as evidenced by the boom in filmic adaptations of stories like the *Peony Lantern*, *Water Margins*, and *Journey to the West*. This double adaptation—first from Chinese to a native Japanese setting and then from a literary to a filmic treatment—clearly won favor with audiences since adaptations were steadily made from the late 1920s to the 1940s. This period of heightened audience interest in China filtered through Edo was roughly coterminous with Japan’s aggression in China and lasted until the war’s end; given film’s popularity at that time, for this generation of Japanese the most widespread and vivid introduction to these tales was through cinematic adaptations.

I focus on three “Edo-ized” adaptations of Chinese literature made during the war, namely Kinugasa Toshizō’s *Kwaidan botan dōrō* (1937) and Tōhō’s blockbuster hits *Songokū* (1940) and *Suikoden* (1942). Of these three, only *Songokū* is still extant, but it is nevertheless possible to reconstruct a great deal about each. I compare each film’s treatment of both “China” and “Edo,” analyzing their deployment of the Edo period and their dreams of romantic imperialism towards and appropriation of China, concluding that each film offered its audiences the chance to consume a double-layered package of nostalgic Edo-period Japan and a safely domesticated China.

Panel II: Pre-Meiji Modernity – *Kinsei* Japan in Transition

As pointed out in Stephen Vlastos’ introduction to *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan*, the binaries of pre-modern/modern and static/change are central to the Western concept of modernity, and for many decades, they have been used as a framework for the historiography revolving around the history of *kinsei* — or early modern — Japan. In this scheme, phenomena considered as emanating from endogenous tradition have been opposed to — or considered discontinuous from — modern phenome-

na, when in fact, many processes transcended the Edo-Meiji dividing line, and a number of Meiji trends and dynamics have been at work since the eighteenth century. This panel aims to uncover and bring to light aspects of “pre-Meiji modernity,” or what Olivier Anstert coined in his 2014 book as Japan’s “indigenous modernity.”

We examine pre-Meiji modernity from four different angles – science, foreign relations, economy and politics — while focusing respectively on three different geographical *loci*: Bakufu-controlled Edo and Nagasaki, the south (the Kanmon Straits) and the north (Hokkaidō, the Kurils and Sakhalin). Furthermore, three different periods of the transition between early-modern and modern are put in perspective: an inceptive transition period (the eighteenth century), the middle-period (the turn of the nineteenth century) and a final period (the 1850s and 1860s). In each case we conclude by briefly presenting how these budding signs of modernity influence aspects of Meiji modernity, serving as a *kinsei* legacy in the early *kindai* period. Marie Parmentier’s presentation shows how early perceptions of color, emanating from exogenous Confucianism and Jesuit thought, helped build an endogenous framework to apprehend the modern definition of color as defined by Newton. Noémie Godefroy’s presentation discusses the evolution of geo-strategic stakes and foreign relations in the realm’s northern margins, and the increasing questioning by the scholars of the basis of governance and politics amidst changing international paradigms. Alexandre Roy analyzes evolving economic structures in the Kanmon Straits and subsequent Bakufu political responses, ultimately uncovering the origins of Chōshū autonomy from the Shogunate and its consequences for Japan.

### 1. Scientific Thought in Transition: The Understanding of Color in Early Modern Japan (eighteenth – nineteenth centuries)

Marie Parmentier, University of Toulouse-Jean Jaurès

In the beginning of the Edo period, Kobayashi Kentei (1601-1684) and Mukai Genshō (1609-1677) introduced the Western scientific understanding of Nature in the Aristotelian sense. Later during the Tokugawa period, the renowned works of Aochi Rinsō (1775-1833) and Kawamoto Kōmin (1810-1871) are often considered the ferment of modern Japanese thought in the field of physics. And yet, the period between these two trends is often overlooked, notably regarding the understanding of color as a scientific, physical phenomenon.

I aim to demonstrate how endogenous and exogenous explanations of the physical phenomenon of color, emanating from Confucian, Jesuit and late eighteenth century Dutch thought, made way for the acceptance of the Newtonian scientific definition of color from the beginning of the nineteenth century, through the works of three great eighteenth century scholars: Nishikawa Joken (1648-1724), Maeno Ryōtaku (1723-1803) and Shizuki Tadao (1760-1806). Nishikawa rehabilitated the study of the physical world within the Confucian framework, thus linking the traditional speculative colors (i.e. the Five Colors) to natural phenomena. Later, Maeno Ryōtaku chose to see color as a unique physical phenomenon. Finally, Shizuki Tadao proceeded to make color the main object of study, independently from the study of its natural manifestations — meteorological and natural phenomena — with which it was traditionally associated to.

I will thus shed light upon the creation of a unique and original Japanese framework, constructed with both endogenous and exogenous trends of thought, which would be used by pre-Meiji thinkers from the beginning of the nineteenth century to understand the Newtonian scientific definition of color.

2. Protecting the “Northern Gate” - Changing Paradigms in Foreign Relations and the Inception of Japanese Geostrategic Debates (1770s-1800s)

Noémie Godefroy, Reischauer Institute of Japanese Studies, Harvard

At the end of the eighteenth century, Bakufu and scholars’ concerns about geostrategy and foreign relations were predominantly focused on the convergence of the Japanese and Russian worlds in the Ainu territories. From Moric Benyowsky’s visit to Japan in 1771, scholars start to reflect upon the stance the Bakufu should adopt regarding its newfound neighbor, Russia, and the status of Ezo (present-day Hokkaidō) should have within the realm. In doing so, some of these scholars put into question the Kan’ei edicts, the physiocratic Confucian view of economy and the bakuhan system of governance.

In their groundbreaking works about the Japanese North, a growing number of scholars debated the subject of the opening up foreign relations (*kaikoku*). They reflected on how to answer foreign threat (*jōi*), with an improved maritime defense or the establishment of buffer zones. They discussed the possibility of continental colonization and modernization and evoke the possibility of an enlightened and benevolent central government (*keisei saimin*), of a prosperous country and a strong army (*fukoku kyōhei*), some going as far as to call for a plebiscite to establish a “Great Japanese Empire” (*Dai Nippon teikoku*). Many of these concepts and debates would in fact reach their epitome in the Meiji period.

I present and analyze notable extracts from the works of renowned thinkers or adventitious theorists, such as Miura Baien, Kudō Heisuke, Hayashi Shihei, Nakai Chikuzan, Ōhara Sakingo, Honda Toshiaki and Aizawa Seishisai. Through the study of their pioneering thoughts, I ultimately aim to uncover some of the intellectual bases of modern Japan’s perception of its territory and borders, its regional importance, its foreign relations, and its construction as a nation-state and empire.

3. The Collapse of the Shogunate in the Kanmon Straits: Reexamining the Economic Foundations of Chōshū Domain's Preeminence over the Bakufu in Historical Perspective (1760s-1860s)

Alexandre Roy, Institut National des Langues et des Civilisations Orientales

As early as 1863, Chōshū demonstrated its military defiance of the Bakufu’s authority by firing on Western ships crossing in the key area of the Kanmon Straits. This first step ultimately led to the victory of Chōshū against the Bakufu forces in 1866, once again in the Kanmon Straits. How did Chōshū gain control of these strategic straits when they had been placed under the supervision of Bakufu ally and “gate keeper” Kokura domain ever since the Battle of Sekigahara?

Despite their significance these events are not so well known and they are even less often examined in a long-term perspective. Incorporating the previous research of Albert Craig and Japanese historians as well as additional primary sources, this presentation focuses on how Chōshū domain established superiority in the strategic Kanmon Straits despite centuries of Bakufu attempts to prevent it via the oversight of Kokura. I analyze the economic and geopolitical structures of Chōshū domain from the 1760s to the 1860s, showing how the domain created its own networks independent of the Bakufu, and put in place groundbreaking commercial policies (ultimately leading to a lucrative international contraband) in the region that accumulated important funds and influence which proved decisive in the Bakumatsu period. I conjointly focus on how and why the Bakufu and its ally the Kokura allies failed to adapt to these new dynamics and to a changing foreign relations paradigm.

Panel III: Online Resources of the National Diet Library: An In-Depth Guide Focused on Pre-Modern Materials

The National Diet Library (NDL) offers rich online contents through *NDL Digital Collections* that include over 480,000 titles of modern books, doctoral dissertations, historical sound recordings, pre-modern maps, prints and manuscripts, modern political archives and more. *NDL Search*, its powerful discovery tool, enables us to search and explore the NDL's huge and complex contents. While its digital contents are constantly growing, the functions of *NDL Search* are evolving and connecting digital contents beyond NDL's walls, e.g., all tables of contents of NDL's books acquired before 1968 are fully searchable as text; NDL's pre-modern materials (roughly 300,000 titles) are being digitized and currently 70,000 titles are publicly accessible with detailed bibliographic information; *NDL-OPAC*, NDL's bibliographic portal, provides users with multiple functions such as citation management, direct request for document delivery of journal articles, links to digitized contents whenever available; *NDL Search* is well integrated with another national bibliographic database *CiNii* of NII (National Institute for Informatics) which directly links to the Open Access scholarly contents; contents of JapanKnowledge are searchable and viewable.

Our guide has two parts. The first half is devoted to presentation of NDL's online contents of pre-modern materials in themes such as STEM books, children's books and natural history. The second half introduces research tools that are highly useful and relevant to scholars of pre-modern Japan.

Panel:

Masashi Kosaka, Assistant Director, User Service Planning Division, NDL

Shinichi Tsuchiya, Assistant Director, Library Support Division, NDL

Kuniko Yamada McVey, Librarian for the Japanese Collection, Harvard-Yenching Library and Chair, NCC