

Early Modern Literature

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General Comments

Generally speaking, the history of Japanese literary studies in English can be divided into two stages. The first stage is usually that of translation; the second is that of scholarship. In some cases, translation is preceded by literary histories or more general studies that take up texts that have not been translated. Such is the case of William Aston, *A History of Japanese Literature* (1899), the earliest history of Japanese literature, and Donald Keene's *World Within Walls*.¹ These literary histories have served the function of arousing the interest of readers and potential translators in yet untranslated works. Generally speaking, however, it is the appearance of a translation that sets the stage for scholarship and criticism, particularly in the case of major literary texts such as *The Tale of Genji*, *The Tale of the Heike*, or Noh drama. The translation of *The Tale of Genji* by Edward Seidensticker, for example, provided the foundation for a series of groundbreaking studies on Heian literature (Norma Field, Richard Okada, Haruo Shirane).²

Early modern literary studies have not yet reached the stage found, for example, in Heian literary studies, where almost all the texts are already available and where scholarship spawns scholarship. Instead, we find a situation where translation spawns scholarship or *vice versa*. Thus, it is almost impossible to speak of historical development or trends in scholarship of the kind found, for example, in political or institu-

tional history. This is not to say that the recent scholarship is out of touch with contemporary scholarship. On the contrary, the best scholarship and criticism in early modern literary studies is closely tied to recent trends in Japanese scholarship and contemporary Western literary and cultural theory and is best understood in a context that transcends Western historiography, which is still too thinly dispersed to provide a critical frame.

A number of Western literary studies in the 1950s-1980s consisted of a translation or translations preceded by an extended introduction. Typical examples include Howard Hibbett's *The Floating World in Japanese Fiction*³, which include translations of ukiyo-zoshi by Saikaku and Ejima Kiseki in the latter half of the book. In the 1990s, this format has given way to monographs that are almost entirely concentrated on criticism and scholarship. Nevertheless, the need for much more translation remains, for without translations, the criticism in English has limited meaning. It is analogous to writing art history without access to the art. Unlike the readers of histories, the reader of literary studies needs to see the literary texts to be able to fully appreciate the analysis. One reason that I edited *Early Modern Japanese Literature, Anthology: 1600-1900*⁴ (Columbia University Press, 2002) is that the life of the field depends very much on the ability of the reader to have some sense of the texts in question. That said, it should be noted that early modern texts are notoriously difficult to translate, and frequently do not stand up in translation or make sense in isolation. As a consequence, there remains a need for monographs to appear alongside translations.

The period that has drawn the most interest has been the Genroku period. In the 1950s-60s Donald Keene, Ivan Morris, Howard Hibbett, and other Western scholars translated what are generally considered to be the "big three" of the Genroku period: Matsuo Basho, Ihara Saikaku, and Chikamatsu Monzaemon, who have come to rep-

¹ Aston, W. G., *A History of Japanese Literature*. Rutland, Vt. & Tokyo: Tuttle, 1972 (rept.; 1st pub. 1899); and Keene, Donald, *World Within Walls: Japanese Literature of the Pre-Modern Era 1600-1868*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976.

² Norma Field, *The Splendor of Longing in the Tale of Genji* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); Richard Okada, *Figures of Resistance: Language, Poetry, and Narrating in The Tale of Genji and Other Mid-Heian Texts* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991); Haruo Shirane, *The Bridge of Dreams: A Poetics of The Tale of Genji* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987).

³ Hibbett, Howard S. *The Floating World in Japanese Fiction*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1959.

⁴ Shirane, Haruo, ed. *Early Modern Japanese Literature: An Anthology 1600-1900*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.

resent the major genres of poetry, prose fiction, and drama respectively.⁵ The emphasis on Genroku literature and drama has been so great that I would venture to guess that it surpasses in volume all the work done on texts in the rest of the early modern period. Not only have many of the texts of the “big three” been translated, major monographs have been written on Basho (Makoto Ueda, Haruo Shirane),⁶ Saikaku (Ivan Morris),⁷ and Chikamatsu (Drew Gerstle).⁸

Related to this interest in Genroku literature is the general interest by both scholars and non-specialists in haiku, with enormous attention being paid to a related “big three”: Matsuo Basho, Yosa Buson, and Kobayashi Issa, from the late seventeenth, late eighteenth, and early nineteenth century respectively. This interest in haiku has been driven by the English haiku movement, and as a consequence much of the material, both translations and scholarship, has been published by non-specialists, English haiku poets, whose work is not always very reliable. Nevertheless, it remains a lively area of interest, with direct links to the English-language world. Robert Hass, for example, who was the Poet Laureate of the U.S., wrote and edited a book on Basho, Buson, and Issa for public consumption though he was not a

Japanese specialist.⁹

By contrast, other important genres—particularly waka, *kyōka* (comic waka), *senryū* (comic haiku), *kanshi*, and *kyōshi* (comic Chinese poetry), all of which flourished in the early modern period—remain largely neglected. These genres flourished in the eighteenth century, after the Genroku period. The peak of *kyōka*, *senryū*, and *kyōshi* was in the mid- to late-eighteenth century. These texts need both to be translated and studied. One recent and welcome exception here is a *senryū* anthology edited and translated by Makoto Ueda.¹⁰

Another area that has drawn much interest in the West is kabuki, which begins in Genroku and spans the entire early modern period, and bunraku, puppet theater. In contrast to kabuki, which came to the foreground in the Genroku period and continued to flourish well into the mid-nineteenth century, *yoruri* (chanting to the accompaniment of the samisen and puppets) came to a peak in the mid-eighteenth century and then declined. Furthermore, kabuki continues to be an active genre. The nature of drama studies differs considerably from that of poetry and prose fiction in that most of the scholars are specialists in theater, with an interest in kabuki or *yoruri* as it exists today, as performance. In many cases, the focus has been on the present, on the “living tradition,” rather than on reconstructions of the past. Nevertheless, the relationship between kabuki and popular culture and literature is such that this field should become a major focus of socio-historical studies.

Kokugaku (also *wagaku*, nativist studies), which provided commentary on classical Japanese texts and espoused a nativist philosophy, and Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801), the most notable *kokugaku* leader, have been the object of considerable study, but this field has been dominated by intellectual or political historians, who view *kokugaku* teleologically, in terms of the rise of modern nationalism, or strictly in relationship to

⁵ Donald Keene, tr. *Major Plays of Chikamatsu* (Columbia University Press, 1961), on Chikamatsu; Ivan Morris, tr. *The Life of an Amorous Woman* (NY: New Directions, 1963) and Howard Hibbett, *The Floating World in Japanese Fiction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959) on Saikaku; and Donald Keene, tr., “The Narrow Road of Oku,” in his *Anthology of Japanese Literature: From the Earliest Era to the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (New York: Grove Press, 1955), on Basho.

⁶ Makoto Ueda, *Matsuo Basho: The Master Haiku Poet* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1982); Ueda, Makoto. *Basho and his Interpreters: Selected Hokku with Commentary* (Stanford: Stanford U. Press, 1992). Haruo Shirane, *Traces of Dreams: Landscape, Cultural Memory, and the Poetry of Basho* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997).

⁷ Ivan Morris, *The Life of an Amorous Woman* (NY: New Directions, 1963)

⁸ Donald Keene, *Bunraku, The Art of the Japanese Puppet Theatre* (Tokyo & New York: Kodansha International, 1965); Andrew Gerstle, *Circles of Fantasy: Convention in the Plays of Chikamatsu* (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1986).

⁹ Robert Hass, *The Essential Haiku: Versions of Basho, Buson, and Issa* (Hopewell, N. J., Ecco Press, 1994).

¹⁰ Ueda, Makoto. *Light Verse From the Floating World: An Anthology of Premodern Japanese Senryū*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.

Neo-Confucianism or the ancient studies school, that is to say, in terms of political, religious, or philosophical issues.¹¹ By contrast, there are almost no studies of the early modern waka, which lies at the heart of this movement (Kamo no Mabuchi, one of the founders of *kokugaku*, was first and foremost a major waka poet), or of the philology and literary commentaries, which were the basis for what came to be called "thought." In the early modern period, as in the medieval period, commentary was a major genre of writing and scholarship. Nor has much attention been paid to the innovative work of these scholars (such as Fujitani Mitsue) on language. The *kokugaku* scholars were the first linguists of Japan, but this has been largely overlooked by Western scholars.

There are some anomalous areas, which can not easily be categorized. One of those is Ueda Akinari, the late-eighteenth century *yomihon* (fiction in neo-classical style, drawing heavily on Chinese and classical Japanese sources) writer and *kokugaku* scholar, who has attracted attention for *Ugetsu monogatari*, which has been made into a famous film by Mizoguchi Kenji. Meantime, other noted writers such as Hiraga Gennai have been almost completely neglected, particularly when it comes to published translations.

The great frontiers of scholarship and translation, particularly for prose fiction and poetry, lie in the period from early and middle eighteenth century through the mid-nineteenth century. Of particular interest here is gesaku, popular prose fiction from mid-to-late eighteenth century through the early nineteenth century, which has been the object of study by a handful of scholars (James Araki, Sumie Jones, Leon Zolbrod, and others) but which has so far produced very few monographs.¹² Some of the vast holes in this

body of literature include *dangibon* (comic sermons), which followed the *ukiyo-zoshi*, and preceded the *yomihon* in the mid-eighteenth century, *sharebon* (fiction of the pleasure quarters) in the late-eighteenth century, and *gokan* ("combined" picture books), in the early-nineteenth century. No major works from these genres have been translated, and little has been written in English. *Hanashi-bon* (books of humor), which derive from public oral storytelling, and which differ from *kokkeibon* (comic fiction), have also been completely neglected.

Another major genre that remains unexplored is the *zuihitsu*, meditative writings, which became a major genre in the early modern period, actively carried out by scholars, poets, and artists of all persuasions (Neo-Confucian scholars, *kanshi* poets, *kokugaku* scholars, waka poets, historians, etc.). Even a noted *zuihitsu* such as Matsudaira Sadanobu's *Kagetsu zoshi* (Book of Moon and Blossoms), canonized in Japan from the Meiji period, has not been translated.

While it is difficult to discern recurrent trends in all these different subfields in the postwar era, one could say that post-war scholarship generally began, in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, with the study of authors and major texts (generally speaking, biographical or genre studies), while moving increasingly, in the 1980s and 1990s, to more interdisciplinary studies which eschew more traditional notions of literature in favor of focusing on texts in a broader cultural, economic, social, political, or geographical context. An example of a recent trend is Joshua Mostow's study of the relationship between text and image focusing on the reception of the *Ogura hyakunin isshu* (One Hundred Poems by One Hundred Poets) collection.¹³ Hopefully, we shall see studies that take up issues such as the relationship among print culture, publishing, commodity exchange, and literature, or cross-genre studies such as the study of the relationship between kabuki and prose fiction. These are just some of the possibilities for the future. At the same time, we still continue to

¹¹ Maruyama Masao, *Studies in the Intellectual History of Tokugawa Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974). H.D. Harootunian, *Things Seen and Unseen: Discourse and Ideology in Tokugawa Nativism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

¹² For example, see Araki, James T. "Sharebon: Books for Men of Mode." *Monumenta Nipponica* 24. 1-2 (1969): 31-45, Jones, Sumie Amikura. "Comic Fiction in Japan during the Later Edo Period." Ph.D. dissertation, U. of Washington, 1979, and Zolbrod, Leon M., trans. "The Vendetta of Mr. Fleacatcher Managoro, the Fifth, with

Illustrations by Kitao Shigemasa, and an Introduction." *Monumenta Nipponica* 20.1-2 (1965): 121-134.

¹³ Mostow, Joshua, *Pictures of the Heart: The Hyakunin isshu in Word and Image* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996).

need good translations to pave the way.
(HS)

Poetry

Waka, Choka, Kanshi, and Kyoshi

We can define *haikai* as a verse form consisting of three lines with a 5/7/5 syllable count, or as a series of linked verses consisting of a first verse with a 5/7/5 syllable count, followed by a verse with a 7/7 syllable count, and continuing over several links, most often 36, which is called a *kasen*. Waka, in the form of *tanka*, or "short poems," is a verse form consisting of five lines with a 5/7/5/7/7 syllable count, and serves as the representative poetic form of the Japanese literary tradition, anthologized in twenty-one imperial and countless private collections. *Choka*, or "long poems," follow a sequence of several lines alternating in a 5/7 syllable pattern, and ending with the final two lines in a 7/7 syllable pattern. *Choka* represent an archaic poetic form, found most often in the massive eighth-century anthology, *Man'yoshu*, and *choka* composition proved rare until a revival in the early modern period. *Kanshi*, or "Chinese poetry," and *kyoshi*, "wild" or "deranged" poetry in Chinese, appear throughout Japanese literary history, especially as compositions by men (aristocratic women were expected to be proficient in waka), but over the course of the early modern period, a combination of factors led to an increase in both the numbers of poets working in the Chinese idiom, and in the quality of their production.

As we have seen above, a plethora of translations, studies, and "appreciations" are available in English for *haikai*, or its contemporary form, *haiku*. However, *haikai* was originally considered to be a "zoku," or plebian, form of literary production, while literary elites considered waka and *kanshi* as "ga," or refined, poetic forms. Waka and *kanshi* have not enjoyed the attention given to *haikai*, both in terms of translations, as well as in terms of studies. Even today, most early modern waka translations available are found in a prewar anthology, Miyamori Asataro's *Masterpieces of Japanese Poetry, Ancient and*

Modern.¹⁴ A mere four pages are devoted to 16 examples of early modern *waka* (by six poets) in Donald Keene's *Anthology of Japanese Literature*, Hiroaki Sato and Burton Watson provide selections from Ryokan (1758-1831), 30 *tanka* by Tachibana Akemi (1812-68), and nine *kyoka* ("wild," or humorous *waka*) in their 1981 anthology, *From the Country of Eight Islands*, while Steven Carter, in his 1991 anthology, *Traditional Japanese Poetry*, includes just seven *kyoka*, 12 *waka* by Ryokan, and 23 *waka* by four poets, nine verses of which are by Akemi.¹⁵ If it were not for Keene's 1976 history of "premodern era" (Keene's terminology) Japanese literature, *World Within Walls*, and its three chapters devoted to early modern *waka* and *kyoka*, complete with example translations and discussions of several poets, then Western students and non-specialist scholars would have almost nothing available in English to which they could gain access.¹⁶ Since the 1980s, Peter Nosco has published a study of the important mid-*kinsei* poet and scholar Kada no Arimaro (1706-51) and his poetics, and Roger Thomas has published on the *ba-kumatsu* poet Okuma Kotomichi and others.¹⁷ There has yet to appear in English, however, a single study that treats the Japanese nativist schools of *wagaku* (or *kokugaku*) as primarily a collection of schools of poetics and classical studies, much less a treatise that examines the distinc-

¹⁴ Miyamori Asataro. *Masterpieces of Japanese Poetry, Ancient and Modern*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1970 (2 volumes, reprint of 1936 edition).

¹⁵ Keene, Donald, ed. *Anthology of Japanese Literature: From the Earliest Era to the Mid-Nineteenth Century*. New York: Grove Press, 1955; Sato, Hiroaki and Burton Watson, ed. and trans. *From the Country of Eight Islands: An Anthology of Japanese Poetry*. (Anchor Books) Garden City: Anchor Press, 1981; Carter, Steven, tr. and intro. *Traditional Japanese Poetry: An Anthology*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991.

¹⁶ Keene, Donald. *World Within Walls: Japanese Literature of the Pre-Modern Era 1600-1868*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976.

¹⁷ Nosco, Peter. "Nature, Invention, and National Learning: The *Kokka hachiron* Controversy: 1742-46." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 41.1 (1981): 75-91; Thomas, Roger K. "Okuma Kotomichi and the Re-Visioning of *Kokinshu* Elegance." *Proceedings of the Midwest Association for Japanese Literary Studies* 3 (1997): 160-81.

tions between the various schools of *tosho* (or *dojo*, court-sponsored) poetry, *jige* (officially recognized poetry schools), and other, unofficially organized, movements, including the *wagaku* schools started by Shinto clergy, such as Kada no Azumamaro and Kamo no Mabuchi, or by *chonin* urbanites, such as Murata Harumi in Edo, and Ozawa Roan in Kyoto.

Surprisingly, the situation for poetry in Chinese is somewhat better. In addition to Keene's chapter in *World Within Walls* on "Poetry and Prose in Chinese," there exist at least five book-length translations of Chinese prose and/or poetry composed by Japanese in the early modern period. Premier among these in terms of volume is the 1997 collection by Timothy Bradstock and Judith Rabinovitch, ed. *An Anthology of Kanshi (Chinese Verse) by Japanese Poets of the Edo Period (1603-1868)*.¹⁸ This collection includes selections from 93 poets working in *kanshi*, and six poets composing in the humorous *kyoshi* form. The compilers provide an introduction for each poet, describing his or her life and poetic activities. It is unfortunate, though, that this valuable anthology is priced beyond an affordable level for students or non-specialists to purchase. Burton Watson has published three volumes of early modern *kanshi* translations, *Japanese Literature in Chinese-Volume 2, Kanshi: The Poetry of Ishikawa Jozan and Other Edo-Period Poets*, and *Grass Hill: Poems and Prose by the Japanese Monk Gensei*.¹⁹ Hiroaki Sato has recently compiled and translated *Breeze through Bamboo: Kanshi of Ema Saiko*, the first anthology of Japanese poems in Chinese by a woman to appear in English.²⁰ David Pollack and Andrew Mar-

kus have published essays on comic *kanshi*, or *kyoshi*, which provide something of a starting point for future studies of this important genre.²¹ The next step now is to build on this groundwork with a critical study of *kanshi* in the early modern period, and in-depth studies of various circles and individual poets.

One *kanshi* poet has received inordinate attention in English, the itinerant Zen monk, Ryokan (1758-1831). Several volumes of his verse in Chinese and Japanese have appeared, including those by John Stevens, Burton Watson, and, most recently, Ryuichi Abe and Peter Haskell.²² Ryokan lived a relatively isolated existence in rural Japan, however, and his work was not recognized even by Japanese scholars until the modern period. This falls in stark contrast to the case of Rai San'yo (1780-1832), who exerted enormous influence both during his life and afterward, but who has not enjoyed similar recognition in the West.

(LEM)

Haikai and Haibun

The Western history of poetry in the Tokugawa period has basically been the history of haiku. The Western reception of haiku has been deeply influenced by the the Imagists, who appeared in the 1910s, and the North American haiku movement, which emerged in the 1960s. The Imagists were a small group of English and American poets—Ezra Pound, Amy Lowell, D. H. Lawrence, William Carlos Williams, H.D., John Gould Fletcher, F.S. Flint, and others—who worked together in London in the early 20th century, especially between 1912 and 1914, and whose poetry was to have a profound influence on the devel-

¹⁸ Bradstock, Timothy and Judith Rabinovitch tr. and ed. *An Anthology of Kanshi (Chinese Verse) by Japanese Poets of the Edo Period (1603-1868)*. Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1997.

¹⁹ Watson, Burton. *Grass Hill: Poems and Prose by the Japanese Monk Gensei*. New York: Columbia UP, 1983. Watson, Burton. *Kanshi: The Poetry of Ishikawa Jozan and Other Edo Period Poets*. San Francisco: North Point Press, 1990. Watson, Burton, trans. *Japanese Literature in Chinese: Volume 2, Poetry and Prose in Chinese by Japanese Writers of the Later Period*. New York and Guildford: Columbia University Press, 1976.

²⁰ Sato, Hiroaki, trans. *Breeze through Bamboo: Kanshi of Ema Saiko*. New York and Chichester: Columbia University Press, 1998.

²¹ Pollack, David. "Kyoshi: Japanese 'Wild Poetry'." *Journal of Asian Studies* 38 (1979): 499-517. Markus, Andrew. "Domyaku Sensei and 'The Housemaid's Ballad' (1769)." *HJAS* 58.1 (1998): 5-58.

²² Stephens, John tr. *One Robe, One Bowl: The Zen Poetry of Ryokan*. New York: John Weatherhill, Inc., 1977. Watson, Burton. *Ryokan: Zen Monk-Poet of Japan*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1977. Yuasa, Nobuyuki. *The Zen Poems of Ryokan*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981. Abe, Ryuichi and Peter Haskell. *Great Fool: Zen Master Ryokan - Poems, Letters, and Other Writings, Translated with Essays by Ryuichi Abe and Peter Haskell*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996.

opment of T.S. Eliot, Wallace Stevens, and other major 20th-century poets. The Imagists stressed concentration, directness, precision, and freedom from metrical laws, and gravitated toward a single, usually visual, dominant image, or a succession of related images. Pound also stressed the notion of juxtaposition, especially sharp contrasts in texture and color.

During the 1950s, America suddenly took an avid interest in Japanese culture and religion, especially Zen Buddhism and haiku. Alan Watts, Daisetz T. Suzuki, the San Francisco poets, the Beats (in New York)—especially Jack Kerouac's *The Dharma Bums*, a best-selling novel centered on a protagonist (modeled on Gary Snyder) who composes haiku—and American scholar-translators such as Donald Keene contributed to the popular interest in haiku, but most of all it was R. H. Blyth, Kenneth Yasuda, and Harold Henderson, who wrote a series of books—a four-volume work called *Haiku* by Blyth, Yasuda's *The Japanese Haiku: Its Essential Nature, History, and Possibilities in English*, and Henderson's *An Introduction to Haiku: An Anthology of Poems and Poets from Basho to Shiki*—that generated widespread fascination with haiku and set the stage for a North American English haiku movement, which flourished in the 1960s and continues to this day.²³

Following Pound and the Imagists, Blyth focused on the "concrete thing," but without the "intellectual and emotional complex" that has interested Pound. For Blyth, haiku was the poetry of "meaningful touch, taste, sound, sight, and smell," "the poetry of sensation"—as opposed to that of thought and emotion. Furthermore, Blyth, coming under the spell of D.T. Suzuki's view of Zen, believed that reading and composing haiku was a spiritual experience in which poet and nature were united. Zen, which becomes indistinguishable from haiku in much of Blyth's writing, was "a state of mind in which we are not

separated from other things, are indeed identical with them, and yet retain our own individuality. . . . Haiku is the apprehension of a thing by a realization of our own original and essential unity with it." This view of haiku as a spiritual subject/object fusion had a profound impact on subsequent Western reception of haiku. In *The Japanese Haiku: Its Essential Nature, History, and Possibilities in English*, Kenneth Yasuda, like Blyth before him, stressed the "haiku moment" when the poet reaches "an enlightened, Nirvana-like harmony" and the "poet's nature and environment are unified." In Yasuda's view, the haiku poet also "eschews metaphor, simile, or personification."

Harold Henderson's *An Introduction to Haiku: An Anthology of Poems and Poets from Basho to Shiki*, an updated version of an earlier book called *The Bamboo Room* from the 1930s, provided a major stimulus to the North American haiku movement, which emerged in the 1960s. In contrast to Blyth and Yasuda, Henderson did not regard haiku as a spiritual or aesthetic experience and downplayed the notion of Zen illumination. Instead, he drew attention to the "overtones," the highly suggestive quality of good haiku, the techniques of condensation and ellipsis, and stressed the importance of the reader, who works by the process of association. Unlike Yasuda, who believed that the haiku should have only one focal point, Henderson drew attention to the role of the cutting word (*kireji*), which divided the haiku in half, creating two centers and often generating what he called the "principle of internal comparison," an implicit comparison, equation, or contrast between two separate elements—a dynamic that he saw as a major characteristic of Basho's poetry.

As this brief overview of Anglo-American reception suggests, haiku has been largely conceived as the poetry of the object (particularly small things), of "sensation," and of the moment. There has also been a strong tendency to treat the haiku in a spiritual context or in an autobiographical, personal mode, especially as "haiku experience." By stressing the unity of the poet and the object, writers such as Blyth and Yasuda transformed the "impersonality" that the Imagists stressed into a highly subjective, personal moment, closely tied to the spiritual state of the

²³ Blyth, Reginald H. *Haiku*. 4v. Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1949-52, Henderson, Harold G. *An Introduction to Haiku: An Anthology of Poems and Poets from Basho to Shiki*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1958, and Yasuda, Kenneth. *The Japanese Haiku: Its Essential Nature, History, and Possibilities in English, with Selected Examples*. Rutland, Vt. and Tokyo: Tuttle, 1957.

poet. Indeed, Western scholars have tended to regard Basho as an autobiographical, confessional poet, as a part of a larger literary and cultural tradition that gives priority to "truth," "fact," and "sincerity."

The state of the field was significantly altered by the work of Makoto Ueda who produced the first modern scholarly study of Basho in English, *Matsuo Basho: The Master Haiku Poet*.²⁴ Here and in a number of related essays, Ueda not only provided a biographical context for Basho's work, he examined the different genres that Basho was engaged in, going beyond the *hokku* (haiku) to analyze linked verse (haikai), *haibun* (haikai prose), and *hairon* (haikai theory), thereby paving the way for future research. In 1992, Ueda made yet another major contribution, in his book *Basho and his Interpreters: Selected Hokku with Commentary*, which was the first book to translate commentaries (modern and early modern) on specific poems, thus revealing the wide range of possibilities for reading Basho's haiku.²⁵

In *Traces of Dreams: Landscape, Cultural Memory, and the Poetry of Basho* (Stanford University Press, 1997), Haruo Shirane brings together the issues of language, landscape, cultural memory, and social practice through a reassessment of haikai, particularly that of Basho and his disciples, which he sees as emerging from the engagement between the new commoner culture and earlier literary texts, which haikai parodied, transformed, and translated into the vernacular.²⁶ Shirane explores the notion of "haikai imagination," the seemingly paradoxical co-existence of different textual and perceptual planes—figurative and literal, monologic and dialogic, referential and parodic, objective and subjective, personal and impersonal, metaphorical and metonymical, representation and collage—multiple planes made possible in large part by the fundamental haikai assumption that the meaning of the text is relative and dependent on its context,

²⁴ Ueda, Makoto, *Matsuo Basho: The Master Haiku Poet*. Tokyo: Kodansha, 1982.

²⁵ Ueda, Basho and his Interpreters: Selected Hokku with Commentary. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992.

²⁶ Shirane, Haruo, *Traces of Dreams: Landscape, Cultural Memory, and the Poetry of Basho*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997.

which is subject to constant change.

One of the most striking aspects of Basho studies in the West has been the overwhelming interest in *Oku no hosomichi*. There have been a number of translations, which range from the haiku poet Cid Corman's experimental *Back Roads to Far Towns*, to Dorothy Britton's *A Haiku Journey: Basho's Narrow Road to a Far Province*, to Donald Keene's translation, *The Narrow Road to Oku*, and Helen McCullough's translation in her *Classical Japanese Prose: An Anthology*. Most recently Hiroaki Sato has come out with another translation, using one-line translations of the *hokku*. Each of these has sought out a different aspect of the text.²⁷

For example, in one section, Basho and his companion Sora encounter a pair of courtesans (*yujo*) on a pilgrimage, but reject the women's plea to serve as their traveling companions. Corman's translation, preserving the ellipses and tense changes of the original Japanese, provides a direct, stream-of-consciousness effect on the reader. "'Unfortunately we often like to take detours. Just follow anyone going your way. Surely the gods will protect you and see you safely through,' words lift them on leaving, but felt sorry for them for some time after" (section 41). McCullough desires to provide a translation that attempts to be both faithful to the original and at the same time readable in English. She translates, "'I sympathize with you, but we'll be making frequent stops. Just follow others going to the same place; I'm sure the gods will see you there safely.' We walked off without waiting for an answer, but it was some time before I could stop feeling sorrow for them" (p. 545). Sato's translation attempts to remain as faithful as possible, while at the same time ex-

²⁷ Corman, Cid and Kamaike Susumu trans., *Back Roads to Far Towns*. New York: Mushinsha/Grossman, 1968; Britton, Dorothy trans., *A Haiku Journey: Basho's Narrow Road to a Far Province*. Tokyo: Kodansha, 1980; Keene, Donald, trans., *The Narrow Road to Oku*. New York: Kodansha International, 1996; McCullough, Helen, trans., "The Narrow Road of the Interior." In Helen McCullough comp. and ed., *Classical Japanese Prose: An Anthology*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990: 522-551; Sato, Hiroaki, *Basho's Narrow Road*. Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press, 1996; also, Hamill, Sam, trans. *Narrow Road to the Interior*. Boston: Shambhala, 1991.

ploiting the lyricism of the original. "However, I had to tell them: 'We sympathize with your plight, but we stop in many places. You should go along following the others as they go. With the Sun Goddess's protection, all should go well.' And so we left. Nevertheless, sadness did not cease for quite some time" (p. 111). Each translation, imagining a different potential readership, enhances one aspect of the text while downplaying other possible readings.

Buson's haikai appears in all the major English anthologies of Japanese poetry. Some more focused examples include Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkokai ed., *Haikai and Haiku*, which includes hokku and his *washi* (Japanese-Chinese poetry) and Sawa Yuki and Edith M. Shiffert's *Haiku Master Buson*.²⁸ Some of the best translations and explications appear in Makoto Ueda's recent study *The Path of Flowering Thorn: The Life and Poetry of Yosa Buson* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1998).²⁹ As in his book on Basho, Ueda takes a biographical approach, while at the same time exploring Buson's interests in a variety of art forms. (Ueda, however, does not deal with Buson as a visual artist, as the composer of *haiga*, or haikai paintings, which were a critical part of his career as a *bunjin*, or Chinese-styled literati.) Leon Zolbrod also wrote a series of articles on Buson and unfortunately passed away before publishing his book on Buson.³⁰ Other important

²⁸ Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkokai, ed., *Haikai and Haiku*. Tokyo: Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkokai, 1958; Sawa, Yuki and Edith M. Shiffert, *Haiku Master Buson*. San Francisco: Heian International, 1978.

²⁹ Ueda, Makoto. *The Path of Flowering Thorn: The Life and Poetry of Yosa Buson*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.

³⁰ Zolbrod, Leon M., "Buson's Poetic Ideals: The Theory and Practice of Haikai in the Age of Revival, 1771-1784." *Journal of the Association of Teachers of Japanese* 9.1 (1974): 1-20; Zolbrod, "Death of a Poet-Painter: Yosa Buson's Last Year, 1783-84." In Saburo Ota and Rikutarō Fukuda, *Studies on Japanese Culture*, Vols. I and II. Tokyo: Japan P.E.N. Club, 1973: I:146-54; Zolbrod, "Emblems of Aging and Immortality in the Poetry and Painting of Buson (1716-1784)," in *Selecta: Journal of the Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages* 7 (1986): 26-31; Zolbrod, "Talking Poetry: Buson's View of the Art of Haiku." *Literature East and West* 15-16 (1971-1972): 719-34; Zolbrod, "The Busy Year: Buson's Life and Work, 1777." *The Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 3 (1988): 53-81.

essays on Buson include Mark Morris, "Buson and Shiki."³¹

Of the three famous early modern haiku masters (Basho, Buson, and Issa), Kobayashi Issa (1763-1827) is perhaps the most popular among English haiku poets. He is easily translated and his works are easily accessible. Basho and Buson, by contrast, rely heavily on Chinese or classical Japanese allusions, which escape English readers. His major prose works have also been translated, most notably *Journal of My Father's Last Days* (*Chichi no shuen nikki*) and *The Year of My Life* (*Oraga ga haru*), and have proved to be popular among North American audiences³². Lewis Mackenzie has also translated many of Issa's texts in *The Autumn Wind*.³³

A word should be said here about *haibun*, or haikai prose, a major prose genre pioneered by Matsuo Basho. Considerable work has been done on *Oku no hosomichi*, perhaps the most famous work of *haibun*. Haruo Shirane's *Traces of Dreams* looks at *Oku no hosomichi* as a form of *haibun* rather than, as many earlier scholars and translators have, as simply a form of travel diary. Much work, however, remains to be done with *haibun* after *Oku no hosomichi*. Basho's disciples compiled a number of *haibun* anthologies, and the genre prospered into the modern period. The only translation/study of post-Basho *haibun* is Lawrence Rogers's work on Yokoi Yayu's *Uzuragoromo*.³⁴

(HS)

Senryu and Kyoka

Almost all the attention to early modern poetry has been focused on haiku. There has been, how-

³¹ Morris, Mark, "Buson and Shiki." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 44, No.2 (1984-5).

³² See Huey, Robert N., "Journal of My Father's Last Days: Issa's *Chichi no Shuen Nikki*," *Monumenta Nipponica*, 39.1, 1984, and Yuasa, Nobuyuki trans., *The Year of My Life: A Translation of Issa's Oraga Haru* (University of California Press, 1960; also Hamill, Sam, trans. *The Spring of My Life and Selected Haiku*. Boston & London: Shambhala, 1997.

³³ Mackenzie, Lewis trans., *The Autumn Wind*. London: John Murray, 1957.

³⁴ Rogers, Lawrence, "Rags and Tatters: The *Uzuragoromo* of Yokoi Yayu." *Monumenta Nipponica*, No. 34, 1979.

ever, some work on *senryu*, the seventeen syllable comic haiku, mainly as a result of the general interest in haiku. In contrast to haiku, which generally requires a seasonal word and a cutting word and tends to be serious poetry related to nature, *senryu* requires neither the seasonal word nor the cutting word and focuses instead on the human condition and often provides satire of contemporary society. R. H. Blyth, who was one of the pioneers of haiku, took a serious interest in *senryu* and wrote a series of books—including *Edo Satirical Verse Anthologies* and *Japanese Life and Characters in Senryu*—and articles in the 1950s and 1960s, in which he advocated the value of *senryu* as an alternative or complement to haiku.³⁵ Though poets of English haiku have taken a serious interest in *senryu* (often more suited to English haiku, which has a hard time with the seasonal word) and regularly use this genre, relatively little has been done in English scholarship or translation until recently, with the publication of Makoto Ueda's recent anthology of *senryu*, which should do much to vitalize the study of this genre.³⁶

Kyōka, or comic waka, which came into prominence in the late-eighteenth century, has been by contrast almost entirely neglected. Except for a handful of translations in large poetry anthologies, such as Watson and Sato's *Eight Islands*, Geoffrey Bownas and Anthony Thwaite, *The Penguin Book of Japanese Verse*, and Steven Carter's *Anthology of Japanese Poetry*, there are hardly any translations, not to mention serious studies.³⁷

(HS)

³⁵ Blyth, Reginald H., *Edo Satirical Verse Anthologies*. Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1961, and Blyth, *Japanese Life and Characters in Senryu*. Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1961.

³⁶ Ueda, Makoto, *Light Verse From the Floating World: An Anthology of Premodern Japanese Senryu*, Columbia University Press, 1999.

³⁷ Sato, Hiroaki, and Burton Watson, ed. and trans., *From the Country of Eight Islands: An Anthology of Japanese Poetry*. Garden City: Anchor Press, 1981; Bownas, Geoffrey, and Anthony Thwaite, *The Penguin Book of Japanese Verse*. New York: Viking Penguin, 1986; Carter, Steven, *Traditional Japanese Poetry: An Anthology*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991.

Narrative Fiction

General Comments

As mentioned in the General Comments above, the state of the field for narrative fiction outside of Saikaku, for whom more studies and translations exist than any other author, is basically open for anyone interested in doing some work. Currently, Saikaku himself seems to be on a kind of island, neither preceded by any significant kana-zoshi writers (of whom Asai Ryōi stands out in particular), nor flanked by any contemporaries or followers, with the exception of Ejima Kiseki, on whom work was done a half century ago by Howard Hibbett.³⁸ In Japan, new editions of kana-zoshi and ukiyo-zoshi by less-well-known authors have been appearing in recent years, both in the *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* compendium (for which fully 40 of the 100 total volumes features early modern texts), and in the unannotated but still valuable *Sosho Edo bunko* (50 volumes).³⁹ Aside from Hachimonjiya publishing house writers, Kiseki and Jisho, the names of Miyako no Nishiki, Nishizawa Ippu, and Tada Nanrei come to mind as fertile ground for research and translation that will place Saikaku in a context he does not currently have. Nanrei, a Shinto intellectual figure, especially plays an important role as a bridge to later writers, such as Tsuga Teisho and Ueda Akinari. Among dangibon "sermonizers," not only is Hiraga Gennai currently absent from the field, his appearance makes little sense without study of the lives and works of such predecessors as Masuho Zanko, Issai Chozan, and Jokambo Koa. Gennai's pre-

³⁸ Hibbett, Howard. *The Floating World in Japanese Fiction*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1959.

³⁹ Satake Akihiro, et al. *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei*. 100 volumes + indices. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989-; Takada Mamoru and Hara Michio, ed. *Sosho Edo bunko*. 50 volumes. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankokai, 1987-2002.

mier disciple, Morishima Churyo (Shin-ra Manzo) expanded Gennai's oeuvre even further, and deserves as much scholarly attention as Gennai himself.

(LEM)

Kana-zoshi and Ukiyo-zoshi

Kana-zoshi (literally, "books in *kana*") was the prose fiction genre that flourished in the first half of the seventeenth century, prior to the rise of *ukiyo-zoshi* in the Genroku period. Some representative pieces have been translated. Two are parodies of Heian classical texts (*Makura no soshi* and *Ise monogatari*): *Inu makura*, by Edward Putzar ("Inu makura: The Dog Pillow.") and *Nise monogatari*, by Jack Kucinski ("A Japanese Burlesque: *Nise Monogatari*").⁴⁰ Another popular *kana-zoshi* that has been translated in part is *Chikusai monogatari*, by Edward Putzar ("Chikusai monogatari: A Partial Translation").⁴¹

But there are almost no studies of this genre as a whole. The only extended study are a 1957 article by Richard Lane ("The Beginnings of the Modern Japanese Novel: *Kana-zoshi*, 1600-1682." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, No. 20, 1957) and an entry in Keene's *World Within Walls*.⁴²

The most extensive translation and research in early modern prose fiction has been with regard to Ihara Saikaku (1642-1693). With the exception of *Koshoku ichidai otoko*, his first work of prose fiction, which exists in a poor translation, almost all of Saikaku's major works have been translated into English, and in many instances we have more than one good translation. In the 1950's, Richard Lane, who did a dissertation on Saikaku at Columbia University, did a series of articles and translations on Saikaku.⁴³ This was followed

in the early 1960s by Ivan Morris, who published *The Life of an Amorous Woman*, which included not only a translation of *Life of an Amorous Woman* but selections from other major works including *Five Women Who Chose Love*, and *Reckonings That Carry Men Through the World* (*Seken munesan'yo*).⁴⁴ Other noteworthy translations include Caryl Ann Callahan's translation of *Bukegiri monogatari*, *Tales of Samurai Honor*, Wm. Theodore de Bary's *Five Women Who Loved Love*, Robert Leutner's "Saikaku's Parting Gift—Translations From *Saikaku Okimiyage*", and G. W. Sargent's *The Japanese Family Storehouse or the Millionaire's Gospel Modernized*, an excellent translation of *Nippon eitaigura*.⁴⁵ Another noteworthy translation is Paul Schalow's *The Great Mirror of Male Love* (Stanford UP, 1990), a translation of *Nanshoku okagami*.⁴⁶ Christopher Drake is completing a translation of *Koshoku*

Renaissance." Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia U., 1957; Lane, "Saikaku's Prose Works; A Bibliographical Study." *Monumenta Nipponica* 14 (1958): 1-26; Lane, "Saikaku and Boccaccio; The Novella in Japan and Italy." *Monumenta Nipponica* 15.1-2 (1959-60): 87-118; Lane, "Saikaku and the Japanese Novel of Realism." *Japan Quarterly* 4 (1957): 178-188; Lane, "Saikaku and the Modern Japanese Novel." In *Japan's Modern Century*. Tokyo: Sophia U., 1968: 115-132; Lane, trans., "Three Stories from Saikaku." *Japan Quarterly* 5 (1958): 71-82. ["How the flea escaped his cage"; "Wild violets may be plucked free, but for a courtesan you need hard cash"; "They thought him no different from the grubs."]; Lane, trans., "Two Samurai Tales; Romance and Realism in Old Japan." *Atlantic* 195 (1955): 126-27; Lane, trans., "The Umbrella Oracle." in Donald Keene ed. *Anthology of Japanese Literature*. NY: Grove Press, 1955: 354-356.

⁴⁴ Morris, Ivan, trans., "The Eternal Storehouse of Japan." "Five Women Who Chose Love," "Life of an Amorous Woman," *Reckonings That Carry Men Through the World*. In Ivan Morris trans., *The Life of an Amorous Woman and Other Writings*. New York: New Directions, 1963.

⁴⁵ Callahan, Caryl Ann, *Tales of Samurai Honor*. Tokyo: Monumenta Nipponica, 1981; de Bary, Wm. Theodore, trans., *Five Women Who Loved Love*. Rutland, Vt. and Tokyo: Tuttle, 1956; Leutner, Robert. "Saikaku's Parting Gift—Translations From Saikaku Okimiyage." *MN* 30.4 (1975): 357-391; and Sargent, G.W., trans. *The Japanese Family Storehouse or the Millionaire's Gospel Modernized*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959.

⁴⁶ Schalow, Paul Gordon, *The Great Mirror of Male Love*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990.

⁴⁰ Putzar, Edward, "Inu makura: The Dog Pillow." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 28 (1968): 98-113; Rucinski, Jack. "A Japanese Burlesque: *Nise Monogatari*." *Monumenta Nipponica* 30.1 (1975): 39-62.

⁴¹ Putzar, Edward, trans., "Chikusai monogatari: A Partial Translation." *Monumenta Nipponica* 16 (1960-61): 161-195.

⁴² Lane, Richard, "The Beginnings of the Modern Japanese Novel: *Kana-zoshi*, 1600-1682." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 20 (1957): 644-701.

⁴³ Lane, Richard, "Postwar Japanese Studies of the Novelist Saikaku." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 18 (1955): 181-99; Lane, "Saikaku: Novelist of the Japanese

ichidai otoko, Saikaku's first work of prose fiction and the first *ukiyo-zoshi*.

Despite the large number of translations, the scholarship has tended to be limited to explications of the socio-historical context of Saikaku's works, with particular emphasis on his *chonin* background and the commercial world that he inhabited. One exceptional article, which was important in Japan and should draw more attention in the West, is that by Noma Koshin, "Saikaku's Adoption of *Shuko* from *Kabuki* and *Joruri*," which reveals the manner in which Saikaku borrowed and parodied dramatic techniques (such as the *michiyuki*) from *kabuki* and *joruri* for his fiction.⁴⁷ Saikaku awaits a major monograph in English.

Little has been done in the area of post-Saikaku *ukiyo-zoshi*, commonly referred to as *Hachimonjiya-bon*. The only significant work are the translations of Ejima Kiseki (1667-1736) by Howard Hibbett (*The Floating World in Japanese Fiction*, 1959), whose 1950 Harvard University dissertation was on Kiseki, and Charles Fox ("Old Stories, New Modes: Ejima Kiseki's *Ukiyo Oyaji Katagi*". Hibbett translated selections from Ejima's *Seken musuko katagi* (*Characters of Worldly Young Men*, 1715) and *Seken musume katagi* (*Characters of Worldly Young Women*, 1717), and Fox translated selections from *Ukiyo oyaji katagi* (*Characters of Worldly Fathers*).⁴⁸

Dangibon and Early Kokkeibon

Another major lacuna in Edo prose fiction is the *dangibon* (comic sermons) and early *kokkeibon* (comic fiction) written in Edo from the mid-eighteenth century, particularly the work of the monumental figure of Hiraga Gennai (1728-1779), who wrote two masterworks, *Furyu Shi-*

doken den (*The Modern Life of Shidoken*) and *Nenashigusa* (*Rootless Weeds*), as well as the comic essay *Hohiron* (*A Theory of Farting*). There have been several Ph. D. dissertations on the subject, but none of these has been published.⁴⁹ Fortunately, *Early Modern Japanese Literature, An Anthology* includes major selections from Gennai, who is a writer on the order of Ihara Saikaku and Ueda Akinari, but still obscure in Western scholarship.⁵⁰

(HS)

Later Fiction

Gesaku. Virtually all fictional prose narratives written after 1750 are categorized into one of several subgenres of "*gesaku*," sometimes translated as "frivolous works" or "playful writings." The term derives from the fact that narrative fiction was considered base and vulgar, and members of the *bushi*, or samurai class, were especially discouraged from reading such works, much less writing them. Nevertheless, many of the most active *gesaku* writers came from samurai ranks, and samurai, as well as other classes, appear prominently in the pages of these works.

Gesaku is one of the areas in which *World Within Walls* provides little discussion, in spite of the fact that more publishing of *gesaku* works occurred in the last century of the early modern period than in any other field. Haruko Iwasaki's essay "The Literature of Wit and Humor in Late-Eighteenth-Century Edo," in Donald Jenkins' *The Floating World Revisited* (1993) provides one of the few extended discussions of *gesaku* available in English.⁵¹ Iwasaki's recognition of *sekai* ("world") and *shuko* ("trope") as factors making

⁴⁷ Noma, Koshin. "Saikaku's Adoption of *Shuko* from *Kabuki* and *Joruri*." *Acta Asiatica* 28. (1975): 62-83.

⁴⁸ Hibbett, Howard S., Jr., *The Floating World in Japanese Fiction*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1959. Includes translations of "A Prig", "A Rake", "A Spendthrift", "A Swaggerer", and "A Worthless Trio" from *Characters of Worldly Young Men*. (*Seken musuko katagi*, 1715), as well as "A Wayward Wife" from *Characters of Worldly Young Women*. (*Seken musume katagi*, 1717). Fox, Charles E., "Old Stories, New Modes: Ejima Kiseki's *Ukiyo Oyaji Katagi*." *Monumenta Nipponica* 43.1 (1988): 63-93.

⁴⁹ Probably the best of these are Stanleigh Jones, "Scholar, Scientist, Popular Author, Hiraga Gennai, 1728-1780," Ph.D. dissertation (Columbia University, 1971), and Sumie Jones, "Comic Fiction in Japan during the Later Edo Period," Ph.D. dissertation (University of Washington, 1979).

⁵⁰ Shirane, Haruo, ed. *Early Modern Japanese Literature: An Anthology 1600-1900*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.

⁵¹ Iwasaki, Haruko. "The Literature of Wit and Humor in Late-Eighteenth-Century Edo." In Jenkins, Donald. *The Floating World Revisited*. Portland: Portland Art Museum, 1993, distributed by University of Hawai'i Press: 47-61.

up *gesaku* structure provides a starting point for future research in *gesaku* across the lines of the various subgenres. Finally, a pair of essays by the premier scholar of *gesaku* in Japan today, Nakano Mitsutoshi, attempts to generate interest in early modern literature, especially *gesaku*, from the perspective of its radical "dissimilarity" to the literature of other periods, and from the perspective of the interplay between word and image, especially in the 1770s and 1780s.⁵²

Yomihon. Yomihon (literally, "reading books") are distinct from other forms of *gesaku* in several ways. For one thing, their illustrations were limited to frontispieces, or to one or two illustrations per volume, while the other *gesaku* subgenres depended heavily on a sophisticated blend of image and text in their works. Furthermore, yomihon were generally historical in nature. For this reason Leon Zolbrod, in a 1966 article, referred to the yomihon as "historical novels."⁵³ Since Zolbrod's article, practically nothing has appeared in English on yomihon as a general form, in spite of the fact that the two major writers of the final century of the early modern era, Ueda Akinari and Kyokutei Bakin, are remembered today for their yomihon works.

Yomihon are not a monolithic form. Given the fact that they originated in the Kamigata (Kyoto-Osaka region) in the mid-eighteenth century, but developed in Edo from the 1790s through the 1840s, we cannot expect uniformity. Basically, *yomihon* are divided into the early *yomihon*, centered in the Kamigata region and represented by Tsuga Teisho and Ueda Akinari, and the Edo *yomihon*, represented by Santo Kyoden and Kyokutei Bakin. Recently, the Japanese scholar Takagi Gen has conducted extensive work in a subgenre called the *Chubongata yomihon*, a

subgenre of the Edo *yomihon*, which are lighter in style and smaller in size, and so were less expensive to produce, yet retained the relative stature of their larger counterparts.⁵⁴ No research is available in English on this subgenre, and, aside from Leon Zolbrod's work on Bakin, including his 1967 monograph, next to nothing has been published on the Edo *yomihon* in general.⁵⁵

Ueda Akinari and his works are a different matter. Translations of *Ugetsu monogatari* (1776) made up some of the first articles to appear in *Monumenta Nipponica*, and Akinari-related articles and translations have continued to appear in that journal on a regular basis.⁵⁶ *Ugetsu monogatari* itself has been translated in whole or in part several times, starting with Koizumi Yakumo's (Lafcadio Hearn's) "Of a Promise Kept" (*Kikka no chigiri*) and "The Story of Kogi the Priest" (*Muo no rigyo*) in *A Japanese Miscellany* (1905) up to William F. Sibley's "The Blue Cowl" (*Aozukin*) in *Partings at Dawn: An Anthology of Japanese Gay Literature* (1996).⁵⁷ The "standard" translation of *Ugetsu monogatari* to date, though, is Leon Zolbrod's *Ugetsu monogatari: Tales of Moonlight and Rain* (1974).⁵⁸ Perhaps inspired by Mizoguchi Kenji's 1953 film of the same name, and even a

⁵⁴ Takagi, Gen. *Edo yomihon no kenkyu: jukyū-seiki shosetsu yoshiki ko*. Tokyo: Perikan Sha, 1995.

⁵⁵ Zolbrod, Leon M. *Takizawa Bakin*. New York: Twayne, 1967.

⁵⁶ Saunders, Dale tr. "Ugetsu Monogatari or Tales of Moonlight and Rain." *MN* 21 (1966): 171-202; Araki, James T. "A Critical Approach to the 'Ugetsu Monogatari'." *Monumenta Nipponica* 22 (1967): 49-64; Chambers, Anthony tr. "Hankai: A Translation from *Harusame Monogatari* by Ueda Akinari." *MN* 25.3-4 (1970): 371-406; Washburn, Dennis. "Ghostwriters and Literary Haunts: Subordinating Ethics to Art in *Ugetsu Monogatari*." *Monumenta Nipponica* 45.1 (1990): 39-74; Fessler, Susanna. "The Nature of the Kami: Ueda Akinari and *Tandai Shoshin Roku*." *MN* 51.1 (1996): 1-16.

⁵⁷ Hearn, Lafcadio. *A Japanese Miscellany: Strange Stories, Folklore Gleanings, Studies Here and There*. Rutland, Vt. and Tokyo: Tuttle, 1967 (reprint of 1905 original); Sibley, William F., trans. "The Blue Cowl [*Aozukin*]." In Steven D. Miller, ed. *Partings at Dawn: An Anthology of Japanese Gay Literature*. San Francisco: Gay Sunshine Press, 1996: 125-33.

⁵⁸ Zolbrod, Leon M., trans. *Ugetsu Monogatari: Tales of Moonlight and Rain*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1974.

⁵² Nakano, Mitsutoshi. "Revising Edo." *The Japan Foundation Newsletter* 21-1 (1993): 1-8; Ibid. "Hard-boiled Survivors of the Edo Studies Boom." *Japanese Book News* (Japan Foundation) 18 (1997): 3-5. (Reprinted as "The Edo Period as an Antidote to Modernism: A Plea for Accepting the Tokugawa Age on Its Own Terms." *The East* 33-6 (1998): 20-22).

⁵³ Zolbrod, Leon. "Yomihon: The Appearance of the Historical Novel in Late Eighteenth Century and Early Nineteenth Century Japan." *Journal of Asian Studies* 25 (1966): 485-498.

jazz composition by Art Blakey, "Ugetsu" (Blakey believed that "ugetsu" was the Japanese translation for "fantasy"), recorded in concert in Tokyo in 1961, Sasaki Takamasa created a limited-edition translation in 1981 that attempts to recreate Akinari's prose in a style attempting to emulate Shakespeare's.⁵⁹ While Sasaki's translation falls short of its goal, it provides an example of the range of possibilities available when translating early modern literary texts. Akinari's other major collection of historical narratives, *Harusame monogatari* (1805-09; unpublished until modern times), has also received quite a bit of attention, with translations of the longest story in the collection, "Hankai," by Anthony Chambers in 1970, Blake Morgan Young in 1972, and its inclusion in Barry Jackman's complete translation, *Tales of the Spring Rain: Harusame Monogatari by Ueda Akinari* in 1975.⁶⁰ Jackman's translation is especially helpful in that it provides an alternative translation of parts of "Hankai" based on a variant manuscript.

Several scholars have done critical studies on Akinari and his work. Young's 1982 biography is a detailed study of Akinari's life and major work, and provides a starting point for future studies.⁶¹ James T. Araki in 1967 provided the first "critical approach" (in his words) to *Ugetsu monogatari*, identifying the relationship between the text and Chinese vernacular sources.⁶² Another important study that links *Ugetsu monogatari* to Akinari's nativist scholarship is Dennis Washburn's 1990 "Ghostwriters and Literary Haunts: Subordinating Ethics to Art in *Ugetsu Monogatari*."⁶³ In 1999, Noriko R. Reider conducted a useful comparative study of one of the

stories in *Ugetsu monogatari* with its Chinese source.⁶⁴ Given Akinari's breadth, a comparative approach that also takes in the intellectual trends of the time seems most promising. The ongoing publication of Akinari's collected works in Japan provides scholars with accurately transcribed texts, and first-rate introductions to those texts, that promise to open up a new era of Akinari scholarship, both in Japan and abroad.⁶⁵ This is especially important with regard to his many other untranslated works that demand careful analysis.

Akinari, like Hiraga Gennai and Buson, is considered a representative *bunjin*, or bohemian individualist, of the eighteenth century. Another *bunjin*, Takebe Ayatari, was a contemporary who associated with Akinari, and probably Gennai. Lawrence E. Marceau has completed a study of his life and many of his literary and artistic works from the *bunjin* perspective, due to appear from the Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan.⁶⁶ One of Ayatari's important works was translated from the perspective of the "star-crossed-lovers" motif by Blake Morgan Young in 1982.⁶⁷ As a polymath, active in a number of genres, Ayatari attracts our scholarly interest, perhaps more for his literary, artistic, and scholarly relationships during the eighteenth century than for the quality of his prose.

The first writer of later *yomihon* published in Edo is Santo Kyoden. Jane Devitt produced a Harvard dissertation in 1976, and subsequently an article in *HJAS* in 1979, but other than these two items, little else is available.⁶⁸ Another *yomihon*

⁵⁹ Sasaki Takamasa tr. *Ueda Akinari's Tales of a Rain'd Moon*. Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1981.

⁶⁰ Chambers: 1970; Young, Blake M. "'Hankai': A Tale from the *Harusame monogatari* by Ueda Akinari (1734-1809)." *HJAS* 32 (1972): 150-207; Jackman, Barry, trans. *Tales of the Spring Rain: Harusame Monogatari by Ueda Akinari*. Tokyo: Japan Foundation, 1975.

⁶¹ Young, Blake Morgan. *Ueda Akinari*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1982.

⁶² Araki, James T. "A Critical Approach to the 'Ugetsu Monogatari'." *Monumenta Nipponica* 22 (1967): 49-64.

⁶³ Washburn, Dennis. "Ghostwriters and Literary Haunts: Subordinating Ethics to Art in *Ugetsu Monogatari*." *Monumenta Nipponica* 45.1 (1990): 39-74.

⁶⁴ Reider, Noriko R. "'Chrysanthemum Tryst': Remaking a Chinese Ghost Story in Japan." *Sino-Japanese Studies* 12-1, November 1999: 33-46.

⁶⁵ Nakamura Yukihiko, et al., ed. *Ueda Akinari zenshu*. 13 vols., *Bekkan*, 1 v. Tokyo: Chuo Koron Shinsha, 1990-.

⁶⁶ Marceau, Lawrence Edward. "Literati Consciousness in Early Modern Japan: Takebe Ayatari and the *Bunjin*." Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1990. The published study is entitled, *Takebe Ayatari: A Bunjin Bohemian in Early Modern Japan*. Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, in press.

⁶⁷ Young, Blake Morgan, trans. "A Tale of the Western Hills: Takebe Ayatari's *Nishiyama Monogatari*." *Monumenta Nipponica* 37.1 (1982): 77-121.

⁶⁸ Devitt, Jane Crawford. "Santo Kyoden and the *Yomihon: Mukashi-gatari inazuma byoshi*." Ph.D.

author for whom more work is necessary is Ishikawa Masamochi, also famous in his youth as the *kyōka* poet, Yadoya no Meshimori, and, in retirement, as a scholar of the classics and classical language. Frederick Victor Dickens published in 1912 a translation of Masamochi's *Hida no takumi monogatari* (1808), which Tuttle reissued under the title, *The Magical Carpenter of Japan*, but no other works or studies have been published to provide a greater sense of this talented and prolific Edo writer, poet, and scholar.⁶⁹

The major figure of the Edo *yomihon*, Takizawa Bakin, wrote under the sobriquet, Kyokutei Bakin. The scholar who did the most work on Bakin is Leon Zolbrod, not only completed a biography, but also published three articles on Bakin's representative work, *Nanso Satomi Hakken den*, as well as translation of a Bakin *kibyoshi*.⁷⁰ Zolbrod's 1967 biography provides a good starting point for any number of studies and translations of Bakin, his milieu in Edo, and his works.⁷¹ As a literary critic, Bakin is extremely important, and a study with selective translations of his series of critical comments on early modern *gesaku* authors, *Kinsei mono no hon Edo sakusha burui* (1834), would be a

valuable contribution to the field.⁷²

Kusazoshi (Akahon, Kurohon/Aohon, Kibyoshi, Gokan), Sharebon, Ninjobon, and Kokkeibon. *Kusazoshi*, sometimes referred to as "grass booklets," represent popular fiction, in which illustrations of the narrative are equal in importance to the text itself. *Akahon* ("red books") and *kurohon/aohon* ("black books/blue books") appeared in the first half of the eighteenth century, with children as the intended audience. The subject matter for these works, identified by the color of their covers, tended to focus on legends, fairy tales, and similar stories that children and their mothers would have desired to read. On the other hand, adults overwhelmingly made up the readership of *kibyoshi* ("yellow-covers") and *gokan* ("combined fascicles"). *Kibyoshi* consisted of short illustrated narratives that often parodied contemporary life in innovative ways. Some 1000 titles were published over the period between 1775 and 1805, or over thirty titles annually. *Gokan* appeared after the decline of *kibyoshi*, and expanded the possibilities of the genre through publication in bundles of five booklets, instead of the two or three for *kibyoshi*, and through serialization, whereby a particular work might continue appearing in annual installments over a period of years, and even decades in some of the most successful cases. *Sharebon* ("fashionable books"), while cast as fictional narratives, through the wealth of detail they contained often provided valuable information to people who wished to know details of life in the pleasure quarters, including fashions, insider slang terms, differences between various courtesans, and other matters related to a successful experience as a customer visiting the quarters. *Kokkeibon*, or "humor books," consisted of humorous narratives and focused on the foibles of comic characters and the earthy side of everyday life, both in the metropolis of Edo, and in the provinces. Finally, *ninjobon*, or "books of human emotion," arose after the demise of the *sharebon*, and generally focused on the intricacies of the often complex relationships between courtesans and their customers. These genres represent the most popu-

dissertation, Harvard University, 1976; Devitt, "Santo Kyoden and the *yomihon*." *HJAS* 39.2 (1979): 253-74.

⁶⁹ Dickens, Frederick Victor, trans. *The Magical Carpenter of Japan, by Rokujiu-yen (Ishikawa Masamochi)*. Rutland, Vt. & Tokyo: Tuttle, 1965 (reprint of 1912 ed. entitled, *Story of a Hida Craftsman*).

⁷⁰ Zolbrod, Leon M. "Tigers, Boars, and Severed Heads: Parallel Series of Episodes in Eight 'Dogs' and Men of the Marshes." *Chung Chi Journal* 7 (1967): 30-39; Zolbrod, "The Autumn of the Epic Romance in Japan: Theme and Motif in Takizawa Bakin's Historical Novels." *Literature East and West* 14.2 (1970): 172-184; Zolbrod, "The Allegory of Evil in Satomi and the Eight 'Dogs'." In Katushiko Takeda, *Essays on Japanese Literature*. Tokyo: Waseda University Press, 1977: 76-94; Zolbrod, trans. "The Vendetta of Mr. Fleacatcher Managoro, the Fifth, with Illustrations by Kitao Shigemasa, and an Introduction." *Monumenta Nipponica* 20.1-2 (1965): 121-134.

⁷¹ Zolbrod, Leon. *Takizawa Bakin*. New York: Twayne, 1967.

⁷² Kimura Miyogo, ed. *Kinsei mono no hon Edo sakusha burui*. Tokyo: Yagi Shoten, 1988.

lar forms of narrative fiction in the early modern period, and, as such, are invaluable sources for understanding popular culture, especially the dynamic lifestyles of the inhabitants of the Edo metropolis itself.

In spite of the plethora of subgenres, few articles, and fewer books have appeared on these subjects. The only work on *kusazoshi* in general is Leon Zolbrod's 1968 "Kusazoshi: Chapbooks of Japan."⁷³ The major work to date among any book-length studies is Andrew Markus's masterful *The Willow in Autumn: Ryutei Tanehiko, 1783-1842*, a 1993 biography of Ryutei Tanehiko, author of the massive episodic novel in fully illustrated *gokan* form, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*.⁷⁴ James Araki broke the ground in studies of *sharebon* with his 1969 *MN* article, "Sharebon: Books for Men of Mode," while Peter Kornicki provided a study of the Kansei-era crackdown on satirical fiction, one that brought an end to *sharebon* and *kibyoshi* as they had existed in the 1780s, with his 1977 *MN* article, "*Nishiki no ura*: An Instance of Censorship and the Structure of a *sharebon*."⁷⁵ The best published study of *kibyoshi* so far has been James Araki's highly entertaining study of a Chinese Taoist motif and its transformation in Japanese popular fiction, "The Dream Pillow in Edo Fiction: 1772-81" in *MN*, 1970.⁷⁶ More specific studies along the lines of Araki's would go far toward providing an appreciation of the quality and level of sophistication of illustrated fiction, especially during the An'ei and Temmei eras (1772-89). With regard to *kokkeibon*, only Robert Leutner's partial translation of and introduction to Shikitei Samba's *Ukiyo-buro, Shikitei Sanba and the Comic Tradition in Edo Fiction* (1985), and Thomas Satchell's

idiosyncratic translation of Jippensha Ikku's *Tokai dochu Hizakurige* (reprinted) are available.⁷⁷ Finally, *ninjobon* romances of the early-nineteenth century, based in the pleasure quarters, are represented by Alan S. Woodhull's 1978 Stanford Ph.D. dissertation, "Romantic Edo Fiction: A Study of the *Ninjobon* and Complete Translation of 'Shunshoku Umegoyomi'."⁷⁸ Tamenaga Shunsui, the author, is another major figure in his own right, and his position in the world of *ninjobon* writing in particular, and Tenpo-era (1830-43) literary circles in general, demands our attention.

(LEM)

Early Modern Drama

There are a number of general introductions and surveys of Japanese theater that devote significant space to kabuki and joruri. They should be noted here since some of these are often just as useful as the more specialized studies or translations. These include Karen Brazell, ed., *Traditional Japanese Theater: An Anthology of Plays* (Columbia UP, 1998), an extremely well conceived anthology of which 259 pages are devoted to kabuki and joruri.⁷⁹ Other noteworthy general introductions include Peter Arnott's *The Theatres of Japan* (St. Martin's Press, 1969), Faubian Bowers's *Japanese Theatre* (Hill and Wang, 1959), Kawatake Toshio's *A History of Japanese Theatre II: Bunraku and Kabuki* (Kokusai bunka shinkokai, 1971), and Benito Ortolani's *The Japanese Theatre: From Shamanistic Ritual to Contemporary Pluralism* (Princeton University Press, 1995).

⁷³ Zolbrod, Leon M. "Kusazoshi: Chapbooks of Japan." *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 10 (1968): 116-147.

⁷⁴ Markus, Andrew Lawrence. *The Willow in Autumn: Ryutei Tanehiko 1783-1842*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Council on East Asian Studies, 1993.

⁷⁵ Araki, James T. "Sharebon: Books for Men of Mode." *Monumenta Nipponica* 24. 1-2 (1969): 31-45; Kornicki, Peter F. "*Nishiki no ura*: An Instance of Censorship and the Structure of a *sharebon*." *Monumenta Nipponica* 32.2 (1977): 153-188.

⁷⁶ Araki, James T. "The Dream Pillow in Edo Fiction, 1772-81." *Monumenta Nipponica* 25.1-2 (1970): 43-105.

⁷⁷ Leutner, Robert. *Shikitei Sanba and the Comic Tradition in Edo Fiction*. Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1985; Satchell, Thomas, trans. *Shanks' Mare: Being a Translation of the Tokaido Volumes of Hizakurige, Japan's Great Comic Novel of Travel & Ribaldry*. Rutland, Vt. and Tokyo: Tuttle, 1960 (first pub., 1929).

⁷⁸ Woodhull, Alan S. "Romantic Edo Fiction: A Study of the *Ninjobon* and Complete Translation of 'Shunshoku Umegoyomi'." Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1978.

⁷⁹ Brazell, Karen, ed. *Traditional Japanese Theater: An Anthology of Plays*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998.

Puppet Theater

The field of *yoruri* (present-day bunraku) or puppet theater was pioneered by Donald Keene, whose 1952 Ph. D. dissertation was on Chikamatsu Monzaemon's *The Battles of Coxinga*, the most famous of Chikamatsu Monzaemon's historical plays (*jidaimono*).⁸⁰ Donald Shively, in *The Love Suicide at Amijima*, soon after wrote a study and translation of Chikamatsu's most noted contemporary play (*sewamono*).⁸¹ Eventually Keene went on to translate ten *sewamono* (contemporary or domestic plays) by Chikamatsu in *Major Plays of Chikamatsu*, which introduced the diversity of Chikamatsu's plays to the world and laid the ground for all subsequent studies.⁸² A major turning point in the state of the field occurred in 1986 when Andrew Gerstle published *Circles of Fantasy: Convention in the Plays of Chikamatsu*, which looked for the first time in English not only at the content and social and religious context but at the musical structure of the *yoruri* play.⁸³ Gerstle drew subtle parallels between the musical structure of the plays and the larger narrative movement (such as the downward spiral toward hell). Gerstle went on to write a series of articles on the notion of tragedy, murder, and the role of the protagonist, particularly in the later Chikamatsu history plays that Keene had not translated, thereby opening up yet more ground for understanding the breadth of Chikamatsu's vast repertoire.

What many consider to be the "golden age" of the puppet theater occurred in the mid-eighteenth century, after the death of Chikamatsu and the development of the three-person puppet. These were longer, more elaborate multi-authored plays. The "big three" of the "golden age" were *Kanadehon Chushingura*, translated by Donald

Keene as *Chushingura: The Treasury of Loyal Retainers*, *Sugawara denju tenarai kagami*, translated by Stanleigh Jones as *Sugawara and the Secrets of Calligraphy*, and *Yoshitsune senbonzakura*, translated by Stanleigh Jones as *Yoshitsune and the Thousand Cherry Trees: A Masterpiece of the Eighteenth-Century Japanese Puppet Theater*.⁸⁴ All three were written by Takeda Izumo II (1691-1756), who was ranked by some contemporaries as the equal of Chikamatsu, in collaboration with Namiki Senryu and others. With the exception of *Chushingura*, these plays are rarely performed in their entirety but key scenes from these plays are regularly performed in both bunraku and kabuki. The English reader thus has full access to these plays, which are deserving of more specialized study.

One of the interests of bunraku, is of course the puppets, their construction, their costumes, their wigs, their manipulation, and the training of the puppeteers. The roles of the shamisen and the musicians is also extremely important. In *Bunraku: The Art of the Japanese Puppet Theater*, Donald Keene provides both commentary and full-size photographs on these topics.⁸⁵ Two other beautifully illustrated books on this topic are Barbara Adachi's *Backstage at Bunraku* and *The Voices and Hands of Bunraku*.⁸⁶

Kabuki

Kabuki has attracted the attention of Western audiences from as early as the Meiji period, but it was understood almost entirely as performance, with little attempt to translate the texts. The

⁸⁰ Keene, Donald L. "'The Battles of Coxinga': Chikamatsu's Puppet Play, Its Background and Importance." Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1952.

⁸¹ Shively, Donald H., trans. *The Love Suicide at Amijima*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953.

⁸² Keene, Donald, trans. *Major Plays of Chikamatsu*. Columbia University Press, 1961.

⁸³ Gerstle, C. Andrew. *Circles of Fantasy: Convention in the Plays of Chikamatsu*. [Harvard East Asian monographs, 116] Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1986.

⁸⁴ Keene, Donald, trans., *Chushingura: The Treasury of Loyal Retainers*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1971; Jones, Stanleigh H., Jr., trans. *Sugawara and the Secrets of Calligraphy*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985; Jones, trans. *Yoshitsune and the Thousand Cherry Trees: A Masterpiece of the Eighteenth-Century Japanese Puppet Theater*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.

⁸⁵ Keene, Donald. *Bunraku, The Art of the Japanese Puppet Theatre*. Tokyo & New York: Kodansha International, 1965.

⁸⁶ Adachi, Barbara Curtis. *The Voices and Hands of Bunraku*. Tokyo: Kodansha, 1978, also Tokyo: Mobil Sekiyu Kabushiki-gaisha, 1978; and Adachi, *Backstage at Bunraku: A Behind the Scenes Look at Japan's Traditional Puppet Theater*. New York: Weatherhill, 1985. (revised version of Adachi 1978).

first major breakthroughs in the postwar period came with the translations done by James Brandon and Samuel Leiter, who each produced an anthology of noted kabuki plays. Brandon's *Kabuki: Five Classic Plays* contains famous scenes from *Sukeroku*, *Saint Narukami*, *Chronicle of the Battle of Ichinotani*, *Love Letter From the Licensed Quarter*, and *The Scarlet Princess of Edo*.⁸⁷ Leiter's *The Art of Kabuki: Famous Plays in Performance* contains noted scenes from *Benten kozo*, *Sugawara's Secrets of Calligraphy*, *Shunkan*, and *Naozumurai*.⁸⁸ Both anthologies, which have established a kind of canon for Western readers, take representative plays ranging from the early-eighteenth century to the late-nineteenth century and provide highly detailed stage instructions and photographs.

One important group of kabuki plays are the *Kabuki juhachiban* (Eighteen Plays of Kabuki), a canon established by Ichikawa Danjuro VII, of Edo kabuki, in the 1830s. Though some of these eighteen plays have been translated—such as *Sukeroku* (Brandon), *Narukami* (Brandon) and *Kanjincho* (Adolphe Scott), and *Ya no ne* (Laurence Kominz)—most of these plays are not yet available in English.⁸⁹ Brandon and Leiter are now editing a multi-volume series of translations of kabuki that include many of the eighteen plays and that should dramatically alter the state of the field as a whole.⁹⁰

It is well known that there is a close relationship between kabuki and *yoruri*. Many of the plays in the kabuki repertoire, particularly in the mid-eighteenth century, when kabuki was in decline, were derived from *yoruri*. Indeed, the three great *yoruri* plays of the mid-eighteenth cen-

ture—*Kanadehon Chushingura*, *Sugawara denju tenarai kagami*, and *Yoshitsune senbonzakura*—became three of the foundations for the kabuki repertoire. Brandon and Leiter have translated a number of noted scenes from the kabuki adaptations of *yoruri* (such as the noted "Temple School" scene from *Sugawara denju tenarai kagami*) and famous scenes from *Chronicle of the Battle of Ichinotani* and *Shunkan*.

Western scholars have produced a number of fine historical studies that examine the contemporary socio-political milieu of the theater, the life of the actors, the conventions of kabuki, the nature of the audience, and the structure of the theaters. Particularly noteworthy are James Brandon, William Malm, and Donald Shively's *Studies in Kabuki: Its Acting, Music, and Historical Context* and Laurence Kominz's *The Stars Who Created Kabuki*, an outstanding study of early kabuki, especially Ichikawa Danjuro and Sakata Tojuro.⁹¹ Earle Ernst's *The Kabuki Theatre* remains perhaps the best all-around study of the historical milieu of kabuki.⁹² Also recommended is Andrew Gerstle, "Flowers of Edo: Eighteenth-Century *Kabuki* and Its Patrons."⁹³

Of the two forms, kabuki and *yoruri*, kabuki has been more active and continues to grow. New plays continue to be written for kabuki, which is performed regularly at a number of venues. Kabuki actors are major stars, and can appear in television, film, and theater. By contrast, the number of performances of *yoruri* remains limited, the troupes are government supported, and there are very few new *yoruri* plays. One consequence is that the interest in kabuki is more extensive both in Japan and in the West. Not surprisingly, the primary interest of Western research on kabuki remains with contemporary kabuki, on the plays as they are performed today. The transla-

⁸⁷ Brandon, James R., ed. & tr. *Kabuki: Five Classic Plays*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992. Reprint of Harvard University Press edition. (1975).

⁸⁸ Leiter, Samuel L.. *The Art of Kabuki: Famous Plays in Performance*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979.

⁸⁹ Scott, Adolphe. Gen'yadana: *A Japanese Kabuki Play and Kanjincho: A Japanese Kabuki Play*. Tokyo: Hokuseido, 1953; and Kominz, Laurence. "Ya no Ne: The Genesis of a Kabuki *Aragoto* Classic." *Monumenta Nipponica*, 38.4, 1983: 387-407.

⁹⁰ Brandon, James R., and Samuel L. Leiter. *Kabuki Plays on Stage*. 5 volumes. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002-.

⁹¹ Brandon, James R., William P. Malm, and Donald H. Shively. *Studies in Kabuki: Its Acting, Music, and Historical Context*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1978; and Kominz, Laurence. *The Stars Who Created Kabuki*. Tokyo & New York: Kodansha International, 1997.

⁹² Ernst, Earle. *The Kabuki Theatre*. New York: Grove Press, 1956.

⁹³ Gerstle, C. Andrew. "Flowers of Edo: Eighteenth-Century *Kabuki* and Its Patrons." *Asian Theatre Journal* 4.1 (1987): 52-75.

tions of kabuki, particularly those by Brandon and Leiter, are consequently filled with minute stage instructions based on modern performances, enough to allow for a director to perform the play in English. However, this rarely makes for good reading as literature. The teacher instead must teach kabuki strictly as performance, with the aid of video or film, which remain scarce and difficult to obtain. In short, this is an area that needs to be developed: a video library of kabuki with English subtitles.

Two major nineteenth century kabuki playwrights to receive attention from Western scholars are Tsuruya Nanboku IV (1755-1829), known for his drama of thieves, murderers, pimps, and swindlers, and Kawatake Mokuami (1816-93). Brandon includes Nanboku's *The Scarlet Princess of Edo* (1817) in his anthology. Karen Brazell's anthology includes a fine translation by Mark Oshima of Nanboku's *Tokaido Yotsuya kaidan*. Famous scenes from Mokuami's most famous play, *Benten kozo*, are also included in Leiter's anthology. Other plays by Mokuami include *The Love of Izayoi and Seishin*, translated by Frank Motofuji.⁹⁴ Both of these major playwrights deserve to have full-length studies in English.

A helpful sourcebook in English is Samuel Leiter's *Kabuki Encyclopedia*, which has been extensively revised and expanded, and published as *New Kabuki Encyclopedia*.⁹⁵ We are also fortunate to have an English translation of the most important treatise on kabuki acting, *Yakusha banashi*, which has been translated by Charles Dunn and Bunzo Torigoe as *The Actors' Analects* (Columbia UP, 1969).⁹⁶

(HS)

Literary Thought (Excluding *Hairon* and Drama Theory): Confucian and Nativist Studies

Literary thought in the early modern period underwent a course of development in conjunction with developments in socio-political and religious thought in general. From the narrowly didactic views of literature proposed by Confucian scholars such as Hayashi Razan and Yamazaki Ansai and their schools in the seventeenth century through the reinterpretations of the Chinese and Japanese classics by Ito Jinsai and Ogyu Sorai, and, later, by Kamo no Mabuchi and Motoori Norinaga in the eighteenth century, to the use of literature as a means of indirectly criticizing the political status quo by Takizawa (Kyokutei) Bakin, Hagiwara Hiromichi, and Hirose Tanso in the nineteenth century, we can discern a range of trends and strategies for legitimizing literary activity.

From this perspective, it is of course essential to have a familiarity with Confucian thought, especially as it was reformulated in the Southern Sung dynasty by Chu Hsi and the Ch'eng brothers, and how these teachings were interpreted by Yi Toegye in sixteenth-century Korea. It is also necessary to be aware of the thought of the Ming philosopher Wang Yang-ming, and its relationship to Yomeigaku and Shingaku in Japan. Finally, one should be aware of the teachings of the disparate schools, later identified as sharing *kogaku*, or "ancient learning," tendencies, promoted by Yamaga Soko in Edo, Ito Jinsai in Kyoto, and Ogyu Sorai, also in Edo.

Several major studies of early modern Japanese thought, by Wm. Theodore de Bary and Irene Bloom, H. D. Harootunian, Tetsuo Najita, Naoki Sakai, Victor Koschmann, Herman Ooms, Janine Sawada, and others, have appeared over the past quarter century.⁹⁷ They have, with

⁹⁴ Motofuji, Frank T., trans. *The Love of Izayoi and Seishin: A Kabuki Play by Kawatake Mokuami*. Rutland, VT: Tuttle, 1966. (*Kosode Soga azami no ironui*)

⁹⁵ Leiter, Samuel L. *New Kabuki Encyclopedia*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997.

⁹⁶ Dunn, Charles and Bunzo Torigoe. *The Actors' Analects*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1969 [trans. of *Yakusha banashi*].

⁹⁷ For example, Najita, Tetsuo and Irwin Scheiner eds. *Japanese Thought in the Tokugawa Period, 1600-1868: Methods and Metaphors*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978; Ooms, Herman. *Tokugawa Ideology: Early Constructs, 1570-1680*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985; Harootunian, H.D. *Things Seen and Unseen: Discourse and Ideology in Tokugawa Nativism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988; Sakai, Naoki. *Voices of the Past: The Status of Language in*

varying degrees of success, provided readers with some tools for understanding intellectual trends, and, to a lesser extent, for comprehending the literary thought that served as a pillar of the various ideological systems promoted over this period.

With regard to translations of theoretical texts, little work has been done to date. *Sources of Japanese Tradition, Volume II* provide brief translations of works by various thinkers of the period, but these are typically not directly related to literary thought *per se*.⁹⁸ Donald Keene's *World Within Walls* in many cases provides the only discussion of the thought promoted by various writers.⁹⁹ Keene's observations require extensive amplification, reinterpretation, and critical examination based on a close reading, both of primary sources, and of the growing body of research on early modern Japanese poetics that continues to appear in Japan (such as the excellent series of essays found in the *kinsei* volumes [1996] of the *Iwanami koza Nihon bungaku shi* series).¹⁰⁰

One intellectual historian who has examined some of the literary issues involved is Peter Nosco, who, in 1981, analyzed the important *Kokka hachiron*, or "Eight Treatises on (Japanese) National Poetry," controversy between Kada no Arimaro and Tayasu Munetake (joined later by

Kamo no Mabuchi).¹⁰¹ Study of such "debates" can prove fruitful toward understanding poetic preferences from within a culture, and Roger Thomas successfully broke new ground in 1994 with an article on the "*ga/zoku*" controversy that waged between followers of Kagawa Kageki in Kyoto, and the "Edo faction" (*Edo-ha*) led by Murata Harumi and Kato Chikage in the first decade of the nineteenth century.¹⁰² Other disputes exist, most notably the heated argument that waged between Ueda Akinari in Osaka and Motoori Norinaga in Matsusaka in the late 1780s, known as the *Kagaika* Controversy. While both Peter Nosco and Blake Morgan Young, Akinari's biographer, have discussed this controversy, a full examination has yet to appear.¹⁰³

Nosco's book-length study of nativist studies, *Remembering Paradise*, approached the movement from a perspective of "nostalgia" and archaic utopianism.¹⁰⁴ Nosco surveys the movement from Keichu in Osaka in the 1690s through Kada no Azumamaro in Kyoto, Mabuchi, and finally Norinaga until the latter's death in 1801. Given the fact that all five of the main nativist scholars were known for their poetry, each leaving at least one published anthology of his poems (*kashu*) behind, many of the issues Nosco raises in his study might profitably be re-examined from a perspective that focuses on such literary issues as the development of alternative schools of poetry composition and their relationships with the publishing industry at that time.

Nosco, and Naoki Sakai, in his *Voices of the Past* (1991), identified the *Man'yoshu* and *Man'yo* studies in the early modern period as a convenient angle for examining the literary

Eighteenth-Century Japanese Discourse. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991; De Bary, Wm. Theodore, and Irene Bloom, ed. *Principle and Practicality: Essays in Neo-Confucianism and Practical Learning*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1979; Sawada, Janine Anderson. *Confucian Values and Popular Zen: Sekimon Shingaku in Eighteenth-Century Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993; and Koschmann, J. Victor. *The Mito Ideology: Discourse, Reform, and Insurrection in Late Tokugawa Japan, 1790-1864*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1987.

⁹⁸ Tsunoda, Ryusaku, Wm. Theodore de Bary, and Donald Keene, comp. *Sources of Japanese Tradition, Volume II*. New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1958, 1964 (paper).

⁹⁹ Keene, Donald. *World Within Walls: Japanese Literature of the Pre-Modern Era 1600-1868*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976.

¹⁰⁰ Kubota Jun, et al., ed. (*Iwanami koza*) *Nihon bungaku shi*. Volumes 7-11. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1996.

¹⁰¹ Nosco, Peter. "Nature, Invention, and National Learning: The *Kokka hachiron* Controversy: 1742-46." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 41.1 (1981): 75-91.

¹⁰² Thomas, Roger K. "'High' versus 'Low': The *Fude no Saga* Controversy and Bakumatsu Poetics." *Monumenta Nipponica* 49 (1994): 455-69.

¹⁰³ Young, Blake Morgan. *Ueda Akinari*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1982.

¹⁰⁴ Nosco, Peter. *Remembering Paradise: Nativism and Nostalgia in Eighteenth-Century Japan*. Harvard Yenching Monograph series 31. Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1990.

thought of various scholars.¹⁰⁵ Much more detail is necessary, though, to provide a clear understanding of what roles the *Man'yoshu* (or the *Kokinshu* or the *Shin-kokinshu*, for that matter) actually played, and how those roles changed over the course of the period.

Early modern scholarly and critical interest in the Heian classics, such as the *Ise monogatari* and the *Genji monogatari* also serve as potential subjects of fruitful research. The 1971 dissertation by Thomas Harper on Norinaga's *Genji monogatari Tama no ogushi* (pub. 1794), complete with English translation of the "Omune" ("General Theory") section, has for three decades now served as an important starting point for many students, both of early modern literary thought, and of *Genji* studies alike.¹⁰⁶ Hopefully this study will be published, or perhaps a future study can take Norinaga's literary thought to the next level, and examine its development, its origins, and its reception.

In a 1985 essay translated by Bob Wakabayashi, Noguchi Takehiko examined the use of *Genji monogatari* by the nineteenth-century scholar Hagiwara Hiromichi (1815-63).¹⁰⁷ More recently, Patrick Caddeau has produced a substantial Ph. D. thesis on Hiromichi and his poetics.¹⁰⁸ Publication of Caddeau's study will go far to help fill in the gaps in our understanding on the relationships between Chinese and Japanese literary thought, and between nativist poetics and nineteenth-century *yomihon* fiction.

The major development in early-modern use of *Genji monogatari* by an intellectual figure, however, is James McMullen's 1999 monograph, *Ide-*

alism, Protest, and the Tale of Genji, a masterful study of *Genji* in Kumazawa Banzan's thought.¹⁰⁹ McMullen's analysis is marked by clarity of thought, rigorous attention to factual detail, and clarity of argument. Scholarship such as this provides a standard of quality that future students in the field can use when judging their own work.

Many important Japanese Confucian scholars dealt with literary issues in their writings, and such treatises served both to enhance literary discourse among Confucians themselves, and also to provide nativist-leaning scholars with new tools for developing their own poetics. Joseph J. Spae wrote a treatise on Ito Jinsai in the 1940s that appeared in reprinted form in 1967.¹¹⁰ John Allen Tucker has recently published a translation and study of one of Jinsai's most important works, *Go-Mo jigi* ("Meanings of Words in the *Analects* and the *Mencius*").¹¹¹ However, the only article to date that examines the relationship between Jinsai's school, especially Jinsai's notion of human emotions, and the *Shih ching*, or *Book of Songs*, is Lawrence Marceau's study found in the journal *Sino-Japanese Studies*.¹¹² As for Sorai and his literary thought, Sumie Jones published an essay in Earl Miner's *Principles of Classical Japanese Literature* (1985), in which she related Sorai's literary thought with Hiraga Gennai's creative practice.¹¹³ Sorai influenced many more writers than Gennai, though, and their indebtedness to Sorai and his followers demands further examination. In this respect, Samuel Yamashita has published a useful translation of the *Sorai sensei tomonsho*, (*Master Sorai's Re-*

¹⁰⁵ Sakai, Naoki. *Voices of the Past: The Status of Language in Eighteenth-Century Japanese Discourse*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991.

¹⁰⁶ Harper, Thomas James. "Motoori Norinaga's Criticism of the *Genji monogatari*: A Study of the Background and Critical Content of His *Genji monogatari Tama no ogushi*." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1971.

¹⁰⁷ Noguchi, Takehiko; Bob T. Wakabayashi, trans. "The Substratum Constituting Monogatari: Prose Structure and Narrative in the *Genji Monogatari*." Earl Miner, ed. *Principles of Classical Japanese Literature*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1985. Pp. 130-50.

¹⁰⁸ Caddeau, Patrick W. "Hagiwara Hiromichi's '*Genji monogatari hyoshaku*': Criticism and commentary on '*The Tale of Genji*'." Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1999.

¹⁰⁹ McMullen, James. *Idealism, Protest, and The Tale of Genji*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999.

¹¹⁰ Spae, Joseph J. *Ito Jinsai: A Philosopher, Educator and Sinologist of the Tokugawa Period*. (rept.) New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 1967.

¹¹¹ Tucker, John Allen. *Ito Jinsai's Gomo Jigi & the Philosophical Definition of Early Modern Japan*. Leiden: Brill, 1998.

¹¹² Marceau, Lawrence E. "Ninjo and the Affective Value of Literature at the Kogido Academy." *Sino-Japanese Studies* 9/1 (November 1996): 47-55.

¹¹³ Jones, Sumie. "Language in Crisis: Ogyu Sorai's Philological Thought and Hiraga Gennai's Creative Practice." In Earl Miner, ed., *Principles of Classical Japanese Literature*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985: 209-256.

sponsals).¹¹⁴
(LEM)

Early Modern Books and Publishing

This is not only a field that raises important issues in its own right, but it is one in which Western scholars can provide a unique contribution to the field, given the strong collections of illustrated books (*ehon*) that survive outside of Japan. David Chibbett, with his 1977 survey, *A History of Japanese Books and Printing*, and Matthi Forrer, with his 1985 study of an important publisher, *Eirakuya Toshiro: Publisher at Nagoya*, broke ground in this respect.¹¹⁵ Jack Hillier has provided a massive compendium of *ehon* with his 1987 *The Art of the Japanese Book*, and has followed through with several other studies in book illustration and woodblock picture books.¹¹⁶ C. H. Mitchell's 1972 biobibliography of illustrated books is an indispensable reference, and it is a great shame that this is out of print and difficult to find.¹¹⁷ Henry D. Smith II published a comparison of the publishing worlds in Paris and Edo respectively, that underscores the great diversity and momentum that publishing enjoyed in the early modern period.¹¹⁸ Finally, Peter Kornicki's 1998 *The Book in Japan* serves as a cornerstone that will continue to be valuable for dec-

ades to come for future work in the field.¹¹⁹

Conclusion

Briefly, the current state of early modern Japanese literature studies in Western languages is one of nearly unlimited opportunity. Not only does much basic identification of works, individuals, and movements still need to be done, but comparative studies of Japanese literature *vis à vis* Chinese (and Korean) literature can help provide a context from within the East Asian cultural sphere. The fact that many narratives, especially *yomihon*, owe a great deal to continental Asian fiction makes it imperative that continued research on literature and literary thought in early modern Japan take continental Asian writings into account. Only a few scholars at Ph.D.-granting programs are currently active in training the next generation of scholars, so much responsibility for active publication falls on the shoulders of scholars in smaller programs that do not enjoy strong Japanese collections. Hopefully, interdisciplinary collaboration among literature specialists and art historians, historians, and intellectual historians can generate more articles and books. Anthologies, such as that edited by Haruo Shirane (Columbia University Press, 2002), and another by Sumie Jones and Howard S. Hibbett to appear from the University of Hawai'i Press, promise to generate greater interest in the field from a broader range of students. Undergraduates and M.A. students need an introduction to the field, and such anthologies are a powerful enticement to further reading and research.

From another perspective, close collaboration with Japanese scholars can provide for more productivity. Only a handful of essays by Japanese scholars have been translated into English, while, in the intellectual history field, for example, Maruyama Masao's study of Ogyu Sorai's thought transformed the field when it appeared in English translation in 1974.¹²⁰ Given the greater ease in

¹¹⁴ Yamashita, Samuel Hideo, trans. *Master Sorai's Responsals: An Annotated Translation of 'Sorai Sensei Tomonsho'*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994.

¹¹⁵ Chibbett, David. *The History of Japanese Printing and Book Illustration*. Tokyo, New York, & San Francisco: Kodansha International, 1977; Forrer, Matthi. *Eirakuya Toshiro: Publisher at Nagoya: A Contribution to the History of Publishing in 19th Century Japan*. Amsterdam: Gieben, 1985.

¹¹⁶ Hillier, Jack. *The Art of the Japanese Book*. 2 vols. London: Philip Wilson for Sotheby's, 1987; Hillier, *The Japanese Picture Book: A Selection from the Ravicz Collection*. New York: Abrams, 1991.

¹¹⁷ Mitchell, C. H. *The Illustrated Books of the Nanga, Maruyama, Shijo, and Other Related Schools in Japan: A Biobibliography*. Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1972.

¹¹⁸ Smith, Henry D. II. "The History of the Book in Edo and Paris." In McClain, James L., John M. Merriman, and Ugawa Kaoru, eds. *Edo and Paris: Urban Life and the State in the Early Modern Era*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1994: 332-54.

¹¹⁹ Kornicki, Peter. *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*. Leiden: Brill, 1998; rept. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000.

¹²⁰ Maruyama, Masao; Mikiso Hane, trans. *Studies in the Intellectual History of Tokugawa Japan*.

communication and sharing of ideas (not to mention texts) provided by the Internet, it should be possible to collaborate with Japanese scholars on bilingual editions of works, multi-language studies of authors, or other such publications. Donald Keene has published three books, on *Taketori monogatari*, on *Oku no hosomichi*, and, most recently, on *Tsurezuregusa*, that provide bilingual texts, and beautiful illustrations.¹²¹ In the case of *Taketori*, an unusual textual variant, the *Ohidebon*, is even provided as an appendix to Kawabata Yasunari's modern Japanese and Keene's English translations. The possibilities for such collaboration with Japanese scholars, writers, and illustrators seem almost endless.

(LEM)



Nakamura Nakazo I (actor) portraying a monk.
From Timothy T. Clark and Osamu Ueda with Donald Jenkins,
Naomi Noble Richard, ed., *The Actor's Image: Print Makers of
the Katsukawa School*. Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago in
association with Princeton University Press, 1994, p. 146.

Princeton & Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press and
Princeton University Press, 1974.

¹²¹ Keene, Donald, trans., *The Narrow Road to Oku*.
Tokyo & New York: Kodansha International, 1996;
Keene, trans. *The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter: Taketori
monogatari*. Tokyo & New York: Kodansha International,
1998; Keene, trans., *Selections from Essays in Idleness
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(English language, alphabetical order by sub-fields)

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