UEDA AKINARI (1734-1809):

SCHOLAR, POET, WRITER OF FICTION

by

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ABSTRACT

Ueda Akinari was born in Osaka in 1734 to an unwed mother but, adopted by a prosperous merchant who lived nearby, he grew up in well-to-do circumstances in the commercial center of eighteenth-century Japan. His temperament inclined him toward literature and scholarship, but the more utilitarian values of the merchant class in which he was raised led to an inner conflict that he resolved, if at all, only during the last few years of his life. When his adoptive father died in 1761 he dutifully took over the family business, but continued his literary activities on the side, and when the shop was destroyed by fire in 1771 he made no attempt to rebuild it. For the next few years he trained as a physician, and began his own medical practice in 1776. This new occupation was more compatible with his literary avocations, but in 1787 a combination of failing health and dissatisfaction with his work drove him to retire and devote his full time to study and writing. In spite of poverty, failing eyesight, worsening health, and a nagging conscience over doing nothing productive, he continued this way of life until his death in Kyoto in 1809.

His reputation today rests almost entirely on Ugetsu monogatari, a collection of ghostly tales that he published in 1776, just shortly after becoming a physician. Although it represents only a fraction of his total output, it has so outshone all his other writings that few people associate his name with anything else, and the average person tends to think of him as an inveterate romantic, obsessed with magic and the occult. This study is an attempt to broaden that view; to create a portrait of the total man based on his own statements and the

comments of those who knew him, and to show the nature and variety of his major works.

Akinari first broke into literary circles in his late teens, writing haiku poetry. In his early thirties he produced two collections of humorous stories about the townsman class, which sold well when they appeared and are now generally regarded as the last significant ukiyo-zōshi to be written. Gradually, however, he was steered away from popular literature toward more serious pursuits. Ugetsu was his attempt to recreate the beauty of Japanese classical literature in contemporary fiction. After completing it he concentrated on studying the old masterpieces and writing commentaries on them. He had tried his hand at waka verse early in his career, and after moving to Kyoto in 1793 he became quite active in the capital's poetry circles for a time. He also practiced the art of preparing tea, and fashioned tea vessels of his own design.

Having a strict and moralistic outlook, he deplored frivolity and hypocrisy, but saw that the world was full of such vices. Unable to compromise his principles, he constantly felt alienated from society, enjoying the companionship of just a few close friends. Far from being a dreamer, he was meticulously rationalistic, insisting on evidence for all of his conclusions. Resolute in his own convictions, he engaged in a prolonged dispute with Motoori Norinaga, perhaps the foremost scholar of the day, condemning the man's indifference to logic. His views on society and the meaning of life were expressed in both satirical sketches and straightforward statements. In Harusame monogatari, his last major work, he used the medium of fiction to sum up

his views on ancient Japanese history, scholarship, literature, religion, ethics, morality, and the nature of man. In his writings, as in his personal life, he stood alone, proudly independent. He drew inspiration from many sources, but refused to adhere to any one teacher or school, and though he has influenced generations of younger writers, there are none who can be called his disciples. In a country where people traditionally find their identity within their peer group, Akinari to the end zealously remained an individual.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in footnote references and in the bibliography.

HJAS--Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies

JAS--Journal of Asian Studies

JK--Joshidai kokubun 女子大国文

KBKKK--Kokubungaku kaishaku to kyōzai no kenkyū 国文学解釈と教材の研究

KK--Kokugo kokubun 国語国文

KKB--Kokugo to kokubungaku 国語と国文学

KKK--Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō 国文学解釈と鑑賞

KZ--Kokugakuin zasshi 国学院雑誌

MN--Monumenta Nipponica

NB--Nihon bungaku 日本文学

NKBT--Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei 日本古典文学大系

INTRODUCTION

He was the outstanding popular author in Japan between the Genroku and Bunka-Bunsei Eras, but he was not merely a link in the chain from Saikaku to Bakin. He was a dedicated student of the Japanese classics, yet he does not really fit into the scholarly pedigree from Keichū to Hirata Atsutane. He strove for excellence in poetry writing, but his work does not belong to any particular school. Whatever the pursuit, he maintained his independence, refusing to be bound by traditions. He stands alone and unique in all of his intellectual and literary endeavors. His personal life was much the same. Though it spanned the retrenchment of the Kyōhō Reform, the laxness and extravagance of the Tanuma administration, and the new retrenchment of the Kansei Reform, his writings show little evidence that he felt affected by the political and economic events of his time, or was even aware of them. Through it all, he refused to follow the trends in society but tried to live according to his own precepts.

He never attained the recognition he sought as a scholar and poet, but he inadvertently achieved fame because of a collection of nine short stories. He was outspokenly rationalistic, and intolerant of those who were not, yet he was also quite superstitious--and again intolerant of those who scoffed. He suffered from an inferiority complex, but he did not hesitate to challenge Japan's leading intellects. He scorned wealth and material possessions for himself, but experienced acute feelings of guilt at being unable to provide such things for his family. He was known as a misanthropic recluse, yet he loved his wife,

was fond of children, and often stayed up all night talking to friends. His parents' identity is uncertain, and he left no descendents; he was born in an Osaka brothel and died penniless, thinking himself a failure, yet his name had already become widely known during his lifetime and has survived the more than century and a half since his death.

If, as Westerners have long maintained, Japan is a nation of contradictions, then Ueda Akinari was a true product of his homeland. He has been widely misunderstood even by his fellow countrymen. But the contradictions in his life must be recognized and accepted, for they are all true aspects of the total man.

When I first set out to prepare this biography my intention was to focus my attention on Akinari's life story, with only passing reference to his writings. However, as the task progressed, I became convinced that it was neither desirable nor, in the long run, possible to consider a writer apart from his works. At the same time I realized that commenting in detail upon all of his works would not only become an endless task, but would ultimately overshadow the biographical emphasis of this study. The compromise solution was to be selective, and that is what I have done. To a degree my choice has been arbitrary. The works discussed are those which I myself liked, and which I personally considered most interesting and relevant to a Western audience. I have virtually ignored some of his major scholarly works, feeling that they were not very meaningful apart from study of the Japanese classics that they explicate, while his literary works can be enjoyed on their own merits.

Another point that I came to realize is that much of the misunder-

standing about Akinari has been lack of sound evidence. I had resolved to dig down to the facts and meticulously separate verifiable truth from speculation. Often, however, I found that I could do no more than identify conjecture as such. There are, consequently, many blank spaces in the narrative that follows, and many questions that remain unanswered. Where firm conclusions could not be drawn I have felt it best to heed Akinari's own advice on such matters, and not force an interpretation of evidence that is insufficient, ambiguous, or nonexistent. While I am well aware of the limitations and imperfections of this biography, I offer it nevertheless, in the hope that it will lead to a greater understanding of Akinari as a person and stimulate others to delve further into his writings.

B. M. Young

CHAPTER I

AKINARI'S BIRTH AND EARLY LIFE

Ueda Akinari 上田秋成 was an illegitimate child born in Sonezaki 曽根崎, a pleasure quarter of Osaka, in 1734. This much is relatively certain. The identity of his parents and the exact circumstances of his birth remain shrouded in uncertainty, but present a fascinating puzzle nevertheless. Akinari himself appears to have been reluctant to talk about the matter, for he referred to it directly only twice in his known writings, both times in his old age. Shortly before his death he stated, "Born in Naniwa, I have been a guest in the capital for sixteen years. I had no father; I do not know the reason why. When I was four years old my mother also cast me away. Fortunately I was taken in by Mr. Ueda."[1] A few years earlier he had written that he knew nothing of his true father's life or death, and had met his real mother only once.[2]

From the records of the Saifukuji 西福寺 Temple, where Akinari's remains are interred, we know that he died in the 6th year of the Bunka 文化 Era, 6th month, 27th day (August 8, 1809) at the age of seventy-six, so he must have been born in 1734.[3] Supporting evidence is provided by Akinari's friend Ōta Nampo 大田南畝 (1749-1823)'s record of a party that was held in Osaka in the 3rd year of the Kyōwa 享和 Era (1803), 6th month, 25th day in honor of Akinari's seventieth birthday.[4] This confirms 1734 as the year of his birth, but tells us nothing more. By 1803 Akinari was residing in Kyoto. He was merely visiting Osaka on this occasion, and the party was held during an important religious

festival, more likely just a convenient time for him and his friends to get together, rather than the actual anniversary of his birth. Some twenty-two years after Akinari's death, one of his former associates wrote that his original surname had been Tanaka田中, and that he had been born in Sonezaki.[5] Here began the common view that Akinari's mother was a courtesan named Tanaka and his father an anonymous customer. Years of tradition and lack of conflicting evidence have caused this view to be accepted with little question until recent years. It was not until 1959 that publication of the following passage provided the stimulus for research that has led to a plausible alternative explanation.

> In the capital there was a man called Ueda Yosai who lived by studying the national learning. He had formerly been the master of a brothel in Shinchi in the northern part of Osaka, but, having other aspirations, he fled that existence and thereafter lived in the capital. Having recently heard these facts, I make note of them. Yosai was the grandson of a <u>hatamoto</u> family from Edo. His grandfather was an official whose son had been called to serve as a page boy and bedchamber attendant. By nature this youth enjoyed debauchery and pleasure, and when leaving his post would often go straight to the gay quarters. One night, while disporting himself in full ceremonial dress, he held a courtesan at his side, concealed her under his clothing, and left the brothel. Having grown thoroughly weary of such dissipation, his father considered how to deal with him. He decided to put his son under house arrest in a place under his administration, on the pretext that the boy had become deranged. He summoned an official from the village to Edo and had him escort his son back. While the son was living in that village in the province of Yamato, he had relations with the daughter of the village headman, and the child that was born was Yosai. For some reason the girl went to a brothel in Osaka when she gave birth. The boy read books and learned to compose <u>waka</u> poetry. He was called Tōsaku. Someone told him the truth about his birthplace and lineage, and when he had verified this he regretted all the more having fallen into that brothel, so he ran away and became a recluse. At first he lived in the north of Osaka, but later he made his home in the capital.

> He took the name of Akinari, and was also known as Mucho. It has been less than ten years since his death. He was more than seventy when he died.[6]

The above lines were written about 1814 or 1815 by the distinguished Confucian scholar Rai Shunsui 頼春水 (1746-1816). Shunsui had studied and taught in Osaka from 1764 until 1781, when he was called into the service of his daimyo. Thereafter he spent much of his time in the lord's Edo mansion at Kasumigaseki 霞ヶ関, and between 1802 and 1815 he jotted down the notes that he called Kakan shoroku 霞関掌録, from which the above passage was taken. There is no evidence that Shunsui ever met Akinari in person, but his close associates in Osaka included Kimura Kenkado 木村蒹葭堂 (1736-1802) and Hosoai Hansei 細合半斉 (1727-1803), who were good friends of Akinari. Thus Shunsui certainly had opportunity to hear about him from reliable sources.

Still, Shunsui's statements must be interpreted with caution. There is not a shred of evidence that Akinari ever earned his living by running a brothel; everything that we know would indicate that this is a mistake. Other points that Shunsui mentioned, however, such as the various names by which Akinari was known, his literary pursuits, his places of residence, and the time of his death are all correct, so the passage deserves careful attention. Moreover, a close study of Akinari's movements reveals that he did indeed have family ties in the Yamato region. In the spring of 1788 he made an excursion to the Yoshino area, and in his account of the trip he mentioned calling on four different relatives, all of whom lived within the borders of Yamato Province, on the way.[7] One of these was the headman of the village of Nagara 長柄 (now a part of Gose-shi, Nara-ken), a man whom

Akinari described as his cousin.[8] In addition to his natural parents, Akinari had an adoptive father and two foster mothers, and it is impossible to prove conclusively through which of these he traced his relationship to the man, but the existence of this kinsman immediately calls to mind Rai Shunsui's report that Akinari's real mother was the daughter of a village headman from Yamato. It is also worth noting that although Akinari denied having more than a superficial acquaintance with his real mother, he was nevertheless informed when she died in 1780, and that he assumed responsibility for holding the proper rites in her behalf,[9] so he probably knew more of her than he admitted.

Research has confirmed that Akinari's cousin in Nagara was Sueyoshi Shōzō 末吉庄蔵, whose family held the post of village headman until the Meiji period.[10] In Akinari's time, Nagara and its neighboring villages were under the administration of the Kobori 小堀 family, who were of <u>hatamoto</u> rank, a fact which reminds us of Shunsui's statement that Akinari's natural father was the son of an Edo <u>hatamoto</u> but had been banished for misconduct to a village in Yamato that was under his father's jurisdiction. The administrative center of the Kobori lands in Yamato was the village of Mashi 真志. If a member of the family was placed in confinement in the area it would probably have been there. The chief magistrate of Mashi at the time of Akinari's birth was one Nakamura Tadasuke 中村忠助, whose wife had come from the Sueyoshi family of Nagara. All of this is verifiable. The key to the matter, then, becomes the question of whether there was a member of the Kobori family who meets Shunsui's description of Akinari's father. It is unfortunately at this crucial juncture that the evidence

falters, forcing us to fall back on speculation. Investigation of the Kobori family tree reveals that Kobori Masamine政峯 (d. 1760) had a son named Samon左門 who died in 1733 at the age of seventeen. By the time he reached that age, the son of a man of Masamine's position would normally have been called upon to perform certain ceremonial duties for the government, but no record of such service exists in Samon's case. The reason could possibly be that the boy fell into disgrace and had his record blotted out. Thus it is conceivable, though certainly not conclusive, that Samon distressed his father with his dissolute behavior and was discreetly exiled to the countryside where, as one of the final acts of his short life, he seduced a girl from the Sueyoshi family and then died before the child was born. If this is indeed what happened, then Akinari, though illegitimate, was born to a woman of good family, and was a descendent of the renowned tea master and garden designer, Kobori Enshū遠州 (1579-1647). Regrettably, evidence that would be accepted as proof in a court of law is not available, but considered in the light of the information that can be verified, Rai Shunsui's account of Akinari's birth seems to be basically correct. The view that Akinari was the by-product of a chance encounter in a house of pleasure is no more than a logical interpretation of the reports that he was born in Sonezaki and was totally ignorant of his true paternity. Shunsui's story at least has evidence that seems to support it.

Just across the river from Sonezaki, in Dōjima Era-chō堂島永来町, near the present-day site of the Osaka Mainichi Shimbun office, there

was an oil and paper shop called the Shimaya島屋, owned and operated by a former samurai named Ueda Mosuke氏助. His family had lived for generations in the village of Ueda in the Hikami氷上 district of Tamba Province, where they had served as retainers to the local daimyo, but Mosuke's father had quarreled with his superior and resigned his post, bringing his wife and two sons to Osaka. He had hoped to find employment there, but his training as a warrior was of little use in the commercial world. His savings were soon exhausted and his wife took sick and died. Mosuke found day-to-day employment in a government office and helped the family to eke out a bare living until the father died also. The younger son, Jizō治蔵, had the good fortune to be adopted by a sake brewer in Kuroi-mura黒井村, in his old home district of Hikami, and then Mosuke was similarly taken in by the proprietor of the Shimaya.[11] Very likely he married his benefactor's daughter at the same time.[12] In any case, by the time Akinari was born, Mosuke had a wife and a daughter, and was doing very well as an oil and paper merchant. It may have been through his business that he established contact with the Sueyoshi clan, for the family earned part of its livelihood preparing oil from rapeseed (a product for which the Nagara area was noted) and sending it to Osaka for distribution.[13] Perhaps he even arranged for their daughter to go to Sonezaki to give birth to her child, away from the prying eyes of the Nagara villagers. Or perhaps he merely became aware of the child's existence when supplying his merchandise to the Sonezaki quarter, and met the mother's family later.[14] The record is not clear. But whatever the circumstances, when Akinari was four years old he became the adopted son of

Ueda Mosuke and was brought up at the Shimaya.

The next year he contracted smallpox. The disease became severe, and his foster parents were beside themselves with anxiety. When the attending physician gave up hope for recovery, Mosuke journeyed to the Kashima Inari Shrine on the northern outskirts of the city. It was late at night when he arrived, and he must have fallen into a doze while offering his prayer, for the shrine deity appeared to him in a dream and assured him that his son would not die, but would be granted a life of sixty-eight years. Indeed, to his parents' great joy, the boy's condition began to improve almost immediately thereafter, and in due time he recovered completely. Every month, from that time, Akinari's parents took him back to the shrine to pay homage to the deity and offer thanks for his recovery.[15] Akinari himself believed that he owed his life to divine intervention, and he remained a faithful patron of the Kashima Inari Shrine for the rest of his days. In 1801, when he reached the promised age of sixty-eight, he composed sixty-eight waka verses which he presented to the shrine as a token of gratitude.[16]

He had overcome his illness, but he remained permanently scarred by it. An infection settled in the joints of his fingers and caused two of them to atrophy, leaving the second finger on his left hand too short to be of much use, and the third finger on his right hand about the same length as the fifth. When he tried to hold a writing brush, he lamented, the third finger might as well have been missing altogether. Because of this deformity he was never able to master the arts of calligraphy or painting.[17] About the middle of the same year, his

foster mother died.[18] It is not really certain whether this happened before or after his own illness, but presumably she had exhausted her strength in caring for him and succumbed to the smallpox herself. Even though Akinari said later that he had no recollection of her,[19] losing two mothers in the space of a single year must have left scars on his young mind.

Mosuke did not remain a widower for long, but took a new wife, a young woman about twenty-six years old,[20] and she proved to be devoted to her stepchildren. Although she was the third person to fill the role for Akinari, whenever he used the word "mother" without qualifying adjectives in his writings, it was she to whom he was referring. He was plagued with a weak constitution, subject to frequent illnesses and occasional epileptic fits, and he gave the credit for bringing him safely through childhood to this woman and her loving care.[21]

Thus he grew up. It was the time when Osaka had passed the peak of its economic prosperity and was losing its position as the nation's center of commerce and the arts. Edo, long the political center, was now becoming independent in the economic and cultural fields as well, and would in time overshadow Osaka. Government policies in the early part of the century that had been designed to assert the central administration's political power over the merchants' economic strength had had their effect. Among the townsmen the emphasis had shifted from unrestrained economic growth to consolidating their holdings and preserving the status quo. In their life styles as well, they had become more subdued and conservative. All this was relative, however. The free-wheeling spirit of the Genroku 元禄 Era (1688-1703) had been

broken, but Osaka remained a bustling commercial city, and Dōjima, where Akinari was raised, was the center of the nation's rice market. Well over a thousand exchange houses and brokerage agencies were located there, with financial representatives from all over the country. It was the scene of feverish speculation, with huge sums being made and lost, and the abundance of ready cash supported thriving entertainment districts with their theaters, eating and drinking establishments, brothels, bath houses, and the like.[22] A high demand for oil and paper gave the Shimaya its share of the general prosperity. It was surely a stimulating environment to grow up in, and the young Akinari would probably have been surprised to hear that he was living in a time of economic and cultural decline.

Regrettably, it is impossible to reconstruct a picture of his childhood and adolescence. After his bout with smallpox the record is virtually silent until he was nearly twenty. We do know that when he was ten years old he was attacked by a stray dog while at play, and was rescued by a nearby fishmonger,[23] but this is the only other childhood event that he specifically described. Frightening though the experience must have been, it would be difficult and pretentious to relate it to any subsequent development in his life.

Akinari himself claimed that his youth was misspent. He was often away from home, he said, making the moors his dwelling place.[24] "Moors" may be a euphemism for questionable houses of pleasure, but it might just as well mean that he spent a lot of time in the countryside, alone with himself. He was never a gregarious person--indeed, in old age he was noted for his reclusiveness--and he certainly had much to

brood over. He was aware of the unsavoury circumstances surrounding his birth, and apparently he was the subject of some gossip in the community because of it. Later in life he replied defensively that as long as a person was not a member of the outcast class he was free to mingle with society and do as he pleased, and he proclaimed his own self-sufficiency.[25] His early childhood had been unsettled. He had lost two mothers in the space of a year, and had been old enough to feel the deprivation. Moreover, there were his hands. Sensitive by nature, he was acutely self-conscious about his deformity, and never completely adjusted to it. He could not help but be reminded of his handicap every time he picked up a writing brush, and this may well have made the psychological wound deeper as the years passed. Later he self-mockingly called himself Mucho無腸, "The Crab," because he fancied that his hands resembled a crab's claws, and he chose Senshi Kijin剪枝畸人, "The Pruned Eccentric," as a pen name for one of his works. As long as he lived he hated meeting people for the first time because of his appearance.[26] He probably did spend considerable time alone, reflecting on his situation, and perhaps indulging in the fantasies that were later to appear in his stories.

He also said that he was lax in his studies and prone to be led away from them by frivolous companions who had neither education nor interest in acquiring it. His father tried to make him study, but Akinari maintained that while he was young he had not known how to read,[27] and one of his later associates stated that as a youth he had indulged solely in pleasure, and by his twentieth year was the laughing stock of his neighborhood because he could not even read the kana

syllabary.[28] Caution is needed in interpreting these remarks, however. In the first place, we have every reason to believe that Akinari's early life was much like that of the average son of a well-to-do merchant family--and most such youths received some formal education. Not only had the ability to read and write become essential for carrying on trade, but in the more subdued commercial atmosphere of the day the townsmen had more time to devote to intellectual and cultural pursuits. It was partly for this reason that many of the scholars, artists, and literary figures of the middle and late Tokugawa period came from mercantile backgrounds. Moreover, Ueda Mosuke was a strict man, and we can scarcely believe that Akinari was rebellious enough to avoid getting even a rudimentary education for so long. And finally, by the time Akinari was twenty-two his haiku poetry was appearing in published collections, and in his early thirties he wrote two long pieces of popular literature which sold well and today are recognized as masterpieces of their genre. This is hardly what we should expect of a man who was illiterate at the age of twenty.

Akinari's autobiographical writings make it clear that in his declining years he felt that he had fallen short of both his own and his parents' expectations. Feelings of self-reproach probably made him portray himself as worse than he actually was. And, as he became more and more immersed in classical scholarship, he came to despise his earlier activities in the realm of popular literature. When he said that as a young man he did not know how to read, he probably meant simply that his literary tastes had not yet fully developed and he had foolishly spent his time reading material of little value. It is cer-

tain that he received more education as a youth than he claimed credit for, but it remains difficult to identify its sources or judge its extent. He received some instruction from his father, but schools for the merchant class were then becoming popular, and it stands to reason that Akinari would have attended one. The Kaitokudō 懐徳堂, one of the more famous of such institutions, was convenient to his home. There is no actual record of his attending that school, but he was acquainted (and on bad terms) with Nakai Chikuzan 中井竹山 (1730-1804) and his brother Riken 履軒 (1732-1817), two Confucian scholars whose father, Nakai Shūan 甃庵 (1693-1758), had founded the school in 1726. He also spoke respectfully of Goi Ranshū 五井蘭洲 (1698-1762), a Confucian scholar and commentator on the Japanese classics, who taught at the Kaitokudō, even referring to him as "Sensei,"[29] which was a term he applied to just a select few. The Kaitokudō was one of those schools that provided for the commoners the same kind of full-scale education in the Chinese classics that the officially sponsored schools provided for the samurai class, and Akinari definitely began his study of such works in his youth.[30] Thus, assuming that he did attend the Kaitokudō, his basic texts would probably have been the Four Books and the Five Classics, read as kambun, with rote memorization stressed over rational inquiry.[31] In addition, he must have received practical training in business matters at home in the shop, and he seems to have read a fair amount of popular literature in his spare time.

Thus, despite his repeated self-criticism, the young Akinari was apparently more serious than he depicted himself. There is little justification for the common view that sees him as a prodigal son who

neglected his responsibilities, frequenting the gay quarters and wasting his father's money. This is not to say that he was perfect, of course, or that he failed to sample the pleasures that were available. His early stories show a familiarity with the demimonde that must have been based on personal observation. One may easily imagine the young Akinari making deliveries of oil and paper to Sonezaki, pausing in his duties to exchange flirtatious remarks with the girls, and being invited to come back in the evening. As an old man he specifically recalled visiting the Shimabara 島原 amusement district in Kyoto in his youth, and lamented how the courtesans of the present had deteriorated compared to those of his younger days.[32] But patronizing such establishments did not constitute abnormal behavior for a young man of Akinari's circumstances, and in any case there was more than just opportunity for sensual debauchery to be found in the gay quarters. They served as a social gathering place, and courtesans, at least those of higher rank, were better educated and more refined in tastes and manners than the average young woman. One of the characters in Akinari's first work of fiction is a courtesan who tries to amuse her patrons by composing poetry in both Japanese and Chinese.[33]

Another indication that Akinari's youthful waywardness has been exaggerated is the role he played when his sister ran away from home. Little is known about this girl--Mosuke's daughter by his first marriage--not even her name or age. Akinari never referred to her in any way except "elder sister," and said virtually nothing about their home life. However, when he was twenty-two, his sister carried on a secret love affair with a man of whom her parents disapproved. Finally she

left home and supported herself at some disreputable occupation--perhaps by running a teahouse or brothel. Enraged, Mosuke disinherited his daughter, but Akinari rose in her defense. As an adopted son, he told his father, he had no right to inherit the family estate if the natural child were cast off. If Mosuke were to sever ties with his daughter, he ought to do the same to Akinari. Mosuke protested that blood ties were of minor importance. The Chinese sages had taught that it was better to give inheritance to someone of upright heart even if he were not a true relative. After this Akinari acted as mediator between his father and sister, and eventually brought about a reconciliation. As Mosuke saw that his daughter was doing well at her business he conceded that she at least deserved credit for being able to make her own way in the world, and accepted her as his child once more.[34]

This incident provides our only real insight into Akinari's home situation. The father's behavior displays both the strict moralism of a samurai and the pragmatism of a merchant, a combination that may be traced to his own background. Raised as a warrior, Mosuke had seen his father accept a life of poverty for both himself and his family rather than compromise his principles. The man by whom he had been adopted was a habitual drunkard, so addicted to wine that it eventually cost him his sight, but like a true son, or loyal retainer, Mosuke had continued to serve him faithfully. When the Shimaya and a wide surrounding area were destroyed by fire, he was able to prove his resourcefulness and fidelity. Looking for some footwear to buy for his foster father, he had come upon a burned-out <u>geta</u> shop. Sensing an opportu-

nity, he had bought up all the undamaged stock and sent to Tamba for his brother. After helping Mosuke to hawk the geta in the streets, Jizō had hurried back to Tamba with the profits and reinvested them in tobacco leaves, which he brought back to Osaka for sale. With the capital thus raised, Mosuke had rebuilt the Shimaya and made a fresh start in business, accumulating two thousand ryō in gold within a few years.[35] Having himself experienced numerous hardships which he had overcome through his own efforts, Mosuke could understand and even admire his daughter for doing the same, even though her trade might not be respectable. Akinari made no mention of the mother's role in this trouble, but his scattered references to her in his writings indicate that she was a kind and understanding woman who gave her husband's children all the care and attention expected from a real mother. The young man with a stern father and a doting mother appears often enough in Akinari's fiction to justify the assumption that his own home life was much the same. Akinari himself, in this incident, does not come across as a dissipated youth, but as a man concerned for others' welfare and willing to make sacrifices in order to hold the family together. Considering Mosuke's treatment of his daughter, it is hard to conceive of him being so kindly disposed toward Akinari if he were dissatisfied with his conduct. We should note in passing that it was most likely Akinari's close association with his sister at this time, when she was engaged in work of a questionable nature, that gave rise to the rumor that he himself had once been the proprietor of a brothel.[36]

From time to time he enjoyed travel excursions. These included a trip to Yamato with his father when he was a child,[37] in the course of

which he may have met his relatives in the area. In his early twenties he seems to have spent a relatively long time at his uncle Jizō's home in Tamba,[38] and he also visited the Kinosaki hot springs and the nearby Ama no Hashidate.[39] He made frequent excursions to Kyoto, and just possibly may once have journeyed as far as the Kantō region.[40] The liking for travel that he showed in middle and old age appears to have been born during his youth.

In his late teens, using the name of Gyoen 漁焉, he began to write haiku poetry and to participate in haikai circles in the Kamigata area. His first published verses appeared in 1755, but their quality and their position in the collections indicate that he already ranked fairly high in the groups, which means that he must have begun this activity some years earlier.[41] Even at this early date he displayed the aloofness and jealous preservation of his independence that was to characterize his whole life. Most of his early poems appeared in collections by members of the circle of Ono Shōren 小野紹簾 (d. 1761), but he also associated with Matsuki Dandan 松木淡々 (1674-1761) and Shiimoto Kushū 椎本矩州 (1704-1780) and others, and gave none of them his allegiance. The only haiku master to whom he referred as a teacher was Takai Kikei 高井几圭 (1687-1761), who lived in Kyoto. Akinari first met him about 1756. He would get together with Kikei's followers in Osaka and compose linked verse whenever Kikei came to visit the city,[42] but these contacts would have been sporadic, and Kikei did not live for many years after their first meeting, so it appears doubtful that he was Akinari's teacher in the strict sense. Akinari probably used the word only as a term of respect. Nevertheless, in 1758 he

participated with Kikei and one other poet in the production of a linked-verse sequence, and was even given the honor of composing the opening stanza.[43] This gives some idea of Kikei's estimation of him. Moreover, Akinari developed a true and long-lasting friendship with Kikei's son Kitō 几董 (1741-1789), who later described him as a talented man who wrote good poetry, Man'yōshū 万葉集-style waka, and haikai in the vein of Nishiyama Sōin 西山宗因 (1605-1682), Kamijima Onitsura 上島鬼貫 (1661-1738), and Raizan 来山 (1654-1716), but lamented that he stayed aloof from society.[44] In time his friendship with Kitō helped him to associate with Kitō's teacher, the renowned haiku poet and painter Yosa Buson 与謝蕪村 (1716-1784).

It was with haikai that Akinari made his first efforts in the literary world, and he retained his liking for the pursuit throughout his life, but his interests soon broadened to other areas that began to take precedence. People he met in haikai circles may even have provided part of the stimulus. Among such acquaintances he numbered Fujitani Nariakira 富士谷成章 (1738-1779) of Kyoto,[45] who is actually remembered as a waka poet and student of Chinese and Japanese literature, not as a writer of haikai. What Akinari probably meant was that Nariakira composed haiku for recreation, much as he himself did. He did not consider it an art form, and he was even intolerant of those who took the pursuit too seriously. Most likely they met at a gathering of haikai devotees but became friends because of their mutual interests in the more refined activities of waka and classical studies. The same may be true of Akinari's friendship with Katsube Seigyo 勝部青魚 (d. 1789), a physician and haikai poet from Nishinomiya whom he

met around 1759.[46] Seigyo had studied both Chinese classical and vernacular literature, and may have been one of the first men to influence Akinari in that direction. Undoubtedly some influence also came from Goi Ranshū, who was a great admirer of Keichū 契沖 (1640-1701), the monk whose studies of the Japanese classics had been largely responsible for generating the revival of interest in the past that came into full flower in Akinari's day. But it was to a man named Kojima Shigeie 小島重家 (d. 1760) that Akinari gave the credit for guiding him into classical studies through study of Keichū's works.[47] He said that he had been about thirty when he met him, but actually he would have been a few years younger, for he was only twenty-seven when Kojima died. Very little is known of Kojima aside from the fact that he lived in Kyoto, not far from the noted waka poet Ozawa Roan 小沢芦庵 (1723-1801), of whom he was a close friend. Akinari's own association with Roan in their old age raises the possibility that he had heard of him through Shigeie even at this early date.

In 1760 Akinari was married to Ueyama Tama 植山たま, a girl of twenty-one. The daughter of a Kyoto farmer, she had been adopted at an early age by the Ueyama family and taken to live in Osaka.[48] How she and Akinari came to meet is not clear,[49] but whether it was a love match or one arranged for convenience, it was to prove a happy union for both parties. No children were ever born to them, and most of their life together was spent in poverty and uncertainty, but for the next thirty-seven years Akinari was to find in Tama a faithful and devoted companion who understood him and even shared many of his interests.

Akinari's wedding may have had a significance beyond the fact that he had reached a very marriageable age. His sister died about this time, and her death would have left him the sole heir to the Ueda family estate. If she had indeed passed away before the wedding, then the marriage may be seen as an attempt by the parents to get Akinari settled and help him to prepare for his future responsibilities. All we know for certain, however, is that the daughter died shortly before her father, and that Mosuke himself died in mid-1761.[50] Of course, if his own health had been visibly failing, that in itself would have been reason enough to hasten plans for the marriage.

With his father's death, our account of Akinari's early life properly comes to an end. At the age of twenty-eight he found himself the owner of a business, with the responsibility for supporting his new wife and widowed mother resting squarely upon his own shoulders.

NOTES

1. Jizō hakogaki 自像箱記, in Akinari ibun, ed. Fujii Otoo (Tokyo: Shūbunkan, 1919), pp. 498, 499.

2. Letter to the abbot of the Jippō-in 実法院, Ibun, pp. 631-633, N.B. p. 632.

3. The Saifukuji's record of his death is quoted in Takada Mamoru, Ueda Akinari nempu kōsetsu (Tokyo: Meizendō Shoten, 1964), p. 347. In Akinari's day a person's age was equivalent to the number of calendar years in which he had lived. He was considered to be a year old

at birth, and a year older at the beginning of each new year. See Herschel Webb, Research in Japanese Sources: A Guide (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), pp. 42-44. To avoid confusion, all ages of persons in this study will be expressed in Japanese terms.

4. From a manuscript in the Nihon University Library, quoted in Asano Sampei, "Ueda Akinari no shussei to kazoku," JK, 36 (Feb. 1965), 1-10, N.B. p. 2; also quoted in Mori Senzō, "Muchō Okina zakki," Kamigata, 45 (Sept. 1934), 54-62, N.B. pp. 57, 58, but "25th day" is mistakenly printed as "20th."

5. Fujita Gyō 藤田顕, Kashima Inari Sha ken'ei waka jo 歌島稲荷社献詠和歌序, in Ueda Akinari zenshū, ed. Iwahashi Koyata, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1918; rpt. 1969), I, 149. It is not certain who Fujita Gyō was, but since he refers to Akinari as "Ueda Sensei," he was presumably one of Akinari's pupils.

6. Quoted in Rai Momosaburō, "Akinari den kikigaki," NB, 8, No. 6 (June 1959), 6-10, N.B. p. 7. Unless specifically acknowledged, all translations in this study are my own.

7. See Iwahashi no ki 岩橋の記, Ibun, pp. 263-286.

8. Ibid., p. 286.

9. Letter to the Jippō-in, Ibun, p. 631. The year of her death is given here as Meiwa 明和, 9th year, kanoe ne 庚子, an obvious error since the Meiwa Era had no ninth year. Kanoe ne was the calendar designation for An'ei 安永, 9th year (1780).

10. This and most of the information on Akinari's birth and parentage that follows is taken from Takada Mamoru, "Akinari no himitsu" 秋成の秘密, in Akinari nempu, pp. 350-360.

11. Akinari, Jiden 自伝, Ibun, pp. 255-262, N.B. pp. 257, 258.

12. It has been suggested that "Tanaka" was not the name of Akinari's real mother, but of Mosuke's foster father, and that Mosuke reassumed the Ueda surname after his wife and her father had died. This is a possible explanation of the report that Akinari's original surname was Tanaka. See Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 5.

13. Takada, "Akinari no himitsu," Akinari nempu, p. 354.

14. A possible flaw in the whole story of Akinari's birth is the fact that one of his relatives in Yamato was named Ueda, and Akinari described him as "like my brother." See Iwahashi no ki, Ibun, p. 274. The common surname would suggest that Akinari was related to the man through his foster father, and geographical proximity that all of Akinari's Yamato kinsmen were relatives from the same side. But it is strange that Mosuke would have close relatives in Yamato, as his family had lived in Tamba for generations, and his only brother, who had gone back to Tamba from Osaka, was still living there at least as late as 1779. See Akinari, Akiyama no ki 秋山記, Zenshū, I, 43-61, N.B. p. 61. Of course, coincidence could have given Akinari a maternal relative named Ueda. The surname was by no means uncommon, and none of the four relatives Akinari identified had the same family name. The phrase, "Like my brother," does raise questions, however. One Japanese

scholar has even suggested that the man was an illegitimate son of Ueda Mosuke by Akinari's natural mother. See Ōba Shunsuke, Akinari no tenkanshō to dēmon (Tokyo: Ashi Shobō, 1969), pp. 31, 32. While this is an extreme view, there is insufficient evidence for us to say that it is incorrect.

15. See Fujita, Ken'ei waka jo, Zenshū, I, 149; Akinari, Kashima Inari Sha ken'ei waka, Zenshū, I, 150-155, N.B. p. 155. There are a few discrepancies in the two accounts, perhaps inevitably, as Fujita wrote ninety-three years after the occurrence of events he did not witness, and Akinari, being quite young and extremely ill, probably had no clear recollection of what happened.

16. This was, of course, the Kashima Inari Sha ken'ei waka, mentioned in note 15 above. The Kashima Inari Shrine, now known as the Kaguwashi Jinja香具波志神社, in Higashi Yodogawa-ku, Osaka, is about three miles as the crow flies from where Akinari lived, and in 1738 the journey would have entailed crossing the river by ferry boat. It is not certain why Mosuke went to such an inconvenient place to offer prayers. It is possible that he already had a friendly relationship with the priests of the shrine. Moreover, although Inari shrines were dedicated to agricultural deities, in the Kansai area these same deities had come to be household gods of the merchant class. See Noda Hisao, Kinsei bungaku no haikei (Tokyo: Kōshobō, 1964; rpt. 1971), p. 95. Besides, the priests of the shrine were reputed to be endowed with special powers for exorcising fox spirits. See Kaguwashi Jinja to Ueda Akinari no shiori (pamphlet; Osaka: Kaguwashi Jinja Keishin

Kenkōkai, 1965); Akinari, Tandai shōshin roku 胆大小心錄, in Ueda Akinari shū, ed. Nakamura Yukihiko, NKBT, Vol. 56 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1959; rpt. 1968), LVI, 251-361, N.B. no. 34, p. 276. Mosuke may have hoped as a last resort that these powers would extend to curing diseases.

17. Tandai, no. 89, NKBT, LVI, 305, 306.

18. Letter to the Jippō-in, Ibun, p. 631.

19. Seikōki 旌考記, Zenshū, I, 112-115, N.B. p. 114.

20. Assumed because she died in 1789 at the age of seventy-six. See Akinari's letter to the Jippō-in, Ibun, p. 631; Tandai, no. 69, NKBT, LVI, 294. It is not known exactly when Mosuke remarried, but it seems to have been not long after his first wife's death.

21. Jizō hakogaki, Ibun, p. 498.

22. For Akinari's own description of the commercial scene in his home area, see his Seken tekake katagi 世間妾形気, in Ueda Akinari zenshū, ed. Suzuki Toshiya (Tokyo: Fūzambō, 1938), pp. 99-190, N.B. p. 157.

23. Akinari, Daimyō Kokushi gazō no ki 大明国師画像記, Ibun, pp. 497, 498.

24. Jiden, Ibun, p. 255.

25. Tandai, no. 110, NKBT, LVI, 317, 318.

26. See Shigetomo Ki, "Senshi Kijin no gigō to sono raiyū" 剪枝畸人

の戯号とその来由 (1935), in Akinari no kenkyū, by Shigetomo Ki (Tokyo: Bunri Shoin, 1971), pp. 161-168.

27. Jiden, Ibun, p. 255.

28. Fujita, Ken'ei waka jo, Zenshū, I, 149.

29. Tandai, no. 26, NKBT, LVI, 267, 268. Akinari's scorn for the Nakai brothers is also apparent in this passage.

30. See Jiden, Ibun, p. 255.

31. On education in general at this time, see R. P. Dore, Education in Tokugawa Japan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965).

32. Tandai, nos. 55, 57, NKBT, LVI, 187, 188.

33. See Shodō kikimimi sekenzaru 諸道聴耳世間猿, in Ueda Akinari zenshū, ed. Suzuki, pp. 1-97, N.B. pp. 73-78.

34. Jiden, Ibun, pp. 259, 260.

35. See Ibid., pp. 258, 259. Akinari dated the fire 1723, but there is no record of a fire of such proportions in Osaka in that year. It was probably an error for 1724, when such a fire did occur, perhaps made by Mosuke when recounting the story to Akinari. See Asano, "Ueda Akinari no shussei to kazoku," pp. 6, 7.

36. This rumor appears to have been widely believed during Akinari's lifetime. It is mentioned, for example, in Honma Yūsei 本間游清's

miscellany, Mimitokawa 耳敝川 , quoted in Fujii Otoo, "Ueda Akinari den," in Ibun, pp. 1-52, N.B. p. 4.

37. See Iwahashi no ki, Ibun, p. 267.

38. See Akinari, Kozo no shiori 去年の枝折 , Zenshū, I, 165-172, N.B. pp. 167, 171. The exact year of his visit is not clear, but Kozo is a record of a journey made in 1779, and Akinari says that he had been to his uncle's place more than twenty years before.

39. In Akiyama no ki, also a record of his journey in 1779, he said that he had visited these places twenty years earlier. See Zenshū, I, 49, 50.

40. See Akinari, Fuji San setsu 富士山説 , Ibun, pp. 491, 492; Shigetomo Ki, "Akinari zatsuwa" 秋成雑話(1932), in Akinari no kenkyū, pp. 291-293; Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 179.

41. Most of the material on Akinari's early haikai activities is taken from Nakamura Yukihiko, Kinsei sakka kenkyū (Tokyo: San'ichi Shobō, 1961), pp. 201-218.

42. In his preface for Zoku akegarasu 続明烏 , compiled in 1776 for Kikei's seventeenth death anniversary, Akinari said it had been twenty years before that he had met Kikei. The preface is quoted in Fujii, "Ueda Akinari den," Ibun, pp. 6, 7.

43. The sequence is reproduced in Nakamura, Kinsei sakka kenkyū, pp. 207-209.

44. Quoted in Iwahashi Koyata, "Haijin Mucho," KZ, 18, No. 7 (July 1912), 55-62, N.B. p. 56. The source is not given.

45. See Tandai, no. 23, NKBT, LVI, 267.

46. See Akinari's preface to the 1789 commemorative collection of Seigyo's verses, Nishinomiya gusa 西宮草, quoted in Takada, Akinari nempu, pp. 167, 168.

47. See Akinari, Aki no kumo 秋の雲, Zenshū, I, 157-164, N.B. p. 157.

48. See Akinari, Tsuzurabumi 藤簍冊子, Zenshū, I, 1-142, N.B. p. 141. The year of marriage is calculated from her age at death (fifty-eight) in 1797.

49. There has been speculation, based on a remark by Akinari in Yomotsubumi よもつ文, Zenshū, I, 132-135, N.B. p. 134, that Tama had come into the Ueda house, perhaps as a serving maid, when she was about fourteen. The passage is ambiguous, however. For discussion of its meaning see Fujii, "Ueda Akinari den," Ibun, p. 35; Takada, Akinari nempu, pp. 28-30; and Takada, "'Ueda Akinari nempu kosetsu' hoi" 補遺, in Kinsei chūki bungaku no shomondai, ed. Kinsei Bungakushi Kenkyū no Kai (Tokyo: Meizendō Shoten, 1966), pp. 69-113, N.B. pp. 75, 76. The latter source, which concludes that there is no evidence that Akinari and Tama had any contact before their marriage, is especially convincing.

50. See Jiden, Ibun, p. 260; for the date of Mosuke's death, see

Akinari's letter to the Jippō-in, Ibun, p. 631. In Jizō hakogaki, Ibun, p. 498, Akinari said that he was thirty-seven years old when his father died. This must have been a slip of the pen for twenty-seven, for additional evidence supports 1761 as the date. (By Japanese reckoning, Akinari would have been twenty-eight in 1761, but Jizō hakogaki was written in 1804, so an error of one year is not surprising.) In 1801 Akinari said that he had been separated from his father for over forty years, and in 1808 he wrote of his plans to hold services observing his father's fiftieth death anniversary. He would scarcely have been thinking of such rites if Mosuke had not died until 1770. See Seikōki, Zenshū, I, 114; Seburui no okina den 背振翁伝, Ibun, pp. 395-400, N.B. p. 399.

CHAPTER II

THE BEGINNINGS OF A LITERARY CAREER

As master of the Shimaya, Akinari proved to be a willing spirit encumbered by weak flesh. After the death of his father he bowed to his mother's wishes and tended the shop,[1] but he confessed to a lack of diligence in doing so.[2] We have no concrete information on his commercial activities, but during his ten years as a merchant he began to study and write waka poetry, wrote at least two full-length collections of short stories, and became an accomplished student of both Chinese and Japanese classical literature. The attention he gave to the oil and paper trade must have been less than wholehearted, and one may doubt whether the two thousand ryō that Ueda Mosuke had accumulated remained intact in the hands of his adopted son and heir.

Although Akinari said little of a specific nature about his studies during this period, we know that when he was "about thirty" he met some Koreans with whom he was able to converse in writing. This was probably early in 1764, when an embassy from Korea is known to have arrived in Osaka by ship, from whence its members travelled overland to Edo.[3] If time permitted, students of Chinese were often allowed to test their ability to communicate with these visitors from across the sea, and Akinari's success indicates that he had attained a fair degree of proficiency. As a sidelight to this experience, Akinari recorded that later in the same year, as the Korean envoys were preparing to leave Japan, one member of the party was murdered by a warrior from Tsushima. The criminal was shortly apprehended and put to

death in front of the Korean ship, and in his memoirs Akinari recalled seeing him being paraded through the streets of Osaka enroute to the place of execution, and hearing the courtesans in the nearby gay quarter lamenting the fate of such a handsome young man.[4]

Akinari continued to enjoy travel, and sometimes took time off from work to make sightseeing trips in the countryside. It would appear that his interest in the literature of Japan had not yet extended to the travel diary, however, for he left no such accounts of these early excursions. It is only his poetic descriptions of later journeys that enable us to speculate about travels in his younger days. For example, when he went to the Yamato area in 1782 he recalled having seen the same places some twenty years before.[5] In 1799 he spoke of having once made, with a company of pilgrims, an excursion of several days' duration that included visits to a number of famous and sacred spots in the mountains of Yoshino. This had been more than thirty years earlier, he said.[6] And in 1803, when he wrote a postscript to a collection of scenic views of Waka-no-ura 和歌浦, painted by Kuwayama Gyokushū 桑山玉洲 (1746-1799), he spoke of seeing the actual place forty years before.[7] All of these outings appear to have been made during the 1760's, and since they are known today only because Akinari found occasion to remember them years after the events, it is virtually certain that they were not the only trips he took. He enjoyed seeing the natural wonders of his native land and his heart was tuned to the traditions and sentiments associated with them. In time this would lead to expression in verse and lyrical prose, though at the time it was merely another distraction from his commercial duties.

He was also writing. Early in 1766 he published a collection of stories entitled Shodō kikimimi sekenzaru. A similar work, Seken tekake katagi, appeared just a year later. Both may be classified as katagimono 気質物, a sub-genre of the ukiyo-zōshi 浮世草子, which had long been the leading variety of popular literature. It is not surprising that Akinari chose this style for his literary debut, for he had grown up in the city where the ukiyo-zōshi had been born and had flourished, and he was a member of the society which such works portrayed.

Popular literature had been a growing industry in Japan since the early Tokugawa period. As the long years of warfare gave way to peace, there was general economic prosperity and a continually rising standard of living. Virtually everyone in the country was affected to some degree. Literacy increased as well. It proved indispensable as government by the sword gave way to government by bureaucracy, and equally essential as business transactions became increasingly complex. Moreover, as people came to have more money to spend and more leisure time to enjoy, learning for its own sake became a luxury that many could indulge in. Even the more prosperous farmers managed to get at least a basic education. And as the number of people able to read and write increased, so did the demand for reading material. Printing had begun to prosper in the last decade of the sixteenth century and on into the seventeenth. In part this was due to patronage by the central government, the imperial court, and leading Buddhist temples, but credit must also be given to improved printing techniques that were brought back from Korea by Hideyoshi's invading forces. Before long, merchants

saw the chance to elevate printing and the sale of mass-produced books to the level of profitable business. Before the middle of the seventeenth century more than a hundred publishing businesses had been established;[8] by the early eighteenth century their number had risen to an estimated six hundred or more,[9] and competition among them had become stiff. They had already begun to form guilds for the purpose of controlling their own numbers, regulating prices and production, and preventing piracy of their works. As the supply of books increased, their prices came down, and together with the rise in personal income, this soon put them within the common man's reach. By the early eighteenth century, commoners formed a large segment of the reading public. It was in this way that for the first time in Japan's history, a truly popular literature came into being.

Printed editions of the Japanese classics began to appear from early on, but the first literary publications to be aimed at a mass audience were collections of fairy tales and adventure stories that had been handed down verbally or in manuscript form. Original works soon followed. This early popular literature covered a wide range of subject matter. It included materials designed to educate or enlighten, as well as those intended to entertain. Frequently these functions were combined. Didactic tracts which were aimed at disseminating a particular viewpoint might enhance their readability with a story format. Guides to letter writing techniques sometimes took the form of epistolary tales. Travel guides often incorporated their geographical descriptions into a fictional narrative about a person making a journey. Because these works were produced for an audience of limited

education they were written primarily in the native syllabary, with just occasional use of Chinese characters, and for this reason, despite the variety of their contents, they are collectively known by the generic name of kanazōshi 仮名草子.[10]

As literature for popular consumption became firmly entrenched, its characters came to be drawn more and more from the ranks of the common people, and the stories, often based on actual events, increasingly came to depict realistic details of the contemporary world. In time a more sophisticated brand of literature emerged, one directed specifically at a townsman audience, portraying the lives and surroundings of the merchants in the main commercial centers, and usually written by members of the merchant class--a literature "of the townsmen, for the townsmen, by the townsmen." These were the ukiyo-zōshi. Kōshoku ichidai otoko 好色一代男, a recounting of a young rake's amorous adventures, written by Ihara Saikaku 井原西鶴 (1642-1693) and published in 1682, became the prototype of this genre, though subsequent works by Saikaku and others often subordinated the erotic theme to depictions of practical economic problems or difficulties related to one's station in life. Some were no more than collections of tales gleaned from all over the country. By the mid-seventeenth century the meaning of "ukiyo" had broadened from its original reference to the transient world of Buddhist doctrine to include the current of life. Life itself was seen as a "floating world" in which one lived for the moment, leaving the future to the whims of fate. Life could end at anytime, fortunes could be made or lost overnight, and the courtesan's fidelity lasted no longer than her patron's money. Ukiyo-zōshi, then,

were books about contemporary living, and it was not long before a special variety, the katagimono appeared.[11]

The term "katagi" referred to human personality, interests, actions, habits, or character; thus "katagimono" became the label applied to stories about human characteristics. The style was pioneered by Ejima Kiseki 江島其磧 (1667-1736), who, about 1699, became associated with Hachimonjiya Jishō 八文字屋自笑 (d. 1745), the proprietor of a Kyoto publishing house called the Hachimonjiya. The Jishō-Kiseki team proved to be a lucrative combination, and made the Hachimonjiya so famous that works of popular literature published from roughly 1700 through 1767 are often called hachimonjiyabon, whether printed there or not. When Kiseki appeared on the literary scene, ukiyo-zōshi had reached a state of stagnation, if not of decline. With few exceptions the writers were merely producing insipid imitations of Saikaku's erotic works. Kiseki, however, was able to inject new life into the genre, and most of the credit must go to his katagimono style. Actually it was a style with which he had experimented during a period of independence, while he was estranged from Jishō, but after their reconciliation it became the hallmark of the Hachimonjiya. A typical katagimono by Kiseki was a collection of stories about similar types of people--persons of similar age, occupation, or social status, for example--whose personalities and idiosyncrasies were portrayed in an exaggerated, often satirical fashion. Humor would arise from the caricature, and from the people doing things unbefitting their assigned roles in the feudal hierarchy. Usually a moral lesson would be appended. Such was the formula used by Kiseki in Seken musuko katagi 世間

子息気質 (pub. 1715), Seken musume katagi世間娘容気 (pub. 1717), and Ukiyo oyaji katagi浮世親仁形気(pub. 1720). Meanwhile contemporary authors published numerous imitations, and similar works continued to appear until near the end of the century.

It is often said that popular literature was deteriorating when Akinari made his appearance. Poetry, prose, and drama were as profuse as they had ever been, but in large measure the arts had become stylized for commercial purposes. A dearth of fresh ideas had made them conventionalized and insipid; there was little of the creativity and spontaneity that had characterized the earlier period. Even at their best, Kiseki's works had been divorced from the real world. His characters and plots had lacked vitality; they were not living creations, but manufactured to fit their preassigned roles. He had never succeeded in portraying life's realities with the incisive satire and critical insight of Saikaku, nor had he created characters who could be empathized with. The same was largely true of his successors. But even when advancing in new directions, literature draws on its antecedents. It develops either by improving on the style of previous works or by revolting against it. Akinari chose the former course and produced the last significant ukiyo-zōshi to be published.

Akinari's paper business may have helped him to get involved in the world of popular literature. Writer and publisher generally operated on a contract basis, so if Akinari supplied paper to publishing houses he would have had ample opportunity to make the necessary contacts. Customers who knew of his literary interests may have even urged him to write for them. Be that as it may, Shodō kikimimi seken-

zaru was published early in 1766, though the record shows that it had probably been completed more than a year before. When a publisher wished to print a new work, he would first send the manuscript, together with a request for permission to prepare the printing blocks, to the representatives of the publishers' guild. After determining that publication of the material would not violate any law, and that it was not an infringement on any existing published work, the representatives would normally give their approval for the preparation of the printing blocks and submit a request to the government officials concerned for permission to print the work. Only after this permission had been granted could the printing begin. The publisher paid a fee, based on the number of pages to be printed, to the guild representatives, and an additional fee to the authorities. When permission to publish was granted, the guild representatives would give the publisher a permit to market the work. A record of these proceedings would be kept on file by the guild for future reference.[12] The publisher's request for permission to print Sekenzaru dates from the end of 1764.[13] On this document the author's name was given as Sontokusō 損得叟, "Old Man Profit and Loss," of Dōjima Era-chō, probably a reference to Akinari's commercial enterprises, but when the book appeared in print the pen name had been changed to Wayaku Tarō 和訳太郎. Since delays in publication and changes of pen names were fairly common at that time, they are probably of no immediate importance in this case.

"Wayaku Tarō" might be rendered into English as "Jesting Tarō," "Tarō the Absurd," or "Tarō the Mischievous." It was a fitting pseudonym for the author of a book such as Sekenzaru, which was published in

five volumes, each containing three droll and satirical tales that portray the townsmen in a wide variety of situations. The generally playful and humorous tone is established at the outset with a short preface that seems to have been consciously designed to frustrate the reader who would grasp its true meaning. It is like a butterfly that allows itself to be approached and observed, but stays just out of reach of the collector's net. One can almost hear Akinari chuckling in the background as he tries to come to grips with its elusive phrases. The abstruseness may be related to the author's desire to remain incognito, but the style is in keeping with the spirit of the whole work. The author implies that his book is a collection of gossip picked up here and there (a point also suggested by the title), and that he wrote it with the well-known figure of the three monkeys who "speak no evil, see no evil, and hear no evil" in mind. In relation to these virtuous monkeys, Akinari's Worldly Monkey stands in ostentatious defiance. He does not have his hands cupped over his ears to shut out maliscious gossip, but behind them, the better to hear it. And what he hears, he repeats. He is a metaphorical expression of mischief. Akinari placed himself in the role of this monkey and told an assortment of tales about the townsmen of his day. But he himself was also a townsman, so he appropriately dubbed his stories a collection of shiriwarai尻笑. This was a self-mocking reference to the monkey who laughs at his fellow simians' red posteriors, blissfully unaware of the color of his own backside.[14]

One may see in Sekenzaru a combination of the flavor of Kiseki's katagimono with the method of Saikaku's collections of tales from the

provinces. Akinari drew his material from a variety of sources. He took pains to conceal his debt, however, often drawing from more than one source for a single tale, and so changing his material that the finished product bears little resemblance to what inspired it. Some of the characters and events were drawn from real life. Certain Sekenzaru characters have been identified with well-known persons of Akinari's day, and he may have used other, less obvious, live models as well. It would be in keeping with the spirit of the title and the preface for all of the stories to have some basis in fact, and such may well be the case. Still other material and inspiration were gleaned from earlier ukiyo-zōshi, a common practice among popular writers, but Akinari did not engage in wholesale borrowing. He drew from his sources only in fragments, and usually adapted what he did borrow. Moreover, since the word "wayaku" was generally written in kana syllables, the Chinese characters that Akinari selected for his pen name suggest that his book may feature some translations from foreign works. It is unlikely that this was mere coincidence, for at least four of the fifteen Sekenzaru tales appear to have been partially drawn from Chinese sources. This is a further indication that Akinari had been reading not only Japanese popular fiction but Chinese works as well. We should see the name Wayaku Tarō as a reference to borrowing or adaptation rather than translation, but still remain aware of the nuances of meaning.[15]

Sekenzaru probably reflects the degree of Akinari's knowledge and his way of thinking at the time it was written. The numerous quotations or parodies of quotations from the Japanese classics, and the

casual references to Chinese and Japanese works and authors show that he was well read, and the pedantic tone suggests that he was proud of the fact. The prose is often stiff and intricate, and so adorned with allusion and unorthodox word usage that virtually every phrase requires careful reading. Akinari's knowledge must have been equal to that of nearly any other ukiyo-zōshi writer, but his use of such material conveys the impression that while he had acquired the learning, he had yet to really digest it.[16]

Katagimono were conventionally written in a light-hearted comic tone. The author would take a position of amused detachment to laugh at human imperfections and the misfortunes that inevitably result. Akinari followed this pattern in Sekenzaru, but while the general practice was to end on a cheerful note, showing the failure but ignoring the repercussions, Akinari often has pathos mixed with his humor. He was not always unsympathetic toward his characters. Even in his early light writings we can find signs of the pessimism that became so apparent in his later years. In the first tale of Book II, for example, Akinari directs criticism at the social system which bound a son to support an undeserving family. The father is a drunkard and a gambler, the mother a stubborn and lazy woman, and the younger son has contracted syphilis in the gay quarters and become an invalid. The elder son, Uranosuke, however, is a paragon of filial piety, and works diligently to support his impoverished family, but they are singularly ungrateful. Such is no more than his duty, they feel. They are sparing with their thanks and complain bitterly when he falls short of their expectations. An amateur sumō wrestler, Uranosuke enters a contest in Osaka, but

hard work and inadequate food have made him weak. He loses badly, and returns home to be upbraided by his family. Humbly enduring their insults, he finds employment as a fisherman's helper. The new job carries the fringe benefit of a high protein diet, and his strength returns. He wins decisively at a local sumō contest, and buoyed up by this success, he starts out for the capital to wrestle for higher stakes. Enroute, however, he encounters a decrepit old man who turns out to be the god of poverty. Uranosuke falls sick, his dreams of prosperity dashed. The story is told in a droll style, but the serious themes are apparent. Besides the implied social criticism, we see the role of luck or destiny in man's life. It is bad luck that condemns Uranosuke to striving to raise his family's fortunes; it is good luck that restores his strength and makes him a potential sumō champion. And it is bad luck once again, or perhaps the cynical workings of fate, that brings him to cross paths with the god of poverty. Man's power is limited, Akinari seems to be saying. In large measure he is at the mercy of forces beyond his control.

This latter idea appears with more force in the third tale of Book III. A former maiko, now over fifty, longs for her former popularity, and spends her time trying to convince men that it is the state of the heart, not of the body, that is important. Perhaps a parody on the Buddhist idea of "consciousness only" is intended. Growing old is, of course, unescapable, but her inability to accept the fact makes her pleas for affection all the more pathetic. As a further example of man's inability to control his destiny, her son is introduced. This boy is a handsome and talented lad, but he was con-

ceived as the result of a liaison on the night of kanoe saru 庚申; according to tradition, such a child grows up to be a kleptomaniac. The boy becomes apprenticed to a rich man in Edo, but just as feared, he shows a penchant for stealing. Discharged by his master and disinherited by his mother, he ends up as a catamite for the young braves of Edo, doomed, it would appear, not by any personal flaw, but by his horoscope.

Probably the most amusing of the fifteen tales is the first one of Book III. A samurai from the capital, accompanied by his servant, is going about seeing the sights of Edo. Caught in a sudden rainstorm, they seek shelter in a nearby Buddhist temple. A young nun of striking beauty, her appearance marred only by a bandaged wound on her forehead, receives them. She invites them inside, feeds them, and even offers to let them spend the night if the rain persists. The warrior has a lascivious imagination, and the nun's considerate actions, together with her physical charms and the fact that she seems to be alone in the temple convince him that she is not a nun at heart, but a young widow who has withdrawn behind a religious facade in order to look for men. The facial sore is a venereal infection, he assumes, but he finds her so enchanting that he decides the risk is worth taking. So he awaits his chance, but when, feeling that the time is propitious, he starts to make advances, the nun responds with a challenge to a fencing contest. The man is taken aback. He denies his samurai status and insists that he is only a merchant travelling in the guise of a warrior. He is adept at all the gentle arts, he says, such as poetry writing, the tea ceremony, preparing incense, the courtly game

of football, playing the samisen, painting in the Chinese style, and so on, but knows nothing of military prowess. In reply to his query, "How did a girl like you...?" the nun answers that she has practiced the martial arts from her childhood. Her family had long been distressed by her pugnacious disposition, and after a recent quarrel with a group of young men, in which she felled four or five of her assailants but sustained the wound on her forehead, they had forced her to take the tonsure. Then she demonstrates her skill with the halberd, and when she threatens to attack the man for presenting a false front, he and his servant forget about the downpour outside and dash away in terror.

On first reading, this tale appears to be mocking the decay of martial skill among the military class, but the Japanese of Akinari's day in the Kamigata area would have seen it as poking fun at a real person. When the man denies his samurai status, he says that his name is Yanagiya Gombei 柳屋權兵, otherwise known as Rikō 里江. Considering the numerous arts at which he claims to be proficient, the name must be taken as a pun on that of Yanagi Rikyō 柳里恭 (also called Yanagisawa Kien 柳沢棋園; 1706-1758), a resident of Kyoto who was qualified as an instructor in sixteen different arts. As he had only recently died when Akinari wrote the story, the pun would have been obvious to his readers. The same is true of the nun's name, Jōkei 淨慶. Readers would have recognized it as a play on the name of Shōkei 正慶, a nun who had recently created a scandal by taking a Kyoto physician as her lover and living with him at her temple.

The foregoing illustrates how Akinari selected his material for

Sekenzaru. Yanagi Rikyō is portrayed as a dilettante who puts on airs and is an out and out lecherer at heart. The caricature with which he is presented, along with the exposure of his disguise and the frustration of his lust, provides considerable humor, but in fact the man bears little resemblance to the real Rikyō, nor does the nun bear much similarity to the real Shōkei. If their names were not given, the live models for these characters would be impossible to identify. The same is true for most of the characters in the other stories who are or may have been inspired by real persons.

Making fun of samurai decay was probably not Akinari's intention in the tale of the militant nun, but he does mock the breakdown of traditional values in the first story of Book I, by showing us a world in which the abacus has become mightier than the sword. The characters are stock opposing types. Konishi Sanjūrō is a merchant who wants to be a warrior; Yamamoto Kanroku is a warrior who wants to be a merchant. Yearning after the past glories of the military clan from which he traces his ancestry, Sanjūrō assiduously studies the martial arts, and even remodels his shop on the lines of a military stronghold. Kanroku, however, believes that the way of the warrior is no longer the way to success; he has become a rōnin in order to learn how to carry on a commercial business. Sanjūrō cultivates Kanroku's friendship in hopes of learning more of warlike skills, but Kanroku would rather talk about his entrepreneurial ambitions. In time a certain daimyo, impressed with Kanroku's commercial knowledge, hires him to manage the financial affairs of his fief. Meanwhile Sanjūrō, having neglected his business in order to study the arts of war, goes bank-

rupt. After failing in a number of attempts to make a living, he makes his way in rags and despair to Kanroku's new home. Moved to tears by his old friend's plight, Kanroku gives him a job selling goods to the daimyo's retainers, but this apparent kindness is really the plot of a scheming merchant. After Sanjūrō has sold the goods, Kanroku claims such a large share as compensation for his services as middleman that Sanjūrō takes a net loss. Sanjūrō vows to get revenge, and lies in ambush for Kanroku, but Kanroku manages to evade him. Pursuing the way of the merchant has won a post in the service of a daimyo for one man, while pursuing the way of the warrior has led to ruin for another. It is an ironic twist, but there was no doubt a high degree of truth in it at that time, when Japan's economy was becoming more and more commercialized.

In the second tale of Book II, use of the ironic twist provides a wry look at extreme religious piety. A devout adherent of the True Pure Land Sect, whose members petition Amida Buddha with singleminded devotion, or ikkō isshin 一向一心, has two sons. The younger shares his father's temperament, but the elder scorns such a life and seeks a career on the kabuki stage. The younger son sets off on a religious pilgrimage, but is waylaid and killed by a band of robbers on the way. When the father hears this news he does not grieve, however, but rejoices that his son has been so favored as to be taken so early into paradise, away from the cares of this transient world. Tragedy continues. The elder son's wife becomes sick and dies; then a fatal illness overtakes one of the grandchildren. Still the father's only reaction is to rejoice that his loved ones have found everlasting bliss.

He is likewise overjoyed even when the family cat falls down the well and drowns. But when the life of his eldest son, the kabuki actor, is claimed by a stage accident, the father's piety is at last shown to have its limits. Perhaps feeling that his turn is next, he petitions Amida Buddha with ikkō isshin that his own salvation be delayed.

The ironic twist is a recurring device. In the second tale of Book I an unscrupulous man marries the devout widow of a Shinto priest and persuades her to sell her daughter to a brothel. As time passes, the man turns into a kindly religious person, while his wife becomes greedy and devilish, and finally drives him out of the house. In the third tale of Book III, a brothel keeper goes to the home of a deadbeat customer only to find the man gone and the house stripped of even the tatami mats. When he finally tracks the man down, the object of his search is shivering in an underheated room, clad only in a loincloth. Instead of collecting the bill, the brothel keeper gives money to his delinquent patron. In the second tale of Book III, a young man who scorns working in his parents' apothecary shop leaves home and drifts from one mean occupation to another until he is unemployed and destitute. Then he chances to meet a fortune teller who tells him that he has an innate talent to be an apothecary. The youth goes home to find that his parents have died, but he reopens their shop and becomes very prosperous.

The first tale of Book IV is interesting for its possibly autobiographical nature. It features two brothers, again opposite character types. The elder tends the family shop with an excess of diligence. A shrewd and stingy man, he refuses to leave his business af-

fairs even to view the cherry blossoms once a year, or to make an occasional visit to the theater, nor will he take the time to attend festivals other than those in honor of deities connected with commerce. The younger brother scorns the life of a tradesman, considering it an unworthy way to make a living. Scrupulously honest himself, he detests flattery, and cultivates nobility of soul. He lives simply, feels deeply, seeks harmony with nature, and practices the arts of Noh and renga. His preference for the quiet scholarly life outweighs even his respect for the code of filial piety. Despite his widowed mother's pleading, he refuses to become encumbered with a wife and family. When his mother dies and the business fails, he becomes a priest. Akinari must have felt some identification with this character. At the time he wrote this story, he himself was managing his own family's business, but probably spending as much if not more energy on the arts. The younger son's views, with some exaggeration, may be an expression of his own.

The characters of Sekenzaru are well portrayed throughout. One of the best examples is a man from the first tale of Book V, whose stinginess provides most of the humor. In Kyoto, the house of Isōemon has become a stopping-off place for men on their way to Shimabara. Among the regular attenders is one Shichizaemon, a wealthy but unbelievably miserly individual. "Loathing the expense of candles, he would go home with someone who had a lantern. He would depend on others for tobacco and for paper to wipe his nose. When a collection was taken for an evening snack, he would rush off saying that he had forgotten an important engagement, but if someone offered to treat the

group, he would not refuse though the sushi be made of snake's flesh."[17] Naturally he incurs the group's disfavor. One night, when only Isōemon, Shichizaemon, and another friend, Sumigorō, are present, Isōemon drops a remark to Sumigorō about the fascinating exhibition of fox catching that they had been able to witness a few nights before at no charge. Shichizaemon pricks up his ears at the prospect of free entertainment, and begs his friends to arrange for him to see this sight also. Isōemon and Sumigorō express doubt that the rōnin who catches foxes will agree to a second demonstration, but agree to speak to him. A few days later they inform Shichizaemon that, since they are his special friends, the rōnin has agreed to exhibit his skill just one more time. Shichizaemon is so overjoyed that he insists on at least giving the man a bottle of wine for his pains. On the appointed night the three men meet the rōnin and accompany him to the moors. The rōnin leaves them, saying that he is going to set his snare, and warns them not to follow until he calls. Time passes. At last Isōemon, feigning impatience, goes to see if anything is wrong. When he does not return, Sumigorō and Shichizaemon at last go to search also, and come upon the rōnin and Isōemon quarreling violently. The rōnin accuses the three of them of trying to spy out the secrets of his hereditary art, and to placate him, Shichizaemon is forced to treat him in the restaurants and theaters.

Sekenzaru's immediate success can be inferred from the publication of a similar work by the same author within a year of its first appearance, and from the fact that it was reprinted twice after Akinari's death, in 1839 and 1849, we may infer its enduring popularity. Of all

Akinari's works, only Ugetsu monogatari 雨月物語 was more widely read.

A request for permission to publish Akinari's second ukiyo-zōshi, Seken tekake katagi, was submitted during the latter part of 1766, but was refused, probably because of deficiencies in the written application. A second request was sent out in the first month of the next year and approved. The addresses of those in charge of the publication, missing from the first application, were included in the second one, and the name of one of them was changed. The author's name too was changed from Wayaku Tarō to Shimaya Senjirō 仙次郎.[18] Presumably Senjirō was one of Akinari's official names, as it was customary for a writer's real name to appear on a publication request (though failure to do so had caused no apparent difficulty in the case of Sekenzaru). Carving the printing plates for a work was not to be started until permission had been received, but Tekake katagi was published promptly in the first month of 1767.[19]

Tekake katagi is a collection of twelve items, in reality ten tales, since two of them are continuations of the story which precedes them. It was published in four volumes, a puzzling departure from the general rule that such works consist of five or six. Perhaps, due to the success of Sekenzaru, the publisher was impatient to put out another work by the same author, and so considered four volumes adequate. Tekake katagi does bear the marks of being tailor-made for the publisher. "Shōdō kikimimi sekenzaru" is an unorthodox title that bespeaks its author's individuality, but "Seken tekake katagi" could easily be overlooked in a list of similar titles. The preface, in which Akinari freely acknowledged his debt to Kiseki, Jishō, and Sai-

kaku, is straightforward and quite similar in tone to that of the typical katagimono, unlike the impertinently incomprehensible preface to Sekenzaru. The style of the text is also more orthodox, more polished and refined than that of Sekenzaru, but lacking the freshness of its free and novel expressions. Akinari had probably been asked by his publisher to follow the accepted katagimono style more closely.

Still, certain aspects of Tekake katagi may be seen as reflecting a greater degree of maturity on the part of its author, which is only to be expected if he had written Sekenzaru three years earlier and continued to widen his field of knowledge in the interval. The deliberately pedantic style of Sekenzaru is softened in Tekake katagi, and the direct references to Chinese and Japanese classics are fewer in number. Probably Akinari was now more confident of his own ability and did not feel the need to show off so much--a natural stage in a writer's development. At times, however, we find what seems to be an attempt to echo the style of certain classical works, which might be considered a more refined sort of pedantry. This classical style is interwoven with, and modifies, the colloquial style of the ukiyo-zōshi. Waka poetry is used to a greater degree than in Sekenzaru. An appropriate verse, either an original composition or a parody from an old collection, appears at the beginning of each tale, and in places waka are fitted smoothly into the narrative. This may be a further reflection of the degree to which Akinari had been influenced by Chinese literature, for it was characteristic of Chinese vernacular fiction to commence each tale or chapter with a poem. For reasons such as these, Tekake katagi can be seen as a transitional piece moving to-

ward Ugetsu monogatari.[20]

As a katagimono, Tekake katagi presents stereotyped portraits of mistresses, but the field is not confined to women living in unnatural seclusion such as the modern-day reading of the character 妾 , "mekake," suggests. At the time, being a mistress was simply one of the lines of work open to a woman, and society recognized the institution along with marriage. Two of the ten tales deal with real wives; mistresses become legal spouses in four others. Strictly speaking, they are stories of relationships between men and women, rather than of illicit love alone. As in Sekenzaru, Akinari portrayed his characters' frailties, often drawing laughs as a result, but with an undercurrent of sympathetic understanding. He was not merely telling stories about stock characters; he also recognized the pathos in their lives. Born out of wedlock, abandoned by his real mother, separated by death from his first foster mother, and left deformed by a debilitating illness, Akinari was aware of the pain in the world and could not rise above it to the position of a sneering, completely detached observer.

Some of the tales are thought provoking; others merely offer amusement for its own sake. Of the latter variety, perhaps the most entertaining is the story comprised by the second and third sections of Book I. Akinari made no attempt to conceal his debt to the Urashima legend; indeed the heroine's father, Jusai, is identified as a descendant of Urashima Tarō. Jusai is on the verge of despair because he has no child to carry on the family name. Now an old man, there is nothing he can do except appeal to the gods for a miracle. On the last night of the year, as he stands on the beach in prayer, he is visited by two

messengers from the realm of the Dragon King, who tell him that he will be granted his heart's desire. They give him a small jewelled box and tell him that the child will live indefinitely if he will but refrain from opening it. Jusai carries the box home and discovers a baby girl beside his door. Since it is now the first day of spring according to the lunar calendar, he names her O-haru, and brings her up as his daughter. When O-haru becomes eighteen years of age he adopts a young physician as a husband for her, and dies satisfied that the family name will not be extinguished. But O-haru's husband soon passes away also, and she remarries with Denzaburō, a sailor. After Denzaburō leaves on a voyage, O-haru waits for three years, but the ship never returns, so, giving him up for dead, she marries once again, this time to a blind masseur named Rokuemon. Then Denzaburō, who had been shipwrecked and stranded in China and Korea, comes home to find his wife married to another man. Bloodshed is forestalled only by the intervention of a mutual friend who proposes that, circumstances being what they are, Denzaburō be reinstated as the proper husband, but that Rokuemon be permitted to live in the neighboring house as O-haru's male concubine. This proves acceptable to all parties, and the triangular arrangement continues harmoniously until the two men both die in old age. O-haru remains to all appearances a young woman in her mid-twenties.

In the second half of the story, O-haru, still outwardly young, marries her fourth husband, a scholar named Tamon, but Tamon proves unfaithful and soon finds himself caught between a demanding mistress and a jealous wife. One night, while pondering over his dilemma, he hears the sound of rats gnawing in the background. Suddenly he has a

flash of inspiration. Going home, he confesses his infidelity to his wife and promises to see his mistress no more. Relieved, O-haru goes to bed, and after she has fallen asleep, Tamon stealthily places some sweetmeats, which he had purchased on his way home, upon the jewelled box that the Dragon King's messengers had entrusted to O-haru's father years before. On the third morning thereafter, O-haru awakens to find herself turned into a shrivelled old hag. Rats have chewed holes in the box. O-haru is unaware of her husband's treachery, and spends the rest of her life waging a personal feud against rats. The villagers call her Neko Irazu Nezumi-tori Baba 猫いらず鼠取婆, or Rat Catching Granny who Needs no Cat. When she dies, they give her the posthumous name of O-neko-sama お猫様, or Madame Cat, and revere her as the patron deity of rat extermination. A pebble from her grave mound, if kept in the house, will drive all rats away, so powerful is her spirit, and this proves a boon to the people in the area who make their living from sericulture.

Like Sekenzaru, Tekake katagi also takes a satirical look at religion. In the third tale of Book III, Ginshichi, a tailor, and his beautiful wife O-ito, open a shop in the capital, pretending to be brother and widowed elder sister. O-ito appears to be devoutly religious. She faithfully tends the household altar and makes frequent visits to the temple, and in due time she acquires six priestly admirers whose interest in her has nothing to do with religion. A quarrel develops over which one of them will receive her favors. At last Ginshichi intercedes. He proposes that each priest spend two months of the year with his "sister," the order to be determined by drawing

lots, using the six characters in the invocation to Amida Buddha. The priests hail this as a brilliant idea. They send appropriate gifts, and gladly rent a separate house in deference to Ginshichi's plea that the neighbors will be offended by the arrangement. At the appointed time the six priests arrive at the house wearing festive attire over their robes, it being the season of O-bon. Ginshichi and O-ito are waiting for them with a group of people from the neighborhood, but not, it turns out, as a welcoming committee. Falling on the priests, they beat them, strip them of their clothes, and drive them away. Using the booty as a start, Ginshichi and his wife open a used-clothing shop.

The clever scheme is a feature of other tales as well. In the first story of Book IV, an old woman passing through a secluded place is accosted by an attractive young woman who introduces herself as a fox in human form, searching for her child who has been captured and sold. She begs the old woman to help her, and if possible to buy the young fox back. Touched that even animals have tender maternal feelings, the old woman sends her servant to the market place, where he finds the fox pup and purchases it. The old woman returns it to its mother, and the mother fox asks how she can repay the favor. The old woman makes a similar motherly request. She explains that her son, Wasaburō by name, has divorced his wife and is now living with a courtesan whom he has ransomed, and she begs the fox to use her magic power to bring him to his senses. Not long after, her son indeed does come home. He announces that he has severed relations with his mistress, and begs his mother's pardon for the pain he has brought her.

Thereafter he acts like a truly reformed man. Sometime later the old woman is approached by a matchmaker who wishes to arrange a marriage between Wasaburō and the daughter of a certain rōnin. Overjoyed that her son will be able to marry a respectable girl, and convinced that the grateful fox has brought all this about, she gives her consent. The marriage takes place, but after the nuptial ceremony is over the bride lifts her veil to reveal herself as the "fox." In reality she is the son's mistress. It has all been a trick to enable Wasaburō to marry her against his mother's wishes.

The first tale of Book I also features a clever scheme. Hanazono is the mistress of a Kyoto aristocrat, but loses her heart to an impecunious townsman named Hampei. Her love has its limits, however; it is not so strong as her desire for a life of luxury. She does not want to work for a living, and so cannot bring herself to abscond with her lover. But when Hampei tells her that he is going to steal fifty ryō that has been entrusted to him, and shows her the bag containing the money, she agrees to run away with him. So they set out, but when they are clear of the capital, Hampei confesses that the bag actually contains no money, only pieces of tile. Hanazono realizes that she has been deceived, but it is too late to return to her former paramour. Since there is nothing else she can do, she changes her name to the more plebeian one of O-sono and makes her living with Hampei, operating a teahouse at the Ausaka Barrier.

Coming to grief like this through greed is a recurrent theme. In the second tale of Book II, Saburōshichi, a prosperous merchant of Edo, approaches Densuke, who sells rice cakes at the neighboring shop, and

asks for help. He must spend the next year in Nagasaki, he says, and since he must make some arrangement for his concubine, O-sumi, he proposes to marry her off to his lazy shop clerk, Hachizaemon. He plans to provide an ample dowry for O-sumi, and promises to reward Densuke handsomely if he will act as go-between. Densuke readily agrees. O-sumi protests the arrangement at first, swearing undying fidelity, but at last gives in. Thus Saburōshichi departs, and the wedding takes place. At the marriage feast Densuke announces that he will now read a list of the items provided for O-sumi's dowry. But, to the consternation of all concerned, the supposed list turns out to be a declaration from Saburōshichi to the effect that he knew O-sumi had been untrue, granting her favors to Hachizaemon. He has permitted her to marry her lover, but the dowry, he now admits, was a false promise. O-sumi must spend her life married to a penniless clerk. Since Densuke had assisted in arranging their meetings, says Saburōshichi, he likewise will receive no reward.

The second tale of Book IV presents another variation of the theme. Despairing of finding a husband worthy of their beautiful daughter in their rural home, a <u>rōnin</u> and his wife move to the capital, hoping to place her in the mansion of a nobleman. But the pampered daughter has become even more fastidious than her parents. She refuses all offers, and at length her father, discouraged by his failure to find a suitable position for her, dies. The daughter then sets out on her own to find a wealthy patron, and indeed does succeed in becoming the mistress of a man to her liking, but she demands so many luxuries and services that he finally leaves her. At last she ends up as the wife of a

shopkeeper.

The stories described above are typical of Tekake katagi, but there is one that stands out in contrast. This is the tale of Fujino, in the second and third sections of Book III. It lacks the scorn and satire, the jesting and exaggeration, of the other stories, being a simple and straightforward tale of love and duty. Saitarō, a wealthy farmer, loses everything he owns by speculating on the Osaka rice exchange. Shunned by his family, he lives an aimless life in Osaka with Fujino, a former courtesan whom he has ransomed. When in despair he begs Fujino to leave him for her own sake, she refuses, and proposes instead that she return to the brothel where she was formerly indentured and let him make a fresh start with the money she receives. Saitarō agrees. The brothel keeper, Eigorō, provides fifty ryō as a lump sum, and Saitarō journeys to Hachijō Island where he uses the money to buy local fabrics, expecting to sell them at a high profit in the Kamigata region. But on the way back to the mainland his boat is attacked by pirates. He escapes with his life, but his purchases are all stolen. Once again he is destitute. The action now shifts to the brothel in Osaka where Fujino is working and awaiting word from Saitarō. One morning her master calls her privately to his room and tells her that Saitarō is dead. He then reads to her the letter that Saitarō had sent him, telling of his misfortune and his determination to put an end to his life. In the letter, Saitarō begs Eigorō not to allow Fujino to follow him in death or take religious vows, but to encourage her to serve out her time in her present situation and live for the future. Kind and understanding, Eigorō gives Fujino forty-nine days

to observe the rituals of mourning, and even summons a priest to read sutras on every seventh day. On the fiftieth day, Fujino returns to work, and thereafter she serves her master with impeccable fidelity. Numerous admirers try to ransom her, but no matter how high their offers, Eigorō refuses, saying that the decision must rest with Fujino. When her term of service ends, Fujino makes her living as a hairdresser. She remains unmarried and continues to faithfully observe the proper memorial services for Saitarō. Such fidelity comes from her heart; it is more than social conventions of the time required. Fujino is the earliest example of Akinari's feminine ideal--the faithful, loving, and long-suffering woman epitomized by Miyagi in Ugetsu monogatari and by another female character, also named Miyagi, in his last work of fiction, Harusame monogatari 春雨物語.

In the back of the last volume of Sekenzaru there is an advertisement for two forthcoming works by the same author--Seken tekake katagi and Shokoku kaisen dayori 諸国廻船便. When Tekake katagi appeared in print it carried a further advertisement for Kaisen dayori, and one for another title, Saigyō hanashi uta makura someburoshiki 西行はなし 歌枕染風呂敷. However, in this second announcement the Shokoku kaisen dayori title had been expanded to Sekenzaru kōhen shokoku kaisen dayori 世間猿後編, indicating that Akinari first planned the work as an independent composition, but later decided to style it as a sequel to his first ukiyo-zōshi. Akinari's publisher may have been behind the change. It was sound business practice to publish a "sequel" to a successful literary venture, and there were numerous precedents for so doing. We can only guess whether Akinari ever completed or even commenced these

intended works. They never appeared in published editions, nor are any manuscripts known to exist. Indeed, nothing more of any description was ever published under the name of Wayaku Tarō, and from this point on, as far as can be determined, Akinari moved in a different direction. Perhaps he had rebelled against the prospect of becoming a hack for his publisher; perhaps too he had been distressed when his true identity was revealed. But it is also true that Akinari's ukiyo-zōshi were ill-timed. Few similar works were then being published, and in the same month that Tekake katagi appeared, the Hachimonjiya, in a state of near bankruptcy, sold its printing materials to an Osaka firm and went out of business. This was tantamount to a death knell for ukiyo-zōshi, and must have been a shock to Akinari, enjoying his first literary success. Perhaps he saw the handwriting on the wall and decided to abandon this kind of writing immediately.

The ukiyo-zōshi as a genre fell into disrepute. Scholars have generally conceded that Sekenzaru and Tekake katagi are historically significant as the last noteworthy examples of such works, but for the most part they have dismissed them as merely early efforts of the author of Ugetsu monogatari. Few have been willing to say that they have any literary value in their own right. Yet both works are able to stand on their own merits. They are not collections of pedestrian tales for an undiscriminating audience, but can be understood and appreciated only by readers whose level of knowledge approaches that of Akinari himself. In all, they display a degree of maturity surprising for an author's first offerings. In more recent years, some scholars have at last begun to look at these stories for their intrinsic worth.

Another factor, perhaps the most important one, in Akinari's decision to give up light literature was his increasing involvement in classical scholarship. Information is inadequate and contradictory, making reconstruction of exactly how he became a kokugakusha 国学者, or student of the national learning, impossible, but even though he himself mentioned no dates, the decade of the 1760's was a crucial time.

As he himself described his scholarly progress, he was engrossed in the study of haikai until he was nearly forty. His teachers praised his talent, but certain persons who regarded haikai as a plebeian pursuit urged him to shift his efforts to the more respectable art of waka. Having always thought waka to be the prerogative of the court nobles, Akinari was reluctant to commit himself, but in the end he enrolled in the Shimo no Reizeike 下の冷泉家 school, which traced its line back to Fujiwara Tamesuke 藤原為相 (1263-1328), and which advocated a style relatively free from conventions. Again Akinari found himself praised for his talent, but he seems to have wanted to delve into literary theory rather than obediently follow his teacher's advice on how to compose waka. Discouraged at getting nothing but evasive answers to his questions, he left his teacher and turned to private study of the works of Keichū. Still many questions remained unanswered. He sought instruction from the scholar and writer Takebe Ayatari 建部綾足 (1719-1774), but found his knowledge unsatisfactory. Apparently realizing his own inadequacy, Ayatari introduced him to Katō Umaki 加藤宇万伎 (1721-1777), and "the road to the ancient learning was opened up."[21]

But when did all this happen? One of his associates said that Akinari and Umaki met for the first time in the autumn of 1766,[22] but Ayatari did not come to the Kamigata region until the spring of 1767, so either the date of their meeting or the report that Ayatari supplied the introduction must be rejected. It is possible, though by no means certain, that Umaki was in Osaka during part of 1765 and 1766,[23] but Akinari's account of Ayatari's role in his meeting with Umaki is too straightforward to be taken lightly. Akinari once stated that he corresponded with Umaki over a period of seven years,[24] and since Umaki died in 1777, one might assume that their first encounter took place in 1770. This is possible. Umaki was in Kyoto from mid-1768 until at least the tenth month of 1769, and very likely stayed even longer. It is even possible that he spent some time in Osaka in 1770. But it is not necessary to assume that Akinari met Umaki exactly in 1770. He did not say that he knew Umaki for seven years, but that he corresponded with him for that length of time. Nor is it essential to place Umaki in Osaka at the time of their meeting, as a brief look at the careers of Umaki and Ayatari will show.

Originally from Hirosaki, in northeastern Japan, Ayatari had left home in disgrace in 1738, following an illicit affair with his brother's wife. Eventually he made his way to Kyoto, where he took the tonsure, but soon began to practice haikai with various teachers in the region. In 1747 he went to Edo, where he turned to more scholarly pursuits, eventually enrolling with Kamo Mabuchi 賀茂真淵 (1697-1769) in 1762 to study kokugaku. From 1767 until 1771, when he returned to Edo, he was in Kyoto, giving lectures and engaging in the two pursuits

for which he is best remembered, painting and story writing. Umaki, who was one of Mabuchi's top-ranking disciples, had become a rōnin around 1762 and purchased go-kenin status a year or two later. His new position involved spending each third year on official duties at either the Osaka Castle or the Nijō Castle in Kyoto, and it must have been on one such assignment that he met Akinari.

By 1767 Ayatari had become a well-known man of letters, so it is reasonable to assume that when he came to the capital Akinari, attracted by his reputation, took the trouble to attend some of his lectures and seek his advice on studying the classics. Akinari was probably making periodic trips to Kyoto then anyway, in order to visit his haikai associates. Ayatari probably did go to Osaka occasionally, but since his relationship with Akinari was one of teacher to pupil, it is most likely that their contacts were primarily in the capital. Umaki is only specified as being "in the castle" when Akinari met him, not in any particular city.[25] Thus Akinari could have met Umaki in Kyoto as early as 1768 with Ayatari, who knew Umaki through their mutual studies with Mabuchi, as the intermediary, associated with him until his return to Edo, probably in 1770, and then corresponded with him until he died in 1777. Umaki may have been on duty at the Osaka Castle in 1771, and almost definitely was in 1774, so the seven-year period probably included some personal contact, but this could merely mean that their relationship was primarily by correspondence rather than entirely so. Still, this is just a possibility. In the final analysis, Akinari's first meeting with Umaki cannot be dated precisely. More important than the chronology of their association is the effect

that it had on Akinari's subsequent activities.[26]

In any case, Akinari's statement that he first began to study waka when about forty years old must be untrue. By Japanese reckoning he would have been forty in 1773. Even if by "about forty" he actually meant, say, thirty-six or thirty-seven, if he had commenced the study of waka at that age, then privately studied Keichū's works for, as he said in one source, "two or three years,"[27] then received instruction for a time from Takebe Ayatari, and only after that met Katō Umaki, he would not have had seven years before Umaki's death in which to correspond with him. "About forty" was probably an error or a deliberate fabrication for "about thirty."[28]

There is no real information on the nature of Akinari's association with Ayatari. We only know that however cordial it may have been at the start, it went sour. Akinari later described Ayatari as "a clod who couldn't read Chinese characters at all" and was taken aback whenever he was asked a question,[29] and he called Ayatari's Nishiyama monogatari 西山物語 "a useless tale that leads good people astray,"[30] when writing his own account of the incident on which the story was based. Considering Ayatari less intelligent than himself, Akinari was envious of his fame and came to regard him as a rival.

There is little of a concrete nature about Akinari's relationship with Umaki either.[31] Since Umaki spent most of his time in Edo, their personal contacts were limited, but they became very close even so. The tone of Umaki's letters implies that he considered Akinari more a friend than a disciple, and Akinari to his death remained loyal to the memory of Umaki and conscious of his own position as an intellectual

descendant of Mabuchi. One of the strongest indications of his high regard is that after Umaki passed away Akinari made no effort to find another teacher, but turned once again to private study. Umaki had left an indelible impression on the younger man. He could not be replaced. Still, we must not imagine that Akinari became a classical scholar only because he studied with Umaki. The reverse is more nearly true, but nevertheless it was under Umaki's influence that his own views began to take shape. No doubt he experienced a growing desire to emulate his teacher. Perhaps this is why he seemed more willing to talk about himself after he met Umaki, while remaining secretive and apparently ashamed of his earlier experiences. Introduction to Umaki was, to Akinari, the turning point in his life. He felt that he had been reborn, and he rejected his former self.

In 1802, a man named Tamiya Yuzō 田宮由蔵 came to Akinari and asked him some questions about Sekenzaru. He had been sent by Ōta Nampo, who had recently become friendly with Akinari. Nampo probably realized that the matter was a touchy one, and thus decided to approach Akinari through a third party. Just what it was that Tamiya asked is not certain--it apparently had something to do with some of the live character models--but Akinari flew into a rage and refused to have anything more to do with him.[32] Even as an old man it pained Akinari to be reminded of his early writings or to have others learn about them. Such was the impact that Umaki had made, and such was the width of the rift that Akinari felt with his past. In his own view, he had attained enlightenment, and his ukiyo-zōshi were a blotch on the record of the classical scholar he had striven to become. As a

repentant man forsakes the evils of this world to strive for rebirth in paradise, so Akinari, after experimenting with the fashionable novels of the street, left them to seek the beauty of ancient times in the classics.

NOTES

1. Jiden, Ibun, p. 255.

2. Ibid., p. 260.

3. Tandai, no. 61, NKBT, LVI, 289. Akinari also recalled this experience in Reigotsū 靈語通, Zenshū, II, 409-438, N.B. p. 422. Concerning Korean embassies to Japan at this time, see George B. McCune, "The Exchange of Envoys Between Korea and Japan During the Tokugawa Period" (1946), in Japan: Enduring Scholarship, ed. John A. Harrison (Tucson, Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 1972), pp. 83-100; pp. 85-89 give some information about this particular embassy.

4. Tandai, no. 62, NKBT, LVI, 289, 290.

5. Yamazuto 山衆, Ibun, pp. 345-363, N.B. p. 349.

6. Mitake sōji 御嶽さうじ, Zenshū, I, 71-80, N.B. pp. 71, 72.

7. Quoted in Takada, "'Ueda Akinari nempu kōsetsu' hoi," p. 77.

8. See Noda, Kinsei bungaku no haikei, p. 117.

9. See Dore, Education in Tokugawa Japan, p. 20.

10. See Richard Lane, "The Beginnings of the Modern Japanese Novel (Kanazōshi, 1600-1682)," HJAS, 20, No. 3-4 (Dec. 1957), 644-701.

11. For general treatment of ukiyo-zōshi, see Ivan Morris, ed. & trans., The Life of an Amorous Woman and Other Writings by Ihara Saikaku (Norfolk, Connecticut: New Directions, 1963); Howard Hibbett, The Floating World in Japanese Fiction (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959).

12. See Noda, Kinsei bungaku no haikei, p. 138.

13. Ōsaka Tosho Shuppangyō Kumiai, ed., Kyōhō igo Ōsaka shuppan shoseki mokuroku (Osaka: Ōsaka Tosho Shuppangyō Kumiai, 1936), p. 65. The actual publication data from the 1766 edition is quoted in Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 42.

14. On the monkey's significance in oriental art and literature, see U. A. Casal, "Far Eastern Monkey Lore," MN, 12 (1956), 13-49.

15. The most ambitious and authoritative study to date of Akinari's Sekenzaru sources is Takada Mamoru, Ueda Akinari kenkyū josetsu (Tokyo: Nara Shobō, 1968), pp. 15-74. Information about the live character models may be found in Nakamura Yukihiko, "Akinari ni egakareta hitobito," Part I, KK, 32, No. 1 (Jan. 1963), 1-11.

16. This point is discussed more fully in Asano Sampei, "Shodō kikimimi sekenzaru ron," JK, 15 (Oct. 1959), 46-56.

17. Ueda Akinari zenshū, ed. Suzuki, pp. 79, 80.

18. Both publication requests are reproduced in Ibid., pp. 101, 102.

19. Publication data quoted in Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 51.

20. Most of the ideas expressed in this paragraph are treated more fully in Asano Sampei, "Seken tekake katagi wo megutte--Shokoku kaisen dayori, Uta makura someburoshiki ni oyobu," KKB, 36, No. 5 (May 1959), 38-48.

21. Ihon Tandai shōshin roku異本 , NKBT, LVI, 370-377, N.B. pp. 372, 373.

22. Fujita Gyō, Ken'ei waka jo, Zenshū, I, 149.

23. This and subsequent references to Umaki's whereabouts at given times are taken from Takada Mamoru, "Umaki nyūmon nendai kō"宇万伎入門年代考, in Akinari nempu, pp. 361-376.

24. Ihon Tandai, NKBT, LVI, 373.

25. Ibid.

26. Despite ample debate, Japanese scholars have yet to agree on the date of Akinari's first meeting with Umaki. In "Umaki nyūmon nendai kō," Takada argues in favor of 1766. Maruyama Sueo supports the 1770 view in "Akinari no Umaki nyūmon no toshi sono ta," Wagimo, 13, No. 3 (Mar. 1936), 42-45, and in "Akinari den no mondaiten," KKK, 265 (June 1958), 7-11, Nakamura Yukihiko proposes that the first meeting

took place in 1767. All three reach their conclusions by accepting some pieces of evidence, rejecting others, and making certain arbitrary assumptions. No matter which view one subscribes to, some of the evidence has to be assumed to be erroneous.

27. Tandai shōshin roku kakioki no koto 書おきの事 , NKBT, LVI, 363-370, N.B. p. 366.

28. Probably a deliberate fabrication, since it appears in both Ihon Tandai and Kakioki no koto. See NKBT, LVI, 365, 372.

29. Ihon Tandai, NKBT, LVI, 373.

30. Akinari, Masurao monogatari ますらを物語 , Ibun, pp. 406-418. His criticism of Nishiyama appears on p. 408.

31. An attempt to draw inferences about their relationship through analyzing the written record has been made by Nakamura Yukihiko in "Umaki to Akinari" (1958), in Akinari, ed. Nihon Bungaku Kenkyū Shiryō Kankōkai (Tokyo: Yūseidō, 1972), pp. 150-157.

32. Letter from Tamiya to Nampo in Ichi wa ichi gen 一話一言 , in Shin hyakka zeirin Shoku Sanjin zenshū, ed. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 5 vols. (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1907, 1908), IV, 806.

CHAPTER III

KASHIMA-MURA

Fire broke out in a teahouse in Sonezaki about noon one day in the spring of 1768. The blaze crossed the river into Dōjima, creating a conflagration that lasted until approximately six o'clock the following morning. Thirteen lives were lost and about 6,500 buildings destroyed.[1] The Ueda family's home and business, the Shimaya, was located in the burned-over area, but judging from Akinari's silence on the matter, the shop must have escaped serious damage. Ironically, it was to be a smaller fire three years later that would rob him of his property and change the course of his life.

It was almost certainly in 1771 that Akinari was burned out and financially ruined,[2] but no more precise date can be given. The only fire of major proportions that occurred in Dōjima in that year was on the seventeenth day of the first month, though if the description is accurate the flames stopped well short of Akinari's home.[3] Flying sparks from the main blaze could have descended upon the Shimaya, but just as likely the shop fell prey to a local fire which caused such insignificant damage to the neighborhood as a whole that no record survives.

Akinari's house and his means of livelihood had gone up in smoke. To compound the disaster, looters came and made off with what little property the flames had spared, leaving the Ueda family destitute.[4] Two years were to pass before they were again settled in permanent lodgings. In the meantime they drifted from one temporary abode to

another, changing their residence more than ten times in all.[5]

Akinari probably had mixed feelings about his loss. On the one hand, he may well have felt a sense of relief. Normally we would expect a burned-out merchant at least to attempt a fresh start, but there is no evidence whatever that Akinari tried to re-establish his business or ever had intentions of doing so. Never being inclined toward the world of commerce, he apparently determined to use the fire as an avenue of escape. As long as the business that his father had left him remained in his hands, he had felt duty bound to operate it, but its loss seems to have given him the reason he was searching for in his decision to leave the merchant life. On the other hand, however, the shop that had been such a burden had also been a source of income, and another steady source was not readily available. Much as he had felt out of his element as a merchant, this was the first period of want that he had ever experienced, and as head of the family he felt the burden of responsibility. It was no doubt a trying time for him. The frequency with which he mentioned the fire in his later writings suggests the degree to which the loss upset him. Any sense of freedom that he may have immediately felt was surely tempered by trepidation and regret.

It is uncertain just what Akinari did for the next two years. Possibly he tried to set himself up as a professional scholar, privately studying to advance his own knowledge while living off the revenue he received from lessons and writings. At least part of his income does seem to have come from giving lectures on the classics, as a collection of notes for such lessons has survived from this period. En-

titled Kokin jo kikigaki 古今序聞書 , it was dated Meiwa Era, 9th year (1772), 12th month, 3rd day, and signed "Fuji Teibu藤提蕪, disciple of Ueda Akinari."[6] The Fuji family had presided over the Kashima Inari Shrine since the late Kamakura period, and continue to do so to the present day. Akinari's supposedly miraculous recovery from smallpox and his consequent patronage of this shrine since childhood had given him a long-standing intimate relationship with the family. In addition to the genuine friendship which they held for each other, Akinari's gratitude to the deity naturally extended to the priests of the shrine, and they were surely pleased to see in Akinari living proof of the power of the god they served. Teibu was known as a clever man, a skilled painter and writer of kyōka verse, and was a prominent figure in the neighborhood. Thirteen years Akinari's junior, he held deep respect for Akinari's seniority and superior learning, but knew him as a friend of the family as well. Undoubtedly he received special consideration among Akinari's students, of whom there were several in the Kashima area. The Kashima Inari Shrine may even have been the Uedas' principal residence for the first two years after they lost their own home. Still, Akinari's record indicates that for at least part of this time they lived from day to day, going here and there in search of whatever means of livelihood was offered. Sono yuki kage其雪影 , a haiku collection prepared by Takai Kitō to commemorate the thirteenth anniversary of his father's death, and published near the end of 1772, carried a verse by Gyoen, which would have been expected since Akinari had once belonged to Kikei's circle, but his contribution was not an original composition. It has been suggested that Akinari, as he was

continually moving from place to place, could not be contacted, and so Kitō arbitrarily selected one of his old compositions.[7]

It is indeed possible that Akinari tried to become a professional scholar. He could have been living for short periods with a number of different students or friends between 1771 and 1773, which might explain his unsettled existence during those years. But teaching and writing would have been a poor source of income for all but the most established men of letters, and certainly a premature step for Akinari to take at that time. Stringent living soon convinced him of the need to establish himself in a remunerative line of work, and so, sometime in 1773, Akinari established himself, with his wife and mother, in a small cottage not far from the Inari Shrine in Kashima-mura, and he began to study medicine.[8]

Sumitsukishi	Should you look for traces
Mukashi no an no	Of the hut where I dwelt
Ato toeba	In years gone by,
Suzu no hana saku	Search below the river bank
Kishi no shita ne ni[9]	Where the spring flowers bloom.

Thus Akinari wrote about his home beneath the dike on the Mikuni 三国 River.[10] It was a peaceful environment, but by no means isolated from civilization, and the Fuji family, who had probably assisted with the move, kept a protective watchful eye over him and his family.

Perhaps Akinari's study of medicine had actually begun before he moved to Kashima-mura. True enough, in one reference to this activity he indicated that it began only after he had moved to the countryside,[11] but in another he implied that this undertaking preceded the move and

that he merely intensified his efforts at Kashima.[12] It does seem improbable that he spent two aimless years deciding what to do, and delving into medical lore might well have occupied a part of his time during that period. Be that as it may, Akinari studied diligently at Kashima, "not sleeping at night, and working even harder during the day,"[13] as he hyperbolically described his activities.

In deciding to become a physician, Akinari was not necessarily sacrificing his dreams of a literary career. There was ample precedent for combining the two roles. Among his friends at the time he counted Katsube Seigyo, the haiku poet, and Kawai Rissai 川井立斎, a disciple of Goi Ranshū and scholar of the national learning, both of whom were physicians. Very likely acquaintances such as these had encouraged him to study medicine. In addition there was Tsuga Teishō 都賀庭鐘(1718?-1795?), who is widely believed to have been Akinari's medical instructor. No definite proof that Teishō filled this role survives, but Akinari was decidedly influenced by his writings and personally acquainted with him. Finally, there was Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長(1730-1801), whose commentaries on the Kojiki 古事記 were making him a leader in the kokugaku field, and whose career was contemporaneous with Akinari's. Although it is uncertain whether the two men had yet heard of each other, Norinaga was at that time the outstanding example of the successful scholar-physician.

And medical study was far from being Akinari's only pursuit at Kashima. He continued to investigate the classics, and he remained active in literary circles, making occasional trips to Osaka in order to give lectures,[14] and presumably to meet with his colleagues. He

probably continued to visit the capital from time to time as well. During this period he either wrote or revised Ugetsu monogatari, and the Kaguwashi Shrine preserves a number of unpublished manuscripts that date from this time, including Ise monogatari kō 伊勢物語考, a lengthy commentary on the Ise monogatari.[15] Moreover, he continued to conduct study sessions for a group of students in the vicinity. Perhaps it was activities such as these, in addition to study of the healing arts, that left him no time to sleep at night.

A request for permission to publish a work called Yasaishō 也哉抄 was submitted in the ninth month of 1773.[16] The author was listed as Ueda Tōsaku 東作, which was Akinari's true personal name, but it is not certain whether he actually did the writing. Three of his students supplied a preface to the published edition in which they claimed that they themselves had written it as a record of his lectures on haikai theory.[17] They confessed that, harboring doubts about the validity of Akinari's teachings because they sometimes differed from the more respected traditions, they had secretly gone to the capital, shown their notes to Yosa Buson, and asked his opinion. Buson, it turned out, was very much impressed with Akinari's ideas, and strongly urged the three to make them public. Thus encouraged, the students said, they had made arrangements with the publisher and had everything ready when Akinari became aware of their actions and, having an innate aversion to fame, upbraided them severely and ordered the publication to be suspended. Not until 1787 did he finally relent and allow the work to go to press.

Yasaishō was indeed not published until 1787, though the printing

blocks had been prepared by early 1774.[18] In his own preface, which also was written early in 1774, Buson confirmed the students' visit to him and his reaction to Akinari's views as contained in their notes.[19] Akinari's refusal to allow the manuscript to be published also supports Buson's and the students' accounts. Had he written it himself, he must have intended it for circulation. Still, it seems strange that three of Akinari's students would rewrite their lecture notes as a formal treatise, sign his name to it, and proceed with the business of getting it published while keeping the whole matter a secret from him. An alternative view is that Akinari did write Yasaishō and went ahead with plans to publish it, but before the printing was carried out he had second thoughts and withdrew the manuscript. It was only years later, probably under pressure from his colleagues, that he relented, and then only on condition that it be made to appear as someone else's work. This is plausible. Denying authorship of one's own works was a measure which protected one against both accusations of pride or pedantry if the work succeeded, or of incompetence if it failed, and the practice was not uncommon among writers of Akinari's day. Nevertheless, there is no real concensus among Japanese scholars as to whether Akinari was the real author of Yasaishō or not, and a definite answer to the question appears to be impossible. Whoever did the actual writing, however, the views expressed are undoubtedly those of Akinari.

Just three months before the publication request for Yasaishō was submitted, Akinari's friend Fujitani Nariakira had completed Ayuishō あゆひ抄, a philological work that tried to explain the meanings and

usages of certain particles, auxiliary verbs, interjections, and suffixes, with illustrative examples from old waka. The author of Yasaishō is believed to have first read Ayuishō and then written his own work, making a deliberate effort to emulate the style of the earlier piece, as its format is quite similar.[20] Yasaishō is a discussion of the role of kireji 切字 in the writing of haikai. The author begins by deploring the lack of new studies and developments among haikai poets. He criticizes their reliance on the old explanations of the renga schools, and calls his own work an attempt to improve the situation. What follows amounts to a summary of Akinari's views on the two common kireji, ya 也 and kana 哉. An exhaustive treatment of their meanings and usage is given, and numerous haiku by the recognized masters are quoted as illustrations. Improper uses of these words are also pointed out and condemned. Yasaishō does bear the marks of being written when Japanese philology was still underdeveloped--many points require revision when viewed by present-day grammarians--but as a pioneer work it was outstanding. At the time it was written it was the most detailed and authoritative work on its subject yet to appear.

In his preface to Yasaishō, Buson referred to Akinari as his friend. Just how long they had been acquainted is uncertain. Buson belonged to the same line of haikai poets as Takai Kikei, so Akinari had probably at least heard his name from Kikei in the course of their lessons together, fifteen or more years earlier. There is even a chance that Akinari and Buson met then for the first time, when Buson was about forty and Akinari in his early twenties, but although Buson had first arrived in Kyoto in 1751, it is not certain how long he

stayed or just when Akinari began to study with Kikei. In any event, their actual association took place only later, when Akinari had established more of a reputation. Indeed, it may be that Yasaishō marked the beginning of their real friendship. Akinari was in contact with Kitō while living at Kashima, and since Kitō, like his father, was active in the same circle as Buson, some of Buson's ideas may have passed through Kitō to Akinari and thus onto the pages of Yasaishō. That could be one reason why Buson found the work so much to his liking. Perhaps, impressed with Yasaishō, he even took the initiative in arranging an introduction to Akinari, and wrote his preface in order to place his own prestigious stamp of approval on the work and thus ensure its favorable reception. All this is, admittedly, speculative, but some months after Akinari had moved back to Osaka, Buson still referred to him as "Kashima Hōshi" 鹿しま法師,[21] implying that it was the image of Akinari at Kashima that remained dominant in his mind.

Buson's preface described Akinari as "my friend Muchō the Layman" who "lives in seclusion in the village of Kashima in the province of Tsu, refusing visitors and not mingling with the common crowd." This was surely an exaggeration, but it was a portrait of Akinari that other acquaintances would also express. One need not suppose that he totally shunned human society at this time, but his life was much quieter than it had been at Dōjima. No longer was he a tradesman. Perhaps to proclaim the break with his past, he shaved his head in the style of a Buddhist priest. Such was a common practice in his feudal society. In theory, at least, it was impossible to move from one class to another, so when a man retired or otherwise ceased to be an active member of

of his own social group, and wished to make the fact clear, he frequently shaved his head, as does the central character in one of the Ugetsu tales.[22] Of course, shaving one's head was a common practice among physicians of the day,[23] and Akinari's action may have initially had no more meaning than that, but pictures and clay figurines of him, even those made after he had given up the medical profession, invariably show him with his head shaven, so his withdrawal--at least his psychological withdrawal--appears to have been unwavering.

The name "Muchō" by which Buson called him, and which subsequently became perhaps his most popular cognomen, apparently came into use about this time. As stated earlier, the name means "crab" and was a self-mocking reference to his deformed hands, but Akinari also used it to point out the relative seclusion in which he was then living.

Tsuki ni asobu	Playing in the moon,
Ono ga yo wa ari	He finds a world of his own,
Minashi kani[24]	The poor orphan crab.

So he had written when he moved to the countryside. Moreover, as a crab has a soft body beneath its hard exterior, so the name was supposed to refer to Akinari's outwardly stern but inwardly gentle disposition.[25]

Also dating from this time, or at least no later, is Akinari's companionship with Kimura Kenkadō. Certain common factors in their backgrounds probably helped make them congenial friends. The eldest son of an Osaka sake brewer, Kenkadō was plagued from birth by poor health. One remembers Akinari's own childhood illness and his resultant weak constitution. When Kenkadō was fifteen his father died, and

he attempted to assume responsibility for the business, but he lacked the energy and, like Akinari in similar circumstances, the inclination to take an active part. Having long been interested in botany and Japanese antiquity, he devoted himself to the investigation of such things, eventually becoming well-known as a compiler of all sorts of unusual information. His interests were diverse and his reputation far ranging. Besides being a top-ranking authority on medicinal herbs he was an accomplished student of art and a painter in his own right, as well as an authority on the tea ceremony and well-versed in things Chinese. At the height of his career his companionship was very much sought out by writers, painters, and scholars of the Kamigata region. Akinari often called on him for advice on medicinal plants.[26] It is not certain whether they became acquainted in time for Kenkadō to influence Akinari's decision to become a physician, but they had become good friends by no later than 1774.[27] Their relationship continued until Kenkadō's death, and must have been intimate, to judge from the frequency of their visits to each other.[28] Akinari once invited Katō Umaki to join himself, along with Kimura and Hosoai Hansei on a boating excursion,[29] and this also indicates that he considered Kimura a friend, and not just a fellow scholar.

Thus, by studying medicine and literature, and by teaching and writing, Akinari continued his quiet existence at Kashima, but then tragedy intervened. In the last month of 1775, Iehide家英, the head of the Fuji family and the twenty-first priest of the Kashima Inari Shrine, died at the age of sixty-two. Teibu took over his father's duties, but only a month later death struck him down as well.[30] The

deaths of father and son in such quick succession suggests that a contagious disease was the cause, and Akinari, now qualified as a physician, probably attended at their sickbeds.

The role of family head and chief priest now fell to Utsuna, then aged twenty-six. Of course he continued to visit Akinari and render whatever assistance he could, but with Iehide and Teibu gone Akinari could hardly have found Kashima the same. There were painful memories attached to the place now, and it was a convenient time to move on. He may have been content with the life he had been living, but his mother was urging him to return to Osaka.[31] He felt obliged to raise his personal income and provide his wife and mother with a standard of living more to their liking. And so, with the poetic reflection,

Dare ka mata	One day, perhaps
Sumikawaruran	Another will take my place
Yu ni taeshi	In this borrowed lodging
Toshi no mitose no	Where I bore my sorrows
Kari no yadori wo[32]	For the space of three years.

Akinari, sometime in 1776, took his family back to Osaka[33] and opened a medical practice in Amagasaki-chō 尼ヶ崎町, not far from their old home in Dōjima.

NOTES

1. Setsuyō kikan, Vol. 32, in Naniwa sōsho, ed. Funakoshi Seiichirō, Vol. 4 (Osaka, 1927), IV, 83-159, N.B. p. 157. The date of the fire is given as Meiwa Era, 5th year (1768), 3rd month, 23rd day.

2. He stated in three different writings that he was thirty-eight at the time. See Tandai, no. 69, NKBT, LVI, 293; Jiden, Ibun, p. 260; Jizō hakogaki, Ibun, pp. 498, 499.

3. Setsuyō kikan, Vol. 32, Naniwa sōsho, IV, 181.

4. Jiden, Ibun, p. 260.

5. Jizō hakogaki, Ibun, p. 499. See also Jiden, Ibun, p. 255.

6. See Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 72. Fuji Teibu was also called Ietoki家時. This may be the earliest recorded use of the name "Akinari," but Takada himself ignores this instance and states that the name first appears in Kusagusa no fumi 区柴々副彼文, completed in 1775 by Teibu's brother Utsuna打魚 (also called Ietaka家孝). See Akinari nempu, p. 76. Another scholar contends that the name's earliest appearance was in the preamble to a verse composed on the occasion of Katō Umaki's departure after his first period of association with Akinari. See Ōiso Yoshio, "Ueda Akinari wa futari ita," Kokugo kokubungaku hō, 13 (April 1961), 11-16. Ōiso surmises that Akinari received his name from Umaki, or perhaps even earlier from his Shimo no Reizeike instructor, since it is most often used in connection with waka and kokugaku. On the use of names in pre-modern Japan, see Webb, Research in Japanese Sources, pp. 46-49.

7. See Nakamura, Kinsei sakka kenkyū, p. 210.

8. Jiden, Ibun, p. 255.

9. See Asano Sampei, Akinari zenkashū to sono kenkyū (Tokyo: Ōfū-

sha, 1969), p. 58.

10. Now the Kanzaki River. At the conclusion of his Nagara no miyako kō 長柄都考 (unpublished manuscript preserved at the Kaguwashi Jinja), Akinari said that he had written it while residing near the Mikuni River. On the basis of that statement, and the verse quoted above, it has been surmised that Akinari's dwelling was beside the dike on the river, not far from the shrine. See Noma Kōshin, "Kashima insei jidai no Akinari," Kamigata, 58 (Aug. 1936), 2-10.

11. See note 8, above.

12. Tandai, no. 69, NKBT, LVI, 293.

13. Jiden, Ibun, p. 255.

14. Fuji Utsuna, Kusagusa no fumi, quoted in Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 76.

15. Pointed out in Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 76.

16. Ōsaka shuppan shoseki mokuroku, p. 94.

17. Yasaishō, Zenshū, II, 449-477. For the students' preface, see p. 450.

18. Publication data in Zenshū, II, 477.

19. For Buson's preface, see Zenshū, II, 449.

20. See Takeoka Masao, "Fujitani Nariakira to Ueda Akinari no kankei," Kokugo, 2 (Sept. 1953), 222-228.

21. See Buson's letter to Masana 正名 dated 9th month, 6th day, presumably of 1776, in Buson shū, ed. Ōtani Tokuzō, Okada Rihei, and Shimai Kiyoshi, Koten Haibungaku Taikei, Vol. 12 (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1972), XII, 433.

22. Ugetsu monogatari, NKBT, LVI, 33-141, N.B. p. 77.

23. See Ōba, Akinari no tenkanshō, p. 44.

24. From his students' preface to Yasaishō, Zenshū, II, 450; unpublished translation by Leon M. Zolbrod.

25. Ibid.

26. See Akinari, Ashikabi no kotoba あしかびのことば, Zenshū, I, 185-190.

27. Ashikabi was written in the second month of 1774. See Ibid., p. 190.

28. See Mizuta Norihisa, ed. Kenkadō nikki (Osaka, 1972), pp. 6, 9, 16, 39, 41, 45, 51, 58, 69, 75, 77, 78, 89, 96, 97, 122, 129, 130, 133, 145, 151, 160, 163, 165, 167, 171, 187, 355, 357, 386, 396, 416, 424, 425, 441, 450. The entries on these pages record a total of forty-four meetings between Akinari and Kenkadō.

29. See Akinari's letter to Umaki in Fumihōgu 文反古, Zenshū, I, 191-228, N.B. pp. 193, 194.

30. See Takada, Akinari nempu, pp. 88, 89. Technically, Iehide

died early in 1776, according to the Western calendar.

31. Jiden, Ibun, p. 255.

32. See Asano, Akinari zenkashū, p. 204.

33. The possibility that the move took place late in 1775 cannot be ruled out. In Tandai, no. 5, NKBT, LVI, 254, Akinari said that he was forty-three when he began to practice as a physician, but in Ibid., no. 69, p. 293, he said that he was forty-two. 1776 is most likely the correct date, however, because Akinari probably would not have left Kashima while Iehide was seriously ill, and because spring would have been a more convenient time than the dead of winter to find a new home.

CHAPTER IV

UGETSU MONOGATARI

Shortly after returning to Osaka, Akinari published the collection of nine tales of the supernatural that he called Ugetsu monogatari.[1] Based in large measure on Chinese sources, but so adapted to the Japanese scene as to make them a unique blending of both cultures, the Ugetsu tales have come to rank among the representative works of Japanese literature. Scholars are almost unanimous in calling them Akinari's masterpiece.

Although the tales defy characterization, Ugetsu must be seen as an early example of yomihon 読本, a style of prose literature that had begun to appear by mid-century. Originally the term "yomihon" referred simply to books whose main point was their written content rather than their pictures. In that context it was applied to the hachimonjiyabon to distinguish them from the liberally illustrated books that were popular at the same time. Now, however, as a technical term in Japanese literary history, the word denotes a category of books that were written on a grand scale in a blend of elegant and colloquial styles, their intricate plots generally borrowed from Chinese sources but combined with Japanese history and legend. Books of this variety, represented by the works of Santō Kyōden 山東京伝 (1761-1816) and Takizawa Bakin 滝沢馬琴 (1767-1848), came out in profusion in Edo during the Bunka (1804-1817) and Bunsei 文政 (1818-1830) Eras, but their early predecessors, most of which appeared in the Kamigata region, share the same qualities. These include Tsuga Teishō's Hanabusa zōshi 英草紙

(pub. 1749) and Shigeshige yawa 繁野話 (pub. 1766), Takebe Ayatari's Nishiyama monogatari (pub. 1768) and Honchō Suikoden 本朝水滸伝 (pub. 1773), and Akinari's Ugetsu monogatari. Books such as these laid the groundwork for what was to follow. Most of the early yomihon were relatively short works or collections of stories. With the exception of Honchō suikoden, few were written on a "grand scale," but they do possess all the other recognized characteristics of the later yomihon, and they have an intellectual quality that sets them apart from the ukiyo-zōshi.

Effectively, the year 1767, when the Hachimonjiya ceased operations and sold its printing materials, marks the end of the ukiyo-zōshi genre. No works of merit were published after that date, and it was roughly about that time that the yomihon began to appear. Yomihon were not so much an offspring of the ukiyo-zōshi as a reaction against them--a conscious effort to create something better. Actually, translations or adaptations of Chinese literary works were common among the kanazōshi and ukiyo-zōshi, but around the beginning of the eighteenth century a class of Chinese novel known as pai hua 白話, or vernacular stories, started coming into Japan, and books of this kind proved most influential in the development of the yomihon. Dating largely from the Yüan and Ming dynasties, they were written in a style closely resembling the spoken language of their day. Their elaborate plots often featured bizarre or supernatural themes, or heroic deeds, but were frequently interspersed with intellectual asides by the characters, or with comments by the author on historical or cultural matters. An overt stress on ethical principles was common. The market for such

novels was at first limited to those who could read Chinese, but before long their admirers began to produce annotated editions and translations into Japanese. Thanks to the efforts of men like Okajima Kanzan 岡島冠山 (1674-1728), who began work on the first edition of Shui hu chuan 水滸伝 to be annotated for reading as a kambun text, Chinese vernacular fiction had become quite popular in Japan by mid-century. Credit must also be given to the Bakufu's emphasis on Confucian teachings, as well as to the general trend towards education that followed the Genroku Era--which as we have seen was partly due to government suppression of economic excesses. It was only a matter of time before men who were looking for a new direction to take from the ukiyo-zōshi style of literature began to try their hands at adaptations from the Chinese. One such man was Tsuga Teishō. From wide reading in Chinese works he had acquired an abundance of material that he might transpose with relatively minor revisions into a Japanese setting. His adaptation was at times incomplete, however, for he was so faithful to his sources that his works are sometimes more like translations than adaptations. Aside from giving Japanese names to the places and characters, and a more local flavor to the conversation, he added little that was original. Inconsistencies in the characters' thoughts and the customs they observe sometimes appear. Frequently Teishō even took the original Chinese language directly into his Japanese version, a move which in some instances helped to preserve the Chinese mood, but more often just yielded an immature effect. Such weaknesses were most apparent in Hanabusa zōshi. In subsequent works, like Shigeshige yawa and Hitsuji gusa 羊句冊 (pub. 1786), he improved his techniques, making

his stories less conspicuously Chinese in origin, and his language more purely Japanese. Unlike the hachimonjiyabon, which portrayed the contemporary world, Teishō's adaptations were of supernatural tales. Such foreign-flavored, sometimes even bizarre stories had a refreshing newness which many readers found fascinating and worthy of emulation.

Still, one must not assume Akinari's supernatural tales to be indebted only to eerie stories from China. The ghostly tale in Japan has a much longer history. Many tales with supernatural elements may be found in the Nihon ryōiki 日本靈異記 of the Nara period, the Konjaku monogatari shū 今昔物語集 of late Heian times, or the setsuwa 說話 literature of the middle ages. During the Tokugawa period an abundance of such stories appeared among the kanazōshi, and in spite of certain exceptions, these can be seen as not developing into the ukiyo-zōshi, but as bypassing them and contributing to the development of the early yomihon.[2] Many of these tales were drawn from earlier Japanese narratives or from Chinese stories. Kii zōdan shū 奇異雜談集, for example, which was written in late Muromachi times, though not published until 1687, borrowed liberally from such works as the Konjaku monogatari shū and Uji shūi monogatari 宇治拾遺物語, but also contained translations of three tales from the Chinese collection Chien teng hsin hua 剪燈新話, which had recently been imported. Later, Asai Ryōi 浅井了意 (ca. 1612-1691) published adaptations from the same title in his Otogi bōko 御伽婢子 (pub. 1666) and its sequel, Inu hariko 狗張子 (pub. 1692), and other authors produced similar collections. When Akinari wrote Ugetsu, then, he had available both adaptations of Chinese tales and the indigenous material in such collections. He may also have made his way

back to the Chinese originals.[3]

But in the writing of Ugetsu, Akinari was directly indebted more to Tsuga Teishō than to any other author. Even the five-volume, nine-tale format was copied from Teishō's collections. Like Teishō he adapted most of the tales from Chinese sources, though unlike the older author he fully digested his material and embellished it with details from Japanese history and classical literature. Akinari's flair for literary style also made his stories literary works in their own right, sometimes superior to their models. They were in no sense plagiarisms. But Akinari's personal relationship with Teishō is not at all clear. Ōta Nampo said that Akinari had learned from Teishō, and it has been widely assumed that what he learned was medicine,[4] but the only basis for this conjecture is that he was studying to become a physician at the time Teishō's influence on his writings is most evident. The only firm proof that they knew each other is the fact that Teishō wrote a preface for Akinari's Yasumigoto 安々言 in 1792.[5] Even if Teishō did serve as his teacher, Akinari never indicated a regard for him comparable to his respect for Umaki. Teishō was not a true scholar, but used his ability to read popular Chinese novels in order to adapt them to the tastes of the book-buying public. He was not the man to study under if one's concern was for academic purity. Having studied Chinese in his youth, Akinari very likely did not feel the need for further instruction. He may have sought companionship with Teishō as a popular author whose name would be good advertising for his own writings, but he probably learned more from Teishō's works than from Teishō as a man, at least as far as literary matters go.

Takebe Ayatari, whose Nishiyama monogatari had combined a romantic plot with a kokugakusha's knowledge of the native classics, must also be considered among those who helped set the stage for Ugetsu. Although he had based his novel upon a contemporary event, he had made use of an elegant form of Japanese reminiscent of the language of the Heian court romances. This was the so-called gabun style, which many others strove to copy or improve upon. To a degree, Ayatari's style was an artificial construction. He had deliberately used expressions from old classics and even noted the sources in the text. But despite the pedantry, Nishiyama sparked considerable discussion. As a purely Japanese tale it was, in a sense, a reaction against the popular translations and adaptations from the Chinese. Subsequently Ayatari wrote Honchō suikoden, which was, of course, inspired by the Chinese tale Shui hu chuan, but he managed to break free from his source and adapt the story smoothly to a Japanese setting. This work also created great interest in literary circles, and Takizawa Bakin even called it the first yomihon.[6] In their efforts to get away from the ukiyo-zōshi and break new ground, the early yomihon authors came to look to the Japanese classics for inspiration. The classics were seen as absolutes; the ideal goal, then, was not to modernize them but to emulate their style. Even Teishō's works, despite their lack of originality and their profit-motivated orientation, had such a revolutionary aim. In his preface to Hanabusa zōshi, Teishō called his work a book unlike the popular literature of the day, having aims common to those of Tsurezure-gusa 徒然草 and The Tale of Genji.[7] Ayatari's Nishiyama was a still more obvious attempt to go back to the classics. Even the use of

"monogatari" in the title betrays that intention.

Akinari signed Ugetsu with the psuedonym Senshi Kijin, the only time he used the name, which seems fitting for Ugetsu. As a reference to his deformed hands, it was derived from the experience that had given him an enduring belief in the supernatural. Nevertheless, one should be wary of accounting for Ugetsu simply in the light of its author's acceptance of such things. True, it is beyond dispute that Akinari did believe in a world beyond the one he lived in, but in this respect he was no different from the average person of his day. Not every believer in the supernatural produces a masterpiece of literature about it--not even every believer with literary talent. Nor should a belief in ghosts and demons even be necessary in order to write vivid stories about them. A keen imagination and a gift for expression looms far more important. Moreover, it is only in Ugetsu, of all Akinari's writings, that the supernatural takes on dominant proportions. It does appear in some of his other fiction, but on nowhere near the same scale--none of those works can be called ghost stories. Yet Ugetsu has overshadowed all of Akinari's other work to such a degree that he has come to be known, to the popular mind, as a confirmed romantic absorbed in the occult. Just how obsessed with metaphysical things was he?

We know that Akinari did believe in supernatural manifestations and took issue with those who denied their occurrence. In response to certain rationalists who maintained that so-called fox possession was nothing more than the symptoms of disease, for example, he countered that there were numerous cases of such possession on record.[8] He noted

the experience of Hosoai Hansei who, while visiting a certain temple in the capital, had seen the sun apparently go down in the middle of the day. Stating his conviction that Hosoai had been deceived by a fox or badger, Akinari went on to relate a personal experience. When he was an old man, living in Kyoto, he said, he had once set out to visit a temple in the northeastern part of the city. Although the path was clear and wide, he inexplicably went astray and ended up far off the mark. After correcting his error, he reached his intended destination and related what had happened to the abbot, who told him that his mistake was a sign of illness, and advised him to take care. But even though he took special pains to follow the right path on the return journey, he lost his way once again. He concluded that a fox had bewitched him.[9]

On another occasion, also after he had moved to Kyoto, he set out to visit a shrine at which it was his custom to pay his respects each month, the enshrined deity being the tutelary god of his birthplace in Osaka. He reached the shrine, completed his worship, and started home before noon. Enroute he was caught in a rain shower. Suffering from fatigue and troubled by his eyes, which were then verging on blindness, he stopped at the home of a friend and ate the mid-day meal with him. The host offered to call a palanquin or let him stay the night, but the rain had eased, home was no more than a mile away, and he was quite familiar with the route, so he decided to start out on foot once again. The rain intensified, but the road was wide, so Akinari kept on, thinking there was no chance of mistaking the way, but he did get lost, and went astray again while trying to correct his error. Night was

falling by the time he reached home. Experiences such as these, said Akinari, proved that foxes and badgers really do cast spells over men, and he ridiculed Nakai Riken, who maintained that such things never happened. Riken could make such statements, Akinari said, only because he stayed shut up in his school and never ventured into the real world to see for himself.[10]

Nevertheless, aside from these experiences and a few remarks on the supernatural here and there in his writings, Akinari on the whole maintained a rational view of life. He realized that some things could not be explained scientifically, but even so, his use of what were, to him, factual examples of fox possession to counter Riken's arguments illustrates his rational position. We should also note that these supposed experiences with the supernatural occurred long after the appearance of Ugetsu and were not necessarily connected with it. Nor is there any evidence that Akinari's belief in the supernatural extended to all of its manifestations that appear in his work. It is probably better to explain his authorship of Ugetsu in the light of the ghostly element in the Chinese and Japanese stories that he read, and the desire, common at the time, to emulate the style of the classics. Augmenting his sources with his own imagination, and weaving his plots together with an elegantly poetic style, Akinari produced a work of eerie beauty that represents the highest artistic level reached by the supernatural tale in Japan. His actual belief in the other world, though helpful, was surely not the decisive factor.

The Ugetsu preface is dated late spring, 1768, yet the tales were not published until 1776. Why was there such a long delay? Alterna-

tively, did Akinari write the preface before he wrote the book? Or did he have some reason for falsifying the actual date of completion? The second of these three questions should cause little concern. The preface speaks of the tales as being already finished. The established practice was to write one's preface after the work had been completed, and it is unnatural to do otherwise. The other two questions, however, have been the subjects of considerable discussion.

However high the literary merit of Akinari's ukiyo-zōshi may be, they are quite unlike Ugetsu in content and literary style. It is hard to imagine their author turning out a work so different in only a year's time. Talent requires time to mature, especially when moving in new directions. Common sense tells us that Akinari would have needed more than a year in which to broaden and deepen his artistic sense to the point where Ugetsu became possible. But if the tales were not complete by 1768, why did Akinari affix that date to his preface? One possible answer is his feelings of jealousy toward Takebe Ayatari. Ayatari's Nishiyama monogatari had been based on a real event and written in imitation of the classical style; his Honchō Suikoden had been based on a Chinese source but skillfully adapted to a Japanese setting. Thus by 1776, when Ugetsu was published, the qualities of which it could boast had already been introduced by Ayatari. Akinari did not like Ayatari, and considered himself the better man. Perhaps he even felt that he had made his own literary developments independently, but realized that if he dated Ugetsu correctly he would be considered indebted to Ayatari. Such a debt he refused to acknowledge, and so he falsified the date of Ugetsu to make it appear contem-

porary with Nishiyama.

This view seems plausible. But it is easy to overestimate Akinari's scorn for Nishiyama. Granted, he already had acrimonious feelings toward its author, but he did not openly condemn the work itself until 1806, when he met the protagonist of the incident on which it was based, learned the facts of the affair, and was outraged at Ayatari's distortion of them. Still, this outrage did not deter him from writing his own fictionalized version of the incident, which he included in his Harusame monogatari. Furthermore, if Akinari had really wanted to avoid any appearance of indebtedness to Ayatari, why did he not make Ugetsu seem to clearly antedate Nishiyama? Nishiyama had appeared in the second month of 1768. The "late spring" date for Ugetsu suggests that it was completed a bit later. If the date was a fabrication designed to upstage Ayatari, it was a careless one.

It is more likely that Ugetsu, or at least the first draft, was indeed finished in the spring of 1768, but for reasons that are not clear the publication was delayed for eight years. This is not to say that the Ugetsu of 1768 was the same work that was finally published in 1776. The shift from the everyday world of Sekenzaru and Tekake katagi to the transcendence of reality found in Ugetsu could not be accomplished overnight. More likely the original draft of Ugetsu was in the vein of ukiyo-zōshi. The reader will recall that the published edition of Tekake katagi had carried an advertisement for a forthcoming work by the same author entitled Saigyō hanashi uta makura somebu-roshiki, and will notice that the first tale in the Ugetsu collection has the poet-priest Saigyō as its central character. Quite likely the

final version of Ugetsu grew out of stories that were written earlier, at least some of which were originally intended for Someburoshiki. To be sure, this remains a reasoned guess, but Akinari does appear to have written more than he published around that time. In his preface to Tekake katagi he implied that its ten tales had been selected from over twenty that he had composed. Presumably then, when he wrote Ugetsu he first made use of material that he had intended for Kaisen dayori and Someburoshiki. Then, before the manuscript went to press, he saw the wisdom of abandoning the ukiyo-zōshi style, but unwilling to discard what he had written, he kept it and revised it over the years until he was satisfied. The period of rewriting was a time of considerable intellectual and artistic development for Akinari, and he incorporated into the work the new knowledge that he had gained from his studies. Part of it was also a time of economic hardship, which probably made him think more seriously about life, and sobered his general outlook. All this required time to be fully digested, however, and so eight years elapsed between completion of the first draft of Ugetsu and publication in its final form.

The above is very likely what did happen, but in the final analysis it is impossible to say just when Ugetsu was written. The problem of dating it remains another of the intriguing, but as yet insoluble, mysteries of Akinari's career. Early in 1771 a notice appeared for a soon-to-be-published five-volume collection of supernatural stories called Ugetsu monogatari, written by one Senshi Sanjin,[11] very nearly the same pen name. By 1771, therefore, Ugetsu was close enough to its present form to be identifiable as a five-volume collection of super-

natural tales, although the advertisement does not necessarily mean that the work was complete. Indeed, there is no record of the publication of Ugetsu, the date 1776 merely being that on the oldest extant copy. Perhaps it was published primarily at the author's own expense.[12] If so, a further reason for delay comes to mind. Around the time that the notice of forthcoming publication appeared, Akinari was burned out of his home and business and left in penury. Not only may this disaster have left him unable to finance the publication, but if he had not yet turned the manuscript over to the publisher, it may have been destroyed in the fire, necessitating further rewriting from memory.

Novels that had been produced by the courtly society were regarded with near reverence in Akinari's time, but contemporary fiction, which was generally aimed at pleasing the masses for commercial purposes, tended to be dismissed as light literature. Even popular works of discernible literary merit suffered this neglect, and it was consequently hard for a writer of fiction to be taken seriously. Akinari himself had come to see the literature of his day as being in a sorry state. As his acquaintance with the masterpieces of the past broadened, it was natural that he feel a yearning for the glories of a bygone age and a desire to elevate contemporary literature to a similar plane. In his preface to Ugetsu, Akinari compared his work to Shui hu chuan and The Tale of Genji. It is doubtful whether he really expected it to prove equally monumental, but it represented his conscious attempt to revive the spirit of the Heian classics, and he had polished it meticulously. He must have been proud of Ugetsu. Notwithstanding the humble terms in which he described his own work in the preface,

the fact that he chose such outstanding works against which to judge it suggests a degree of conceit.

Akinari wrote his preface in Chinese, perhaps as a gesture toward the Chinese stories from which he had drawn inspiration, or perhaps as a pedantic display of his ability, or maybe because a Chinese preface was a precedent that Teishō and Ayatari had established. The preface is short. Akinari began by saluting the artistic achievment of the authors of Shui hu chuan and Genji, despite the tradition that both received divine chastizement for publishing falsehood. He assured his own readers that his tales were not true, and no one should be deceived by them. In closing, he described how he had completed the stories on a night when the moon shone dimly through the clouds after the rain, and so had chosen the title Ugetsu monogatari, which means "Tales of Moonlight and Rain," or perhaps more accurately, "Tales of a Clouded Moon." Whether this was true or not, the title was taken from Ugetsu, a Noh drama in which Saigyō appears in the waki's role.[13]

Ugetsu was Akinari's only venture into the literature of the supernatural, yet it proved superior to all its predecessors and followers in the genre in Japan. Like no other work, it combines a vivid ghostly atmosphere with a poetic style that is a delight to read. Into the world of the classics, which was a dream world, one not to be known but felt, Akinari blended fantasy, imagination, and a supernatural element which suggested mystery and a kind of warped beauty. While striving to emulate the spirit of the Heian classics, he drew much plot material from China. This was no contradiction. He recognized that Japan was indebted to China for many aspects of its own culture.

This awareness is implicit in his parallel consideration of Shui hu chuan and The Tale of Genji in the preface.

Throughout Ugetsu, Akinari retained control over his ghosts, never letting them get the better of him. He used them not to convey terror for its own sake but to enhance the ideas and sensibility that he wished to stress. In the first tale, "Shiramine"白峯, for example, the ghost's taking on a ghoulish form is terrifying, but of secondary importance. The opening lines carry no hint of the nether world, merely setting an appropriate mood for the story. The reader is taken on a journey from the capital region up to the Kantō and Tōhoku areas, then back down through Osaka and on to the island of Shikoku, passing through places whose names are imbued with tradition and tinged with emotion in the Japanese mind. This, together with the aura of sweet sadness that so often accompanies a journey in Japan--the beauties of the landscape tempered by the fatigue of travel and the hardships of the journey, the changing of the seasons that gives the viewer a renewed awareness of his own mortality, the implied sorrow of separation from beloved persons and places, intensified by the uncertainty of ever seeing them again--serve to transfer the reader from the present into an unreal world of long ago. With the mood thus established, Akinari proceeds to construct the setting. It is night in early winter. The thick vegetation that makes the site dim and gloomy even on a clear day intensifies the darkness, and the mists that rise from the deep gorge below add their own sombreness to the scene.

In this lonely and deserted place, the once proud Sutoku has come to rest in an insignificant tomb, and here Saigyō sorrowfully prays

for the departed emperor's soul. In this manner the atmosphere for the ghost's appearance is created, yet the spirit of Sutoku does not come as a frightening specter, and the main body of the tale is not a ghost story at all, but a debate between opposing views of history and political action--a confrontation between Mencius' doctrine of the right to revolt and Saigyō's view that rebellion to satisfy personal ambition is not appropriate for Japan.

Akinari in effect uses Saigyō as his alter ego. The political and historical ideas spoken by Saigyō are those of Akinari, who betrays his kokugaku background with a rejection of the continental philosophy in favor of the Japanese tradition of the unbroken imperial line. But the tale amounts to more than an intellectual discourse, for through the mood that has been established, Akinari gives a kind of tragic beauty to Sutoku's fall. Moreover, we see the first instance of a recurring theme in Ugetsu--the idea that human feelings can carry over from this life into the next and even affect the course of history. It is to underline this point that, toward the end of the story, Sutoku transfigures himself into the form of the demon he has become. Only then does he emerge as a terrifying figure, but his fearsome appearance and the subsequent fulfillment of his dire prophecies leaves the reader awed by his power. But here, as in the other tales, cheap sensationalism is avoided. Throughout Ugetsu the apparition's function is nearly always to stress the author's ethical views, either acting as his mouthpiece or, as in the case of Sutoku and others, emphasizing his views by standing in opposition to them. An ethical theme pervades the whole of the work, but it is not simply the "reward

virtue and punish vice" of Confucian ethics, which became standard fare in the later yomihon. Rather it is a call for expression of the innate goodness of man, the nature of the pure Japanese spirit as expressed in the classics.

The ethical focus is even more apparent in the second tale, "Kikuka no chigiri"菊花の約, considered by some to be the most nearly perfect of the nine stories. Like "Shiramine," its mood is established at the beginning, though with a moral discourse, not a travel scene. "Green, green grows the spring willow. But never plant it in your garden. Never pick a falsehearted man for a friend. Although the willow may bud early, does it hold up when autumn's first wind blows? A falsehearted man makes friends easily, but he is fickle. Whereas the willow for many springs takes on new colour, a falsehearted man will break off with you and never call again." The next sentence introduces the hero and the setting in straightforward prose: "In the province of Harima in the town of Kako there dwelt a scholar whose name was Hasebe Samon,"[14] but the reader has already been transported out of his real world by the lyrical parallel passages of the opening homily. These introductory lines, and those of the conclusion, which are a simple restatement, reveal Akinari's intention in "Kikuka." The fidelity of Samon and Akana stands out in contrast to the fickle man whom Akinari warns against. He extols those who live lives of sincerity in a world of fickleness and dishonesty; those whose fidelity and devotion to duty transcend any attachment to life and self-interest.

Unlike "Shiramine" and most of the other tales, the setting of "Kikuka" is of no particular importance. It does nothing to advance

the plot; Kako was just one of the stops on the route that Akana was taking from Ōmi to Izumo, and Akinari selected it arbitrarily. It is a story that could have happened anywhere, and thus the ethical theme is free from distractions and remains uppermost in the narrative. Samon lives in the manner of the ideal scholar, unconcerned about material things, leading a simple and honest life, concentrating on his studies and shunning all frivolity. His mother, who is likened to that of Mencius, supports him in his chosen profession. Akinari may have seen in her some reflection of his own mother, who endured considerable discomfort and anxiety for the sake of his scholarly pursuits. When Samon encounters the ailing Akana, he dismisses warnings that the disease may overtake him as well, and selflessly nurses the man back to health. After he has recovered and sworn vows of brotherhood to Samon, Akana's duty as a warrior forces him to leave, but he remembers his promise to return on the appointed day. He must keep it at the expense of his honor, so when, detained in the castle, he finds it beyond his power to fulfill his word, he takes his own life and, freed from mortal bonds, makes the journey to Samon's house as a spirit. Upon learning what has happened, Samon fulfills his duty to Akana by avenging his death. It is a vivid portrayal of loyalty in the Japanese feudal tradition. Samon and Akana are truly the antitheses of the falsehearted man, of whom we are once more warned as the story ends.

In addition to being a great moral tale, "Kikuka" is also a masterpiece of the art of storytelling. Few of Akinari's works display this talent so well. In this, as in all of the Ugetsu tales, his key technique is to keep himself out of the action. He avoids saying more

about it than is necessary. This makes the reader unable to play the role of detached observer and forces him to become an active participant with the hero. Knowing no more than the protagonist, the reader has no choice but to follow him--in effect, to identify with him. Reader and hero have an intimate relationship. They act and feel together. As the events unfold, the reader reacts in his real world as the central character does in his imaginary one. "Kikuka" is told entirely from Samon's point of view. When Akana departs for Izumo the reader is left with Samon, and like him knows nothing of Akana's fate. There is no indication of what is going to happen. Like Samon, the reader can only wait and see. Nevertheless, just like Samon's mother, the reader cannot help feeling some misgivings when her son, doubting nothing, begins to prepare for his friend's return. The day passes, and the totally unconnected people, none of them Akana, who pass by on the highway intensify the mood of mounting impatience. Now the reader's uneasiness increases. Perhaps Akana will not come. Perhaps he is dead. Perhaps he is the falsehearted man who was mentioned in the opening lines. But though the reader begins to waver, Samon stands firm, and at last his trust is vindicated. Akana appears, though not before Akinari has arranged the appropriate setting: "The Milky Way shimmered with a pale light. The moon's icy wheel shed its glow on him, aggravating his loneliness. A watchdog's bark rang out through the clear air, and the sound of the waves in the bay seemed as if surging round the very place where he stood. The moon presently disappeared behind the mountain peaks, and about to give up, Samon decided to go back in and close the door, when he happened to take a

last look."[15] And so Akana arrives. The reader, having been kept in ignorance of what has transpired in Izumo, naturally rejoices along with Samon. While he quickly senses from Akana's demeanor that all is not as it should be, he is only slightly ahead of Samon in realizing that the visitor is a ghost. This is the high point of the story. Samon's journey to Izumo to avenge Akana, and Tsunehisa's decision not to pursue such a shining example of loyalty, are necessary to give the tale a satisfactory conclusion, but they are nevertheless anticlimactic.

The same storytelling method is skillfully employed in the third tale. Unlike the two that precede it, "Asaji ga yado"浅茅が宿 has no lyrical passage of introduction to set the mood. In a matter-of-fact way the scene is placed in the village of Mama, district of Katsushika, province of Shimōsa. This is fitting, for at the outset the story appears to be about the unpoetic subject of commerce. Attracted by the prospect of easy and substantial profit, Katsushirō, the hero, has invested everything he owns in fabrics and is about to depart for the capital, where he intends to market them. It has been noted that Katsushirō is an impractical man whose poor judgment and lack of diligence have already cost him much of his property. His wife, Miyagi, recognizes his weakness and feels uneasy about this risky venture, but being a devoted wife, she hides her misgivings. Thus she bids farewell to her husband, to whom the possibility of failure seems never to have occurred. The reader accompanies Katsushirō to the capital. We are told that Miyagi is caught in the midst of warring armies, that her safety is threatened by neighbors whose hearts have succumbed to

the moral decay that accompanies famine and hardship, but that she stays on while others flee, faithfully awaiting her husband's return.

But we are granted only this small glimpse of Miyagi in her home village. Then, leaving us in suspense, Akinari takes us to the capital to join Katsushirō, and like him we remain ignorant of her fate. We follow Katsushirō as he sells his wares for the expected high sum, only to have it taken by robbers; then we accompany him while he is detained by illness and by reports that the fighting has made it impossible to return home. During the seven years he is away, neither he nor the reader hears anything about Miyagi. Thus, when he finally does begin the journey back to Mama, we share his anticipation and trepidation; when he finds his house undamaged and Miyagi waiting for him, we share his joy and relief. To be sure, there are warnings that all is not as it appears. It is after sundown when Katsushirō arrives, and louring rainclouds intensify the gloom. In addition to the foreboding atmosphere, the village is in shambles, the fields untilled, and everything so changed that Katsushirō can scarcely find his way. Strange indeed that only his house remains as of old. Miyagi's voice has changed; she is dirty and emaciated, and her hair disheveled, quite unlike her former self. Yet so subtly are these points expressed that we, like Katsushirō, are inclined to attribute them to coincidence and to Miyagi's age and the trying conditions under which she has been living. Thus we share his shock and dismay when he awakens the next morning to find his house in shambles and his wife gone, and realizes that he has spent the night with a ghost. The tale ends not at this climax, but in an extended decrescendo of sadness. Only then do we

learn all that has befallen Miyagi.

Like "Kikuka," "Asaji" is a tale of fidelity, in this case a wife's fidelity to her husband. The epitome of the traditional Japanese woman, Miyagi is perhaps Akinari's most skillfully portrayed character. Her husband, however, is not very satisfying as a hero. We are unable to be very sympathetic with his failure to return home for so long. While it is true that he has little hope of finding his wife alive, we expect him at least to make an attempt to go to her. He accepts the hopelessness too readily; his attitude strikes us as more of the carelessness and irresponsibility that had caused him grief before the story opened. Yet Katsushirō's very weakness serves to emphasize Miyagi's strength. While there is little in Katsushirō to inspire undying fidelity, Miyagi faithfully waits for him as her world collapses about her. Such devotion is, it would appear, strong enough to transcend the bonds of death, so that even though she has left the world she is on hand to welcome Katsushirō when he arrives home. Then, her duty carried out and her fidelity proven, she dissolves into the dawn like the morning dew. There is a beauty in this kind of feminine devotion that Akinari took very much to heart. Perhaps Miyagi reflected something of Tama's devotion to him. In any case, Miyagi was by no means a new character for him, but a direct outgrowth of Fujino, the outstanding heroine of the Tekake katagi tales. Having introduced his feminine ideal in his earlier work, Akinari brought her to perfection in Ugetsu,[16] likening her to the legendary Mama no Tegona, remembered in song by Man'yōshū poets, who drowned herself in despair at her inability to please all of her many lovers.[17] It was in order to con-

nect the story with her that Akinari set his tale in the village of Mama.

"Muō no rigyo"無何の鯉魚 differs from the preceding tales in that the supernatural functions not to awe or frighten the reader, but to delight him. There are elements of eerie strangeness, but none of terror. A gentle humor pervades the story. Although the reader does not know why Kōgi the priest is able, immediately after his return to life, to describe in such detail what Taira and his friends have been doing, Akinari casts his prose in such a way that we do not share the characters' wonder and discomfiture, but are entertained by it. We are also amused by Kōgi's deliberations, when hungry, as he weighs the consequences of taking or leaving the fisherman's bait, and after he has been caught, by his vain efforts to attract his captor's attention. It is the standard comedy device of pain or distress becoming funny when too unreal to be taken seriously. Like the clown scenes in a Shakespearean tragedy or the farces that come in between Noh plays, "Muō no rigyo" provides Ugetsu with a note of comic relief. But even more than the humor, it is the fantasy that gives this tale its appeal. Anyone who has dreamed of flying like a bird, swinging through the trees like a monkey, performing superhuman feats of strength, or whatever, can identify with Kōgi, who realizes his desire to swim like a fish. Technically, the story could have occurred around any body of water, but since Akinari chose as his protagonist the historical Kōgi, who was a monk at the Mii Temple, the water had to be that of Lake Biwa. Conversely, he may have chosen Kōgi as the hero because he wanted to write about the locality of Lake Biwa. Whatever the case,

he used the setting to great advantage, taking the reader on a tour around the lake and showing him its various beauty spots from a fish's eye view. Again, in his poetic discription of these natural wonders, all of them famed in poetry, we see his legacy from the national learning.

"Buppōsō"仏法僧 again utilizes the technique of setting the mood with a poetic opening passage: "Japan, the Land of Peace and Calm, had long been true to its name. Its people rejoiced in their labour and still found time to relax underneath the cherry-blossoms in spring and to visit the many-coloured groves of trees in autumn. Those who wished might take long trips by sea with the tiller as their pillow and visit the strange shores of Tsukushi. Yet others could set their hearts on the pleasure of climbing such peaks as Mt. Fuji and Tsukuba."[18] The implied praise of the Tokugawa shogunate, which had brought this era of tranquility to the land, should not be overlooked. Although Akinari was sharply critical of his society, he did not see political reform as the way to change things for the better. Later, in 1789, he even wrote a short piece in praise of the Edo government and the peace enjoyed under its administration.[19]

As a story, "Buppōsō" is quite simple. While spending the night on Mt. Kōya, the haiku poet Muzen and his son encounter the ghostly retinue of Toyotomi Hidetsugu and his retainers, who years before had taken their own lives on the mountain. The spectral visitors hold a nighttime drinking party, during which they discuss the meaning of a poem, and finally they call upon the mortal Muzen, who has been cowering in the background, to join them and compose the opening stanza for

a linked-verse sequence. Like "Shiramine," "Buppōsō" is as much a discourse as a story. Akinari uses the narrative format to convey reverence for the traditions of Mt. Kōya, to present his own views on certain historical persons and events, and to discuss poetry. Nevertheless the setting is expertly portrayed; the atmosphere of Mt. Kōya, both sacred and eerie, pervades the tale. Here in the silence of the night, broken only by the sound of running water and the occasional cry of the unseen bird, the stage is set for the appearance of Hidetsugu and his followers. As the spot where these warriors committed suicide, as the site of the Tamagawa River which is the subject of the debated verse, and as the home of the bird called buppōsō,[20] whose cry sounds in the background, Mt. Kōya is indispensable as the setting. Still, "Buppōsō" is too simple to make a very satisfying story. Not much really happens, and the abrupt digression from the action to a lengthy discussion on the correct interpretation of a poem which has no connection with the events of the story is distracting. The discourse itself has little meaning except for readers in possession of specialized knowledge. This detracts from the story, but it may be a reflection of Akinari's desire to appeal to a different kind of audience than he had in the past. Remembering his lighter works, he may have wanted to stress to the reader (and to himself as well) how much he had changed his views and come to appreciate a higher degree of learning.

For readers dissatisfied with "Buppōsō," "Kibitsu no kama" 吉備津の釜 seems more than adequate compensation. Like "Asaji ga yado," this is also a tale of a foresaken wife, but whereas Akinari presented

Miyagi as his ideal of the patient and long-suffering woman, in Isora he portrays the epitome of the woman scorned. As Miyagi's love and devotion transcend even the grave, so does Isora's bitterness. Miyagi faithfully waits for her husband and returns after death to welcome him home, whereas Isora dies in vexation and comes back from the grave to wreak a bloody vengeance on those who have wronged her. Miyagi is Akinari's most endearing character; Isora his most terrifying one. While Miyagi's gentleness and fidelity may remind us of Yūgao in The Tale of Genji, Isora's vengeful spirit evokes memories of Lady Rokujō in the same book.

Women of Akinari's time were bound by conventions set by men, and had few rights. The sanjū 三従, or "three subordinations," required a woman to obey her parents while single, her husband while married, and her eldest son when widowed, while the shichi kyo 七去 set down the seven reasons--unfilial conduct, infertility, infidelity, jealousy, gossiping, stealing, and poor health--for which she could be divorced. Even if her husband transferred his affections to another woman or abandoned her altogether, as Shōtarō does in "Kibitsu," her duty was to continue her responsibilities as wife of the house, marriage being a union not of individuals but of families. This Isora does, while she lives. In a society that condoned polygyny and male infidelity, jealousy was a passion that many wives were forced to contend with. There is no indication that Akinari meant to attack the system which bred such jealousy, but he called for wisdom and restraint on the part of men. The tale begins with a short discourse on the perils of a jealous wife, and argues that a man must protect himself against this

jealousy by disciplining his own conduct and extending guidance to his mate. Jealousy, Akinari implies, is an inborn fault of women against which men must be on guard. Shōtarō fails to do so and suffers the fearsome consequences.

Living, Isora shows the self-denial of the ideal wife; dead, she displays the self-interest of a beast. As a mortal she appears to accept her husband's philandering with resignation but the fires of jealousy arise and consume her. Once out of this world, she is free from law and convention. No longer human, she may vent her primitive passions. Akinari saw in non-humans a fidelity to the self, noting with keen interest that animals respond to a different kind of logic than do people. One day, he recorded, while walking down a street, he saw a dog steal a fish from a fishmonger's basket. He called the man's attention to the theft and watched as the fishmonger put down his basket, beat the dog with a rod, retrieved his fish, and continued on his way. But, Akinari observed, the dog followed after the man with an expression and demeanor suggesting that it considered itself the victim of a crime, not a justly punished thief.[21] Akinari also recalled the story of a maidservant who unwittingly poured a tub of dirty water over a sleeping fox. The fox awoke and promptly possessed the girl--a natural reaction for him. The maid had committed her mistake without malice, but the fox's simple animal nature could not see her moral innocence. He could only understand that he had been wronged, so he turned to a simple and direct kind of revenge.[22] Elsewhere Akinari told of a maiden who, her lover being forbidden to visit her, would go to his lodgings by night over a mountain pathway. On one such occasion

she met a hungry wolf. Pleading with the beast to allow her one last visit to her lover, she promised to return and surrender herself to him if he would grant her this one favor. The wolf let her go. Later that night she returned to the place, expecting to be devoured on the spot, but the wolf was nowhere to be seen. The next time she made the journey, she left a gift of food beside the path, and found when she returned that it had all been eaten. She continued to leave similar offerings on subsequent visits. In time a certain highwayman heard of her nocturnal journeys and lay in wait beside the path to apprehend her. But when the girl passed by and he accosted her, the wolf sprang out of the darkness and killed him. In the same vein, Akinari recalled the story of Hada no Ōtsuchi from the Nihongi 日本紀. Ōtsuchi had come upon two wolves fighting. He begged them to desist, and having restrained them he cleansed their wounds and sent them away, thus saving their lives. In gratitude the wolves appeared to the emperor in a dream and advised him to take Ōtsuchi into his service. In this way Ōtsuchi rose from being a humble merchant to keeper of the imperial treasury.[23]

On the basis of such reports, Akinari contended that foxes and badgers and other animals, unlike people, have no moral sense of right and wrong, but merely reward what is good for them and punish what is bad. The deities of Japan were of the same nature, he believed, blessing those who serve them and cursing those who neglect them, unlike Buddhas and sages, who have human bodies and feelings.[24] In animals and supernatural beings Akinari saw a quality that rose above considerations of good and evil--a simple, pure, and amoral instinct, be-

yond normal logic, of protecting one's self and one's personal interests. Such is the behavior of Isora the ghost as opposed to Isora the mortal.

"Kibitsu" is a tale of events rather than of setting or atmosphere. Except for its proximity to the Kibitsu Shrine, with its famed divining cauldron, the location is of minor importance. It is what actually takes place that gives the story its stunning finality. Akinari heightens the terror of the supernatural by describing it only vaguely. Thus, after Shōtarō deceives his wife and absconds with Sode, she becomes ill, and the malady has a suspicious character about it, but the reader can only suspect that Isora's jealousy is the cause. Nor is there anything unusual about the girl tending the new grave near Sode's, who takes Shōtarō to meet her grieving mistress. Like Shōtarō, the reader is prepared to accept everything as genuine until the pale and emaciated Isora suddenly appears. Only then do we learn that she is really dead and her spirit lusting for revenge. As Shōtarō takes refuge in his house, the doors and windows sealed with charms, and the story approaches its climax, Isora is now represented only as a voice, more terrifying than any tangible object. Suspense mounts as the days pass until, as Shōtarō and the reader believe, the danger period is over. But as he prematurely opens the door, Shōtarō emits a blood-curdling scream--and simply vanishes. More than any detailed account, the topknot of hair and the blood trickling down the wall--all that remain--attest to the awful fury of the specter and the thoroughness of Shōtarō's destruction.

"Jasei no in"妖性の婬, the longest of the nine tales, repeats

the theme of lax behavior and its consequences, though with a different emphasis. While Toyoo's behavior is not immoral, he spends his time at effeminate pursuits and does not live in a steadfast and disciplined manner, and as a result he becomes an easy target for the serpent Manago. Even so, he is sympathetically portrayed. Perhaps Akinari identified with him, attributing to Toyoo some of his own faults. At the time he was writing Ugetsu Akinari's artistic interests were conflicting with hard economic reality, and even Toyoo's home, with its strict father and indulgent mother bears comparison with the author's own childhood environment.

Akinari again places the reader in the participant's role. One goes through the tale knowing little more than Toyoo himself, for Akinari as usual drops only subtle hints that things are not all they seem to be. The reader by this time knows that he is reading a ghost story and is therefore alert for suspicious details, but he never gets enough information to remove the shock from the events when they occur. It is strange that Toyoo could have failed to know of such a conspicuous figure as Manago if she really had, as she tells him, been living in his village for some years, yet we become truly suspicious only when, searching for Manago's home, Toyoo can find no one who has heard of her, and when he at last does locate the house, discovering it to be identical to the mansion in his dream of the previous night.

But these and subsequent developments do not really prepare us for the discovery that Manago's stately dwelling is really a ruin overgrown with weeds, nor for Manago's dramatic disappearance in a clap of thunder. With a growing awareness of her true nature, we accompany

Toyoo with a sense of foreboding to his sister's home in Yamato. True to our expectations, Manago reappears, and Toyoo reveals his weakness of character by accepting her patently flimsy explanation and once more taking her in as his bride. But indeed the reader himself is tempted to believe her, so earnest are her entreaties.

Even so, we are again forcibly reminded of her demon nature when she suddenly disappears into the waterfall and gives rise to a cloudburst. We know that we have not seen the last of her, and yet her next appearance where we least expect it--in the person of Tomiko, Toyoo's new bride--comes as still another shock. The serpent's tenacity and guile astounds us. Like Toyoo, we are inclined to despair. No one, it seems, can subdue Manago. Significantly, Toyoo succeeds in escaping from her clutches only after he ceases to flee from her and determines to sacrifice himself in order to protect others. Paradoxically, when he submits to Manago, in full knowledge of what she is, and pleads for Tomiko's life, he shakes off his passive nature and acts like a strong man. Significant too is the fact that Toyoo himself must accomplish the task of overcoming Manago, pinioning her beneath the charmed cloth and forcing himself to ignore her feminine appeals for mercy.

"Jasei no in" is a masterfully woven tale, and Manago deserves to be ranked alongside Miyagi as one of Akinari's best drawn characters. Although she is not really human, she is skillfully portrayed as a person--a sensuous woman currying favor according to her present whim. If there is any dissatisfying element, it is the final scene. The subjugation of Manago strikes us as too easy. In view of the power

that she has heretofore demonstrated, we expect a more dramatic confrontation. But the very simplicity of the task emphasizes the efficacy of Hōkai Oshō's sincere efforts as opposed to the pompous overconfidence of the priest who lost his life in his own attempt to overcome Manago. Also, it emphasizes how the exorcism is mainly accomplished by Toyoo's disciplining himself and meeting his problem head on, thus pointing up Akinari's view that if one lives steadfastly all will be well, but if one is careless the consequences may be severe. Some readers will no doubt be dissatisfied with Tomiko's fate, for it seems unjust that an innocent party must be the one to die. But her death illustrates that the results of lax behavior affect not only ourselves, but extend to others as well.

The consequences of unrestrained behavior are shown once again in "Aozukin" 青頭巾. "A slothful mind creates a monster, a rigorous one enjoys the fruit of the Buddha,"[25] says the main character, and the tale is essentially an illustration of this idea. As he seeks lodging for the night, the itinerant priest Kaian Zenji is told the story of the abbot of a local temple who has allowed himself to be overpowered by sorrow and frustration. In an excess of grief over the death of a youth whom he had loved beyond the bounds of propriety, the abbot has turned into a fearsome being who terrorizes the neighborhood. Determined to bring the demon monk to his senses, Zenji makes his way to the temple. As in the other tales, the setting is suitably eerie. It is autumn, and night is approaching. Long shunned by everyone but its lone ghoulish inhabitant, the temple yard is overgrown with brambles and moss; spider webs are stretched between the images, and bird drop-

pings cover the altar. Now the monk appears, though not in his demon form. He merely receives his visitor and gives him permission to spend the night. Then he leaves his guest alone. Total darkness falls, broken only by a crescent moon, while only the sound of running water disturbs the silence. The scene is indeed similar to that on Mt. Kōya in "Buppōsō."

Later that night the abbot returns, apparently intending to devour his guest, but Zenji has been rendered invisible to his eyes. Not until dawn breaks can he be seen. Now the abbot is convinced of his visitor's virtue and listens willingly to his remonstrations. Having established the monk's desire to reform, Zenji places his own blue hood upon the monk's head, gives him a Zen problem to meditate upon, and leaves him seated on a flat rock. Not until a year later does he return. He finds the temple yard completely overgrown and the buildings beginning to collapse, but the demon monk, to all appearances, has not moved. Oblivious to the confusion around him, he sits meditating, his body emaciated, his hair and beard long and disheveled. Zenji observes the scene; then, abruptly, he strikes the monk on the head and demands the solution to the problem. Thus stimulated, the monk suddenly attains enlightenment and dissolves into thin air, leaving behind only the blue hood and a pile of bones. Thus the story ends, a simple tale but a strong statement of Akinari's belief that human nature is neither irrevocably good nor irrevocably evil. A bad environment or personal carelessness may cause moral deterioration in a man, but the same person, given instruction and self-discipline, may progress even to Buddhahood.

Finally there is the tale "Hinpukuron"貧窮論. Here the supernatural takes the form of a tiny smiling old man, the spirit of the hero's gold. There is nothing frightening about him. Only his size and his self-introduction indicate that he is more than mortal. There is no dramatic action, no ghostly atmosphere. Thus "Hinpukuron" is of little interest as a ghost story; in fact it is of little interest as a story, for it amounts only to a logical discourse on the capricious nature of fortune.

At the core of the story is a universal question, one that, in Japan, neither Confucian nor Buddhist doctrines had been able to explain: Why is the morally upright man seldom rich, and why is the wicked man so often prosperous? A degree of cynicism is apparent. The spirit attacks the official feudal ethic that termed the pursuit of wealth a social evil, and he condemns the Confucian doctrine that one can be happy without wealth. Such an idea, he says, leads scholars astray and may even cause the warriors to forget that wealth is the basis of a strong state, leading them to scorn money and crave glory won on the battlefield, to the sorrow of all concerned. To seek gold is as honorable as to desire fame, the spirit says. One's abundance or lack of wealth has nothing to do with his good or bad conduct in a former existence, as the Buddhists say. As a spirit the little man has no sense of human standards of right and wrong. Like animals and Shinto deities, he is motivated by a simpler, more selfish interest. He rewards those who honor and serve him and ignores those who do not.

Akinari had found his own half-hearted efforts in commerce unre-

warding financially, and his wholehearted efforts in letters even less so. All around him he saw bad men who were wealthy and good men who were impoverished. It was evident to his logical mind that wealth is not a reward for righteousness, but comes only to those who foresake other gods to follow Mammon. But to say so directly was to contradict the official code of his feudal society, so he found it prudent to present this idea in a story format. He could always deny that his meaning was serious. He had already stressed in his preface that his tales were pure fiction, and the proponent of the heresy was the spirit of the gold, voicing exactly the ideas one would expect from such a being. Protecting himself from censure may also have been Akinari's motive for closing the story, which is set during the administration of Hideyoshi, with a prophecy of the coming ascendency of Tokugawa Ieyasu, who would at last bring peace to the land. Akinari may have intended this complimentary reference to the Edo government, with the accompanying condemnation of Nobunaga and Hideyoshi, to allay any suspicion of subversive intent.

Such is the content of Ugetsu monogatari. A superb combination of originality and adaptation, its characters and events never fail to fit naturally into the Japanese scene; in some of the tales the Japanese setting even becomes an essential part of the story. The reader who has not been told of the book's foreign antecedents finds no direct reference to them in the text. The prose is elegantly constructed; to read it is an aesthetic experience. The tales conform to the highest traditions of the storyteller's art. They demand to be read. The reader shares the hopes and fears, joys and sorrows, wonder and amaze-

ment of the characters as the events unfold. Underlying each of the stories is the theme of man and his fate. All of the characters, mortal and immortal, are memorable in their own right, each having his or her own distinctive and clearly defined qualities. For such reasons, Ugetsu has become a classic. It went through successive printings during the author's lifetime, and today holds a place in Japanese literature no less secure than that of The Tale of Genji.

NOTES

1. The first edition is dated "An'ei 5th year, early summer"--that is, mid-1776. See Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 92.

2. See Moriyama Shigeo, Hōken shōmin bungaku no kenkyū (Tokyo: San'ichi Shobō, 1960; rpt. 1971), pp. 253-262.

3. For an exhaustive catalogue of the sources related to each Ugetsu tale, see Uzuki Hiroshi, Ugetsu monogatari hyōshaku (Tokyo: Kadogawa Shoten, 1969), pp. 707-712.

4. See Nakamura, Kinsei sakka kenkyū, p. 161.

5. Yasumigoto, Zenshū, I, 465-489; for Teishō's preface, see p. 465. Teishō's signature appears on the manuscript copy in the Tenri Library. See Nakamura, Kinsei sakka kenkyū, p. 163.

6. Bakin, Kinsei mono no hon Edo sakusha burui, ed. Kimura Miyogo (Nara: Privately published, 1971), p. 128.

7. Hanabusa zōshi, Nishiyama monogatari, Ugetsu monogatari, Harusame monogatari, ed. Nakamura Yukihiko, Takada Mamoru, and Nakamura Hiroyasu, Nihon Koten Bungaku Zenshū, Vol. 48 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1973), XLVIII, 73, 74.

8. See Tandai, no. 13, NKBT, LVI, 258.

9. See Ibid., no. 29, pp. 270, 271.

10. Ibid., pp. 271, 272; see also Akinari, Kitano Kamo ni mōzuru ki 北野加茂に詣づる記, Ibun, pp. 372-380.

11. Shonin ichidai michi no naka zukai 諸人一代道之中解. This was compiled by the same firm that published Ugetsu in Kyoto. Photographic reproductions of the notice can be seen in Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 65, and Uzuki, Ugetsu hyōshaku, p. 703.

12. Suggested in Uzuki, Ugetsu hyōshaku, p. 699.

13. For a detailed explanation of the title, see Leon M. Zolbrod, trans., Ugetsu Monogatari: Tales of Moonlight and Rain (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1974), pp. 19-21. See Zolbrod's complete introduction to the collection (pp. 19-94) for a critical discussion of the background of Ugetsu.

14. NKBT, LVI, 47, 48; Zolbrod, trans., Ugetsu, p. 109.

15. NKBT, LVI, 53, 54; Zolbrod, trans., Ugetsu, p. 114.

16. For a discussion of this recurring character type in Akinari's works, see Omiyayama Eiko 小宮山栄子, "Miyagi ron: ningen tsuikyū no

kokoromi toshite"宮本論一人間追究の試みとして (1959), in Akinari, ed. Nihon Bungaku Kenkyū Shiryō Kankōkai, pp. 127-133.

17. See Man'yōshū, nos. 431, 432, NKBT, IV, 206, 207; nos. 1807, 1808, NKBT, V, 416, 417; nos. 3386, 3387, NKBT, VI, 416, 417.

18. NKBT, LVI, 77; Zolbrod, trans., Ugetsu, p. 139.

19. Kansei kaigen寛政改元, Ibun, pp. 425-429.

20. Eurystomus orientalis. A small bird, green rust in color. It was called sambōchō三宝鳥 because it was supposed to emit a cry sounding like "buppōsō," that is, the Buddha, the sutras, and the monastic orders, the "three treasures" of Buddhism. Actually this is the cry of another bird, the konohazuku (Otus scops japonicus), but the mistake was not discovered until 1935. See Dai Nihon hyakka jiten 大日本百科事典 (Encyclopedia Japonica), 23 vols. (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1967-1972), VII, 535; XV, 629.

21. Tandai, no. 27, NKBT, LVI, 269.

22. Ibid., no. 28, pp. 269, 270.

23. Related in Akiyama no ki, Zenshū, I, 54-57. For the Nihongi version of the story of Hada no Ōtsuchi and the wolves, see NKBT, LXVIII, 62, 63; W. G. Aston, trans., Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697, 2 vols. in one (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1956), II, 36, 37. Akinari also relates this story and comments on it in Tandai, no. 31, NKBT, LVI, 272, 273.

24. See Tandai, no. 13, NKBT, LVI, 258; see also nos. 30, 31, pp. 272-274.

25. NKBT, LVI, 126; Zolbrod, trans., Ugetsu, p. 189.

CHAPTER V

THE SCHOLAR-PHYSICIAN OF OSAKA

It was unfortunate, in a sense, that Ugetsu monogatari was so good, for it has so eclipsed everything else Akinari wrote that it is now his only work that is widely known. It has become more than synonymous with his name--indeed, while most present-day Japanese are at least familiar with this title, there are many who have never heard of Ueda Akinari. Perhaps this was inevitable. Yet Ugetsu does not mark the culmination of Akinari's literary career, but only a crucial turning point. After his attempt to recreate the spirit of the classics in his own fiction, Akinari shifted his efforts toward explicating this spirit in scholarly terms. Although he never again wrote fiction for its own sake, he produced learned writings in profusion. His diversified interests and the wide range of his talents can be seen clearly in the latter half of his life.

Meanwhile, when Akinari returned to Osaka, he concentrated first on practical matters. His wife and aging mother were dependent upon him, and they had endured considerable privation since the loss of the family business. Akinari felt obliged to make it up to them. Moreover, he felt the responsibility that he had assumed by becoming a physician, and he approached his new duties seriously and with determination. Medical practitioners of the day frequently supplemented their earnings by engaging in sidelines such as moneylending, matchmaking, acting as vendors' agents, or by cultivating wealthy patrons, but Akinari considered activities like these to be a disgrace to the

profession, and resolved from the beginning to take no part in them. Determined to compensate through consideration and diligence for his lack of experience, he would visit a patient several times a day if the ailment seemed to require such attention, and he made no claim to knowledge that he did not have. Pride would not deter him from calling in a more experienced physician if his own skills were taxed, but even when he did so he would retain interest in the case and continue to visit the patient himself. In time such kindness and concern won him a large clientele. The resultant financial prosperity[1] provided some compensation for the fact that the work kept him "running east, west, south, and north every day."[2]

While Akinari was still learning the healing arts, one of his fellow students had become ill, and no one in the group had been able to ease his suffering. At length the patient's elder brother arrived from the family home in Ise. He thanked the attending physicians for their efforts, but then dismissed them and applied his own techniques. Stripping his brother naked, he cooled him with a fan, fed him at intervals on a thin gruel, and administered a medicinal concoction prepared from a bear's liver. Within two days the fever had broken and the patient was able to eat. Before long he had recovered completely, whereupon he returned home with his brother, apparently convinced of the superiority of the local brand of medicine. The incident impressed Akinari. He said that he was very close to agreement with the physician from the brothers' native village who had stated, "What you think is enough is too much," and advocated light clothing and moderate eating as the way to avoid sickness.[3] Such an approach to medicine suited

Akinari's own temperament. He himself believed in simple living, and he had no faith in extravagant remedies or flamboyant cures. He thought that genuine concern and conscientious attention were the keys to effective healing. "Medicine," he once wrote, "is the heart."[4]

By the end of 1780, Akinari was able to purchase a house in Awajichō 淡路町 , about six hundred yards west of the quarters he had rented in Amagasaki. The house was renovated during the winter, and when spring came the Uedas at last were able once again to move into a permanent home of their own. "For the first time, my mother showed a smiling face," Akinari said of the occasion.[5] The house cost sixteen kamme, or 270 ryō, probably a difficult sum for a physician who refused to engage in sidelines to save in so short a period. Akinari just said that he "managed it somehow,"[6] implying that some of the money was borrowed. Thus it would appear that he had become prosperous enough to be considered a good credit risk. Now, as a man of property, his standing in the community no doubt rose even higher. Subsequently he purchased another house nearby, which he rented to a fishmonger.[7] Materially, this was the high point of his life.

Even so, Akinari's heart was not solely devoted to his official occupation. There is no question that he worked hard at it, and that initially, at least, he restricted his literary activities to do so, but the evidence does not point to a complete curtailment of his outside interests. He is known to have gone to Kyoto and stayed at the home of Takai Kitō early in 1776,[8] probably about the same time that he was moving back to Osaka. He apparently saw Buson as well on this visit, and contributed, or at least discussed, some verses,[9] most

likely those for Zoku akegarasu, the haikai collection that was published later that year to commemorate the seventeenth anniversary of Kitō's father, Takai Kikei's death. It is certain that Akinari was very much in Buson's thoughts around this time, for his name appears often in Buson's letters,[10] but usually Buson simply asked the recipient to convey his regards to Akinari. It would appear that in the early days of his medical practice Akinari concentrated on establishing himself, and though he had contact with Buson's acquaintances in Osaka, he had little time for socializing with friends in Kyoto. Later, however, he did find more time to visit the capital and participate with Buson and Kitō in their haikai circle.

He was barely settled in his new life when he experienced another turning point in his career. He had spent part of his time at Kashima preparing for publication Amayo monogatari tamikotoba 雨夜物語たみこと葉, Katō Umaki's commentary on the well-known section of The Tale of Genji in which Genji and his friends pass a rainy evening discussing the virtues and shortcomings of the women they have loved. Umaki had completed the work in 1769; Akinari's preface to it was dated 1775,[11] and the publication was carried out in the fourth month of 1777.[12] Little had Akinari suspected that it would be his parting gift to his teacher. Just two months later Umaki died suddenly in Kyoto while serving at the Nijō Castle.[13]

As soon as word reached him, Akinari hurried to the capital to oversee funeral arrangements. Such was his duty as Umaki's senior disciple, but it was more than a sense of responsibility that drew him there. Their relationship had gone beyond that of the ordinary master-

disciple connection. Akinari had respected Umaki for his learning, but he had also loved him as a friend, and the loss left a deep scar on his mind. Years later, near the end of his own life, as Akinari recorded the message that Umaki's widow had sent him after receiving the hair that he had shaved from the corpse, he added, "Even as I copy this down, my heart is crushed with thoughts of long ago."[14] For Akinari there was an air of finality about Umaki's death. Umaki was irreplaceable. Akinari could not conceive of anyone being able to equal the man, and so he continued in the scholarly world on his own. It was now a matter of standing on his own feet or not standing at all. Umaki's passing may be seen as the event which brought Akinari to maturity as a scholar.

Among Umaki's effects Akinari discovered a portion of a manuscript of Kojiki den 古事記伝, the monumental commentary on the Kojiki that Motoori Norinaga was then working on. As they had both been disciples of Kamo Mabuchi, Norinaga had permitted Umaki to examine some of his work. One of Norinaga's associates, a certain Tonami Imamichi 隔波今道, attended the funeral, and Akinari entrusted the manuscript to him for return to its owner. Norinaga was pleased and composed a waka verse to Imamichi in gratitude[15]--gratitude that surely extended to Akinari. This is the first known instance of any form of contact between Akinari and Norinaga, and it is ironical that it should have been so amiable, for an acrimonious dispute was to break out between them in just a few years.

In the autumn of 1779 Akinari took time off from his work in order to make an excursion to the hot springs at Kinosaki. Ostensibly

the trip was for his health. He had been suffering from pains in his legs for the past three years; medicine having proven ineffective, a colleague had suggested that he try the healing baths at Kinosaki. He decided to take Tama along.[16] It would appear, however, that the excursion was taken as much for pleasure as for his health, for both Akinari and his wife enjoyed it immensely. A fair portion of the journey seems to have been made on foot, so despite Akinari's complaints his legs could not have been in really bad condition. The trip also reflects his improved financial situation. An excursion such as this one, of approximately six weeks' duration, surely entailed much expense, to say nothing of the cost in lost earnings. That Akinari was able to take the time off and still go ahead with the purchase of a home a year later, bespeaks his new-found prosperity.

This was Akinari's second visit to Kinosaki. He had gone there for his health once before in his younger days,[17] and reminiscing to Tama about the familiar sights no doubt made the journey even more enjoyable. They started out in the early-morning chill of the twelfth day of the ninth month, friends accompanying them as far as Nishinomiya. In good time they made their way as far as Sumiyoshi, where they spent the night. Next day, blessed with fine weather, they walked along the shoreline of Suma, enjoying the sight of boats going to and fro on the calm sea, with fishermen plying their trade and the mountains overlooking the scene. The setting called to Tama's mind Prince Genji's exile to Suma, and she expressed wonder that a sea so placid could ever have raged so violently, as depicted in the tale. Where, she asked, was the exact place where Genji had dwelt?

According to Akinari's poetic diary, an itinerant priest who was nearby overheard her question and volunteered an answer. The Tale of Genji was merely a story that Murasaki Shikibu紫式部 had made up, he said, and should not be regarded as the truth. Indeed, said the priest, Murasaki had been condemned to eternal suffering for writing such a collection of lies, much as Lo Kuan-chung羅貫中 had paid the penalty for writing Shui hu chuan by having three generations of his posterity born deaf and dumb.[18]

According to Akinari's written account, because the priest was following the same route as themselves, he fell into step with them and expanded his statement as they went along. By the time their paths diverged he had made a lengthy critical discourse on The Tale of Genji. The priest rejected such commonly-held views as that the tale was an allegorical presentation of Buddhist teachings, that Murasaki was actually a Buddha in disguise, or that, being a mere woman, she could not have produced such a masterpiece on her own and so must have been assisted by her father. He praised Genji's character as being in no way inferior to that of the Chinese sages. But, he concluded, while the tale does portray the glories of the past, the world it depicts was fated to break up in disorder. Thus, he said, The Tale of Genji should be read strictly for entertainment; it is useless to see it as anything more than a source of pleasure.

Of course this episode probably never occurred, at least not in the manner in which it was related. Tama was by no means uneducated, and she shared her husband's interest in literature to a degree. Very likely she did speak of The Tale of Genji while passing through Suma,

but the priest's appearance is too apropos to be credible, and his discourse too formal to be impromptu. Probably what really happened was that when Akinari was writing his account of the journey he felt that Suma was the logical place to include some of his own opinions on Genji--indeed, he and his wife may actually have discussed similar points as they walked along--and so introduced the priest to act as his mouthpiece. To state the views as his own would have smacked of pedantry and detracted from the story format of his diary, but masked as the ideas of a chance acquaintance they fit smoothly into the narrative as talk heard on the way. By introducing such a fictional episode into his record, Akinari was doing no more than following precedent. Convention did not require the literary diary to be absolutely faithful to reality, but to improve upon it. Material could be added or deleted as necessary to fulfill this function. The passage deserves special attention, however, because the priest's views foreshadow those expressed in Nubatama no maki ぬばたまの巻, Akinari's more ambitious criticism of Genji, which was also connected with his trip to Kinosaki.

Akinari and Tama spent that night at Ōkuradani 大蔵谷 (now a part of Akashi-shi), and enjoyed watching the moon on the beach, it being the thirteenth night of the month. Next day they pushed on with their journey, ignoring most of the opportunities for sightseeing, but they did visit a certain Sonezaki Shrine, which was having a festival, where they witnessed a large-scale tug-of-war by country folk, though Akinari confessed to being quite unimpressed with it all. They slept that night at a place called Mamezaki 豆崎. Next morning, the fifteenth

day of the month, they set out before dawn, passing over a moor in the province of Harima, enjoying the variety of flowers in bloom along the way, and watching birds catching fish in the marshes. A light rain began to fall, but Akinari was more impressed by the beauty of the mountains half shrouded in the mist than he was troubled by getting wet. They were now in an isolated section of the country; few human beings besides themselves were in evidence. At length they stopped at a certain village to rest and eat, and the sun was inclining toward the west by the time they started out again. They followed the upper reaches of the Ichikawa River, awed by the rapids and the mountains which towered on either side, to a village called Yakata , a miserable-looking place, but for want of anywhere better they stopped there for the night.

The record is not entirely clear for the next three days. On the sixteenth they appear to have pushed on over the provincial boundary into Tajima and lodged at the village of Takeda, famous for its lacquer ware, though Akinari also mentioned a visit to the nearby village of Awaga to sample its tea. He was later to achieve some recognition as an authority on the tea ceremony, and seems to have been interested in the cult even at this date. From Wadayama, he said, the country became more and more familiar, and he recalled with nostalgia the sights that he had come to know twenty years before. Descending the river by boat on the last leg of their journey, they arrived at Kinosaki on the nineteenth day of the month. The inn where he had stayed on his previous visit had changed but little, but familiar faces were few, he found. Children he had known were now mature adults. Occa-

sionally people would ask Akinari if he remembered them, and only then would he recognize an old acquaintance. Akinari's former host was now old and retired, and his son, whom Akinari remembered as a young boy, had taken over management of the inn.

The weather was rainy most of the time in Kinosaki, and generally they remained indoors, passing the hours with other guests or with acquaintances in the district, and enjoying the natural hot-spring baths. Nearly a full month went by in this manner. The period of their stay had now elapsed, and Akinari's mother would be expecting them to return. But before going back to the realities of everyday life in Osaka, Akinari wanted to visit Amanohashidate. Twenty years before, he had seen this celebrated beauty spot, which is ranked with Matsushima and Miyajima as one of the "Three Views of Japan," and now he wished to relive the experience and share it with his wife.

On the morning of the sixteenth day of the tenth month Akinari and Tama left the inn and made their way to the inlet of Kumi. They had considered taking a boat along the coastline, but fearing the weather would not hold they decided to make the trip overland. So they journeyed to Iwataki, enjoying the autumn colors on the way. At Iwataki they hired a small boat to take them to Amanohashidate on the opposite shore, and while the sand bar overgrown with pine trees twisted into weird shapes came into view, Akinari related to his wife the legends surrounding the place. Amanohashidate was said to be the remnant of the Floating Bridge of Heaven, upon which the deities Izanami and Izanagi had stood when they stirred up the ocean and created the islands of Japan. Nevertheless, although Akinari appreciated the tra-

dition, he was too much the realist not to be skeptical. He did not think the scene really looked as though it had fallen from heaven, and he decried people who lead others astray with ill-founded gossip.

After passing the night at Miyazu, the Uedas rose while it was still dark and commenced the homeward journey, making their way over the Fukō Pass and on to Fukuchiyama, where they secured lodgings. Next morning they found the scene shrouded in frost. As they travelled along that day they passed the village of Kuroi in the Hikami district of Tamba, which was the home of Ueda Jizō, Akinari's foster father's brother. Akinari would have liked to stop and visit his uncle, but he was worried about his mother, and both he and his wife were beginning to feel the pangs of homesickness, so they passed the village by. Next morning the frost was heavy again; winter was clearly on the way. Osaka was now only a one or two days' journey, but they felt that even one more night spent on the road would seem like an eternity, so eager were they to be home. Akinari ended his narrative on this note. He did not say just when they reached Osaka, and we can only guess at his mother's joy and relief to see them safely back.

For Akinari, the time had been well spent. It was the first time, as far as we know, that he had been able to make an excursion with his wife. It is rather surprising that he did so, for it was hardly socially approved for a married couple to travel together as Akinari and Tama had done. The fact that they chose to violate convention attests to the depth of their mutual affection and independence of spirit. As a "second honeymoon," the trip gave them time to be together, away

from the interferences of others, and free from the cares of daily life. Surely it served to strengthen their already close relationship.

Moreover, the trip provided the material for two literary travel records. Akinari appears to have written the first of these, Akiyama no ki, shortly after getting back to Osaka; the second, Kozo no shiori, in the autumn of the following year, as we infer from its title and from the preamble, which speaks of wild geese flying by under a wintry moon.[19] Each account mentions certain things that the other omits, and there are, as mentioned earlier, a few apparent departures from the truth for the sake of literary effect, but on the whole both accounts treat the same events, and the dates generally agree, so we may consider them reasonably accurate as history. Both were written in the conventional style of the travel diary, the events being subordinated to the sights and sentiments of the journey, with numerous literary allusions, and the prose narrative interspersed with poems. Akiyama no ki especially abounds with descriptions of natural beauty, but the most obvious difference between the two accounts is that the poems in Akiyama no ki are waka, while those in Kozo no shiori are haiku.

A further indication that Akinari found the trip to Kinosaki unforgettable is that he used it for the background setting of Nubatama no maki. According to Akinari's preface to Nubatama,[20] while he was staying at the inn at Kinosaki in the autumn of 1779, he became acquainted with a man in a neighboring room, who had a manuscript in his possession. Since the manuscript was written in a style too abstruse for his understanding, the man begged Akinari to rewrite the work for him in a simpler, more readily comprehensible form. Akinari obliged, and

since the manuscript bore no title, he called the work Nubatama no maki, "Nubatama no yoru wa sugara ni," or "All through the dark night," being the opening line of the text. Thus Akinari accounted for it. The story need not be taken seriously, of course, though it is quite possible that Akinari did write Nubatama, or at least a draft of it, at Kinosaki. Doing so could have occupied much of his time during the rainy weather.

Nubatama no maki is at once Akinari's criticism of The Tale of Genji, of which he was a great admirer,[21] and an expression of his general views on the role of fiction in society. More than any of his other works, it reveals what Akinari saw the purpose of the novel to be. Although a serious literary essay, it is couched in story form, revealing the penchant for fiction that Akinari retained even after he stopped writing it as such. The protagonist of Nubatama is a man called Sōchin宗椿, who supposedly lived during the last years of the Ashikaga shogunate, a time of incessant warfare. Grieved by the suffering and corruption around him, but feeling powerless to fight against it, and unable to live up to monastic vows if he tried to retire from the world, Sōchin turned for solace to The Tale of Genji. Sincerely believing that it was equal to the combined teachings of Buddhism and Confucianism, he devoted his life to copying the manuscript, hoping thus to serve mankind by making it available to others. As Akinari's account opens, Sōchin is an old man. He has copied the entire Genji manuscript a total of twenty-four times, and is still hard at work. One night he falls asleep over his task, and in a dream finds himself walking on the shore of Akashi Bay. He is not a-

lone, for there is a man who looks about fifty years of age[22] seated beneath some pine trees nearby, gazing at the moon. He invites Sōchin to join him. Struck by the beauty of the moon shining upon the placid water, Sōchin becomes lost in reminiscences of Genji's exile to Akashi. He rambles on, talking more to himself than to his companion, when the man interrupts his reverie to state that The Tale of Genji, however skillfully written it may be, or however much it may delight the reader, is of no real value. It is foolish to believe that it can be a source of moral instruction for the world. His interest thus aroused, Sōchin begins to ask questions. Why, he asks the man, does he speak so disparagingly of the tale, when for years learned men have interpreted it as an allegorical explication of Buddhist and Confucian teachings, and thus a moral document of immeasurable value? At this point the story format gives way to a didactic one, as the stranger launches into a discourse on the nature of fiction. The novel, he says, should exist for its own sake. It should be an artistic creation that brings joy to those who read it, but its proper fuction ends there. It should portray people and events realistically, neither as totally good nor totally evil, but just as they are. Being no more than a means of amusement, its role is not to encourage virtue and decry vice. But nevertheless, he says in a more affirmative tone, even though fiction is pure falsehood, a note of truth may be found therein, for the author may, obliquely, in a manner that the casual reader might fail to discern, inject his own observations about contemporary society into his work, and by so doing, take on the role of social, or even political, critic. The matters that trouble the writer will be

reflected in his stories, in a veiled fashion, of course, lest he incur the displeasure of society or the holders of political power, but nevertheless in a fashion easily discernible to readers of like mind. Fiction, then, is a portrayal of the drama in contemporary human life. To disguise his true intentions the author may set his story in the distant past, but his thoughts remain in the present.

Such is the principal message of Nubatama, though its narrator goes on to discuss fiction in general and Genji in particular to great theoretical lengths. It would appear that Akinari, like other intellectuals of his day, had reacted against the view of fiction as a moralistic tool. Fiction was falsehood; therefore its function was to entertain, not to instruct. Accordingly, literary masterpieces should be interpreted as works of art, and no more. Yet even so, such an apparently useless thing as fiction was really of social value, for through the medium of his prose the author could convey to the reader the truths he had perceived. That is to say that in fiction, through the vehicle of untruth, truth may be transmitted.

Late in 1781 a request was submitted for permission to publish the title Genji nomatama no maki 源氏野玉の巻, said to have been written by one Sōchin.[23] Considering the author's name, the similarity of the titles, Nubatama's connection with Genji, and the fact that Akinari in one of his writings stated that the expression, "no naru matama" 野なる玉 was equivalent to "nubatama,"[24] the work in question must have been Nubatama no maki. Permission to publish was quickly granted, but no printed edition of Nubatama is known to exist. Most likely the publication was never carried out.[25]

The character by whom Sōchin is instructed in Nubatama is identified as the Man'yōshū poet Kakinomoto Hitomaro 柿本人麻呂, and Akinari's choice of him as his mouthpiece probably reflects the interest that he had in the poet around this time. Significantly enough, it was either shortly before or shortly after this that he wrote his study of Hitomaro's life, Kaseiden 歌聖伝.[26] A piece of biographical research, Kaseiden consists mainly of quotations from sources that tell of Hitomaro, together with Akinari's comments about them. Akinari's intention apparently was to assemble as much information on his topic as possible, and the result is probably the most exhaustive treatise on Hitomaro to be written up to that time. Mostly a collection of data, it does not read smoothly. Still, it displays the author's remarkably wide knowledge of source materials and his painstakingly thorough investigation.[27] Akinari must have developed his interest in the Man'yōshū early in life, certainly no later than his study of Keichū's works, and this interest was surely nurtured by Katō Umaki.[28] But Kaseiden was his first actual writing about the Man'yōshū, and may be regarded as the springboard for his Man'yōshū scholarship.[29]

Akinari may have tried to make autumn pleasure excursions a regular practice. His trip to Kinosaki, discussed above, was one such outing, and during the tenth month of the following year, 1780, he visited the Shūgakuin 修学院 Detached Palace in the northeastern hills of Kyoto,[30] going by way of the Minase River and enjoying the scenery there on the way.[31] Two brief accounts, Hakoya no yama and Minasegawa describe this excursion. Two years later, again in the tenth month, he made a five-day sightseeing trip to Nara with three friends. Aki-

nari's travel diary, Yamazuto 山裏, describes the events of this trip in some detail.[32]

In his role as an intellectual descendent of Kamo Mabuchi through Katō Umaki, Akinari spent some time during the 1780's editing a collection of notes on Mabuchi's lectures on the Kokin waka shū. A certain Nomura Tomohiko 野村ともひこ had received instruction from Mabuchi, and her husband, Nomura Nagahira 長ひら, had planned to help her prepare her notes for publication, but before they had completed the task, both of them died. Nagahira's younger brother, Nobumoto 遂志, was a practicing physician in Osaka. He knew Akinari and was aware of his interest in the Japanese classics and of his indirect connection with Mabuchi. He asked Akinari to take over the editing of the manuscripts, and Akinari agreed to do so, carrying out the work over an extended period, apparently in snatches of leisure time. He left the notes largely as Tomohiko had written them, merely inserting statements of Mabuchi and Umaki and also of his own into the text. He gave the finished product the title Kokin waka shū uchigiki 古今和歌集打聽, and a request for permission to publish the first seven volumes was submitted late in 1784.[33] Akinari finished editing the rest of the twenty volumes about a year later,[34] but the publication request was not submitted until another year had elapsed,[35] and the actual publication was delayed until 1789,[36] after Akinari had retired from medical practice and moved out of Osaka.

Early in 1787, by the Western calendar (twelfth month of the sixth year of the Temmei 天明 Era) the forthcoming publication of a work with the title Kakizome kigen no umi 書初機嫌の海 was announced.[37] When it

appeared in print the following month,[38] the "no" had been deleted, making the title Kakizome kigenkai. The author was called Rakugai Hankyōjin洛外半狂人, or "Half-Mad Man on the Outskirts of the Capital." If the pen name was chosen in order to preserve the author's anonymity it succeeded quite well, for it was not until the twentieth century that Kakizome was discovered to be the work of Akinari.[39]

"Kakizome" refers to the calligraphy that was traditionally practiced to usher in the New Year; "kigenkai" is a pun on "kigenkae" 機嫌変. The title, then, calls attention to the changing, or easily changeable, feelings that people may experience when an old year gives way to a new one.[40] Akinari admitted that he had taken the main theme of Kakizome from Saikaku's Seken mune san'yō 世間胸算用.[41] Both works are about events of the New Year, the difference being that Saikaku's stories are about the last day of the old year, and Akinari's about the first day of the new.

A short piece, Kakizome consists of three sections, each of them about one of the three main urban centers--Kyoto, Edo and Osaka--of the day. Two of the sections have a story format, but each is preceded by introductory remarks of almost equivalent length, which describe and criticize social conditions. The third section has no story at all, so it is doubtful that Akinari saw Kakizome as a work of fiction. The three sections, in effect, form a series of sketches about Japan in his time. They are best seen as his attempt to laugh at the world. He took the position of observer, looking down on the scene with a bemused, sometimes regretful, sometimes sharply critical expression. Although there is little overt didacticism, this tone is

unmistakeably present throughout. But the message does not really come across, and it sold poorly. Akinari himself admitted this, saying that his advancing age had made him too logical, no longer able to write works with popular appeal.[42] To date no one appears to have disagreed with this assessment. Kakizome attracted little attention among modern-day scholars until it was known to be the work of Akinari, and its chief claim to fame remains the identity of its author.

Kakizome kigenkai may have been a failure, but even so, by the early 1780's Akinari had become a man of letters in his own right. He had won the admiration of fellow participants in the leading haikai circles of the day. His fiction had been well received by the reading public, and he counted some of the top literary figures in Japan among his friends. A leading disciple of Kamo Mabuchi had taken him as a pupil and treated him nearly as an equal. Moreover, he was now financially successful as well. No longer was it necessary to rely on others for a livelihood. In both the literary and the workaday world he was independent. His talents had been weighed in the balance and not found wanting. It was natural that he experience a surge of self-confidence, natural too that this would lead to greater reluctance to remain silent when he disagreed with a colleague. The only surprising thing is the stature of the opponent with whom he chose to do battle.

Born in 1730, Motoori Norinaga was only four years older than Akinari. Though his native home of Matsuzaka in Ise was a far more rural environment than Osaka, he, like Akinari, had been raised in a merchant family. His father had died when he was eleven, and eight

years later he was adopted into a family in nearby Yamada. His real family tried to carry on their trade after the father's death, but it fell into a slow though steady decline, and when Norinaga returned to his own house at the age of twenty-two, his mother sent him to Kyoto to study to become a physician. Like Akinari in similar circumstances, however, he combined classical studies with his medical training, being especially stimulated by the writings of Keichū and Kamo Mabuchi. He returned to Matsuzaka in 1757 and set himself up as a physician, but in his spare time he continued his efforts to master the Japanese classics, giving lectures on them, and writing works of literary criticism. In 1762 he had an audience with Kamo Mabuchi. It was their first and only meeting, but from this encounter Norinaga was inspired to write his commentary on the Kojiki. Begun in 1764, the Kojiki den occupied much of Norinaga's leisure time until 1796. It was not printed in its entirety until 1822. Norinaga's reputation, therefore, was still being made at the time Akinari squared off against him, but even then he was a formidable opponent. It is a measure of Akinari's talent that he acquitted himself so well in their dispute.

Akinari and Norinaga had pursued the same line of scholarship. Norinaga's meeting with Mabuchi antedated Akinari's meeting with Umaki by just a few years. Their ages, their upbringing in merchant households, and even the manner in which they became involved in kokugaku studies were all similar. But there were differences, too. Matsuzaka was the commercial center of Ise, it is true, but it was rustic in comparison to Osaka, the commercial center for all Japan. Norinaga's only prolonged experience with a real urban environment had been the

five years he spent in Kyoto. Akinari considered Norinaga a country bumpkin and spoke of him as such.[43] No doubt he resented the recognition that had come to such a man, when he himself lived in the economic and cultural heart of the nation, with access to all the best in the scholarly and literary worlds. Moreover, while it is surely an oversimplification to account for their different viewpoints in the light of their native homes, it would be a mistake to ignore the point. Growing up in the spiritual center of Japan may have contributed to Norinaga's tendency to naively accept the Japanese myths, which led him to make frequent irrational statements, while Akinari's insistance on logic and reasoned interpretation may have been in part a legacy from the severe economic competition he had experienced in Osaka. Whatever its true influence may have been, their different environments symbolize their respective positions in their quarrel. The Akinari-Norinaga confrontation may be seen as a clash between the rustic's blind faith and the urbanite's critical skepticism.

To be sure, Akinari and Norinaga never, it would appear, met face to face. All intercourse between them was carried on through a go-between named Arakida Suetomo荒木田末偶 (also known as Kikuya Hyōbe 菊屋兵部; 1735-1801). A priest at the Ise Shrine, Kikuya had been an associate, perhaps a student of sorts, of Akinari, but in 1784 he formally entered Norinaga's school.[44] He is first mentioned in Akinari's writings in 1782,[45] though we have no concrete evidence as to just when they first met, nor of the true nature of their relationship. Possibly they became acquainted at a <u>haikai</u> circle, for Kikuya is known to have engaged in such pursuits.[46] The distance between their

homes must have ruled out frequent contact, but a letter from Akinari to Kikuya that has been preserved implies that Kikuya did occasionally come to Osaka and call on Akinari. Still, this letter begins with Akinari's apologies for having taken so long to reply, so even correspondence between them must have been infrequent.[47] But for the matter at hand, the most important fact about Kikuya is that while Akinari and Norinaga grew to despise each other, he was able to maintain a cordial relationship with both of them. Norinaga trusted Kikuya sufficiently to lend him manuscripts, which Kikuya in turn would lend to Akinari, indicating trust between them as well. Akinari also felt free to speak critically of Norinaga to Kikuya, apparently without fear of giving offense.[48] Thus it was largely through Kikuya that Akinari was able to familiarize himself with Norinaga's works.

The Akinari-Norinaga dispute took place sporadically over a period of years. It cannot be stated precisely just when it began or ended. In the autumn of 1783, for instance, Akinari wrote Asama no kemuri 浅間の火煙 about the disastrous eruption of Mt. Asama in the summer of that year. He looked at the calamity from a scientific viewpoint, and derided "a certain person" who expounded on Japanese antiquity, and who would explain such catastrophes as violent acts of the malevolent deities, or Magatsui no kami 禍津日の神.[49] Akinari avoided naming the object of his scorn, but Japanese scholars have seen his remarks as a reference to Norinaga's 1771 work, Naobi no mitama 直毘霊,[50] in which Norinaga had argued that if the Japanese people would cast off corrupting foreign practices and adhere faithfully to the virtues of ancient times, the nation would be protected, for the Magatsui no kami would

be rendered powerless by their benevolent opposites, the Naobi no kami. Again, in 1784, a farmer in the province of Chikuzen discovered in his field a golden seal bearing the inscription "Kan Ito Koku-ō," that is, "King of the Province of Ito of Han." In ancient times this area, now a part of Fukuoka-ken, had been called the province of Ito, and the seal, if genuine, would indicate that the former inhabitants had paid allegiance to the Chinese emperor. The same year that the seal was found, Akinari wrote an argument upholding the validity of the seal, in which he quoted from Norinaga's Kara osame no uretamigoto馭戎慨言 .[51] We can say, then, that by no later than 1783, Akinari had begun reading Norinaga's writing. Ultimately these included Kara osame, the twelfth and thirteenth scrolls of Kojiki den, and Temakura手枕 , which he returned all together, as we gather from his letter to Suetomo,[52] but there is every reason to believe that he was able to read others as well. In the letter, Akinari noted that he had found some of Norinaga's conclusions hard to agree with, and we know that he wrote a criticism of Kara osame called Ō-ō sōkai往古哭解 , which he apparently sent to Norinaga by way of Suetomo. Unfortunately no manuscript of Ō-ō sōkai has ever been discovered, nor do we even know precisely when it was written. The title and the nature of its contents are included in a letter from Norinaga to Suetomo,[53] but that is the extent of our information.

Accepting that it is impossible to reconstruct a precise chronology of the quarrel, one must turn to its nature. The principal record that has survived is Kakaika. It presents the dispute in the form of a debate, with Akinari first stating his position and Norinaga

then offering his rebuttal. But it must be remembered that Kakaika is not an original record. Even though Iwahashi Koyata included it in his Ueda Akinari zenshū, it has nevertheless been edited by Norinaga. Akinari had no part in its compilation. For all we know, Norinaga may have omitted some of Akinari's arguments that he found hard to refute. His purpose in preparing it was to uphold the verity of his own conclusions, so he took pains to present himself as the wise man silencing the upstart. If the original manuscripts were available, Akinari's position might conceivably be seen in a more favorable light.

In any case, the Akinari-Norinaga dispute covered two distinct topics. These are best considered separately. The first concerned the phonetics of the old Japanese language, and especially the question of whether the "n" sound had occurred in the ancient tongue. Norinaga's stand was that old Japanese, unlike other languages, had contained only pure unvoiced sounds, and hence that "n" had not occurred in the ancient speech, but was a corruption that foreign influences had brought into the language. He stated that the "n" sound did not appear in any ancient work, and this fact, he contended, constituted proof that it had not existed. Akinari conceded that the sound was missing from ancient texts, but he denied that this proved that the sound had not occurred in speech. People had naturally used it in the spoken language, he said, but since there was no Chinese character pronounced "n" by itself, there had been no way to express the sound in writing until a phonetic script was developed. Therefore, he said, the "n" sound had been represented in writing with characters that were ordinarily pronounced "mu," but people had nevertheless said "n"

when speaking. An exerpt from the record will best illustrate their respective positions. Akinari stated his case as follows:

> To prove my statement that the "n" sound did occur in ancient times, in the first place, it appears in Chinese characters. Norinaga himself has admitted this from the start. Numerous words written with such characters can be seen in the Man'yōshū: miten見点, tsugeken告兼, yukuran行覧, wakarenan別南, midarekon kamo乱今可聞, or koiya kurasan恋也久良三. It is clear that these characters have the "n" sound. However, since there was no established character for expressing this sound by itself, 武, 牟, 無, 婆, and others were adopted. When they are used, we should follow the natural speech patterns and pronounce them "mu" or "n" according to the sound sequence. If we read them "mu" in every case, the niceties of speech would be paralyzed for the sake of characters.[54]

Norinaga responded:

> In ancient times, sounds such as "ten," "ken," "ran," and "nan," mentioned above, were, without question, pronounced "temu," "kemu," "ramu," and "namu." As for the practice of writing them with characters having the "n" sound, such as点, 兼, 覧, and南, these were adopted because of the "n" sound's phonetic nearness to the "mu." Among the many such examples in both the Man'yōshū and other books, consider one such as writing the geographical name "Kannami" as甘南. If we consider writing it with a character bearing the "n" sound to be proof that it was definitely pronounced "n," do we then say that in ancient times Kannami was called "Kannan?" Moreover, in words such as "wakarenamu," above, the "namu" was sometimes written with the character曽. Even today, 曽 is read "namu" but never "nan." Again, the provincial name "Taniwa" is written丹波, but in the Wamyōshō and other old writings, it is read "Taniwa;" we never see it pronounced "Tanba." From these illustrations you should understand that characters having the "n" sound were selected for that sound's resemblance to "mu." "Taniwa," mentioned above, has been called "Tanba" since medieval times. You ought to realize from this that "n" sounds are all corruptions broken down for euphony. There are many examples of this. If you look in the ancient writings, you can learn for yourself.
>
> Moreover, in grammar, if a word is preceded by "koso," it ends with the fourth sound [i.e. the "e" vowel row]; if the word is preceded by "zo," it ends with the third sound

[i.e. the "u" vowel row]. To illustrate, if we say "koso" before "mimu" or "kikamu," they become "mime" and "kikame." The "mu" and "me" are phonetic shifts within the same column, changing from the third sound to the fourth. But if we say "min" or "kikan," "n" and "me," not being sounds from the same column, differ from other examples.

Further, concerning your statement that the niceties of speech may become paralyzed for the sake of characters, you are clinging to what you are accustomed to in today's world and disregarding the proper speech of old. I will speak in detail below on the reasons for that.[55]

In essence, Akinari was saying that, depending on what sounds precede and follow a given utterance, there are times when it is natural to say "n" and times when it is natural to say "mu." Since this was just as true in ancient times as now, it stands to reason that the men of old also used both "n" and "mu," depending on which was the more natural sound in the particular situation. We should draw conclusions from rational deduction and not be misled by the inadequacies of the ancient writing system. To Norinaga, however, the Japanese classics were sources of absolute authority. The fact that the "n" sound was not to be seen in them proved that it had not existed. By the same token, the "p" sound also had not occurred in ancient Japanese, he maintained. Norinaga's faith in the classics (or in his own interpretation of them) rendered him deaf to reason. To Akinari's contention that people would naturally have said "n" for ease in speaking, Norinaga could only reply that natural speech is what one is accustomed to hearing. "Mu" was natural for the ancients because they were accustomed to it; "n" was natural in his own day for the same reason. Norinaga argued from a position of strong confidence backed up by a great store of knowledge about the classics and the ancient

language. His learning in those fields surpassed Akinari's, and in this part of their quarrel he was able to present the stronger case. The weakness of Norinaga's position lay in his uncompromising view of the classics as gospel, which made him unable even to consider alternative explanations. This quality of Norinaga's was precisely what Akinari took exception to. He would probably have agreed that the question of whether the ancient Japanese people said "n" or not was a trivial one. He did not object to Norinaga's convictions so much as to his way of propounding them. Akinari felt that Norinaga's reputation was undeserved, and he could not remain silent while a man whom he considered his inferior came to surpass him in the public eye. The factor of envy cannot be ignored when accounting for Akinari's animosity.

In the final analysis, it is probably impossible to determine exactly how a people who lived before the days of audio recorders and phonetic alphabets pronounced their language. The phonetic portion of the Akinari-Norinaga dispute is not so interesting from the standpoint of who was right and who was wrong, as from observing the workings of these two scholars' minds.[56]

The other part of Akinari's quarrel with Norinaga centered on ancient Japanese legends and Japan's position in the world vis a vis other nations. Most people consider it the more interesting aspect of their contest of views. Its genesis can be said to have been the appearance of a work known as Shōkōhatsu 衝口発 in 1781. Written by Fuji Teikan 藤貞幹, a Buddhist priest and student of archeology, this treatise argued that the traditional Japanese chronology would have to

be shortened by six hundred years in order to make it coincide with the chronology of the Chinese and Korean histories. Teikan also maintained that the Japanese language, customs, institutions, and even the imperial line had originated in Korea. He cast doubt on the value of the Kojiki and Nihongi as historical documents, pointing out contradictions between their chronology and that of continental records. Teikan's arguments were not airtight, but were nevertheless based on a growing knowledge of the ancient languages, cultures, and histories of China, Korea, and Japan. But to Motoori Norinaga, who saw the Japanese legends as historical facts, and regarded the Kojiki as virtually a sacred scripture, Teikan's conclusions were the words of a madman. In 1785 he wrote Kenkyōjin 鉗狂人 as a reply to Shōkōhatsu. Like Teikan, Norinaga based his contentions on a wide ranging knowledge of the subject, but where Teikan had brought skepticism, Norinaga brought his unshakeable faith in the Ancient Way.

Though it was not published until 1821, Kenkyōjin circulated in manuscript form among Norinaga's associates, and in time found its way to Akinari, who apparently had managed to read Shōkōhatsu as well. Although motivated more by inability to stomach Norinaga's pomposity and blind faith than by admiration for Teikan's arguments, Akinari, sometime in 1786, wrote Kenkyōjin hyō 鉗狂人評,[57] in which he defended Teikan's views. Norinaga took this as a personal attack on himself and responded accordingly. Thus the second phase of their quarrel arose, a dispute rooted in Norinaga's uncompromising assertion that Japan, as the land of the gods, was supreme over all other nations, and that the sun goddess, Amaterasu Ō-mikami 天照大神, reigned over

the whole world. In Norinaga's view, the sun goddess of the Kojiki and Nihongi was none other than the sun itself. Being the land of her birth, he said, Japan, as illuminator of all the earth, deserved homage from every other country in the world. Akinari advocated a more rational approach. Japan, he believed, should be seen in relation to other countries. Since every country had its own traditions, those of Japan could not be regarded as true, and all others as false, unless there was supporting evidence. Norinaga was not unlike the fundamentalist Christian who considers the Bible absolutely correct and to be interpreted literally, while Akinari in some ways resembled the rational critic who contends that contemporary secular knowledge demands reinterpretation of the Scriptures. Akinari believed in recognizing empirical reality, not in placing blind faith in tradition. He did not believe that legends could be taken as proof of the actual circumstances of former days. But Norinaga did not consider the ancient traditions to be legendary, and he refused to allow any conjecture about them. To do so, he believed, was a manifestation of "Chinese spirit"--a selfish and perverted nature that had come into Japan like a plague in ancient times along with cultural influences from the continent, and warped the pure spirit of old Japan. He believed literally that the unsullied character of the ancients could be revived in the present by purging this "Chinese spirit" away. But Akinari realized that returning to the past was impossible; it was too idealistic a goal, however desirable. The past was past and the present was present, he believed. One could not escape the present, but rather should endeavor in a realistic fashion to bring the spirit of the past into

the contemporary situation.[58] Again, an exerpt best serves to illustrate their attitudes. Akinari stated:

> Concerning the sun goddess, what of the saying that she shines over the four seas and all nations? While legends about this deity say that, "The resplendent lustre of this child shone throughout the six quarters," they say also that, "She closed the door to the Heavenly Rock Cave and shut herself inside. Then the Plain of High Heaven was all in darkness, and the Central Land of the Reed Plains was completely dark. Because of this, constant night reigned." The term "six quarters" does mean the four directions of heaven and earth, but here, I believe, it is used in reference to our country, and does not mean the four seas and all nations. We gather this from, "The Central Land of the Reed Plains was completely dark." Aside from these examples, in what writings do we find the tradition that the sun goddess gives light not just to Japan but to all nations of the world?[59]

Norinaga countered:

> Your contentions about the sun goddess spring from your Chinese spirit, which you often manifest, and therefore it pains me to speak about them. Nevertheless, I will offer a few words. In what writings, you ask, does one find the tradition that this great august deity gives light to all the nations of the world? How foolish! First of all, though I will forgive you for twisting the meaning of the Nihongi's "shone throughout the six quarters" to refer to our country, what do you make of her honored title of "sun goddess?" Will you twist that as well, and say it was a name for the moment? The first book of the Nihongi says also that "she shone looking over heaven and earth." What do you make of that? Are the heaven and earth of China and India and other lands different from the heaven and earth of Japan? Book I says further, "The sun and moon had already been born; then the leech child was born also," and so on. How about this? You may strain to twist the meaning and say that these were the sun goddess and the moon god, not the sun and moon, but what do you make of the plain statement, "sun and moon?" Such examples are numerous. Look carefully in the "Record of the Age of the Gods." Now then, do you consider the sun and moon of India to be different from the sun and moon of our country? Amazing! If only a small patch of the cloud of your Chinese spirit would clear away, the meaning of the sacred records would be so obvious. How sad it is that, impeded by that bit of dark cloud, you cannot see the great light.

> Further, from the Kojiki's statement that "the Central Land of the Reed Plains was entirely dark," you criticize me, saying that "the six quarters" does not mean the four seas and all nations. But in all such cases the principal place is mentioned, and the others are naturally included. There are numerous cases like this.
>
> I will illustrate. In the capital there was a wealthy merchant who opened a branch shop in Edo. At one time there was an epidemic throughout the whole country. There came a letter from a clerk at the Edo shop to the master in the capital, which said, "There is an epidemic in your area, I understand. Here too everyone in the shop, without exception, is down with illness." Reading this, one man said, "If everyone in the shop, without exception, is sick, then the epidemic must have spread all over Edo." But another said, "No, not so. If it had spread all over Edo, he ought to say 'all over Edo.' Since he says 'in the shop,' we can say that in Edo the epidemic has spread only to our store." Whose opinion was right, do you think?
>
> Moreover, because it says that both the Plain of High Heaven and the Central Land of the Reed Plains were darkened, we know that the thing which hid in the Rock Cave was the sun. If it were not the sun, then even though it hid itself, why should there have been darkness? Since it surely was the sun, and no different from the sun of China and India, why do you doubt that those countries also were darkened? Or is the sun of China and India different?[60]

When presented thus, Akinari's argument does not appear very impressive, but he was trying to start a discussion, not score debating points. He was merely attempting to say that the Japanese people should not try to make their legends apply to the whole world. After all, the written record only stated that Amaterasu's retreat into the Rock Cave left the Central Land of the Reed Plains (that is, Japan) in darkness. It said nothing about the rest of the world, and in any case the record's authenticity could not be proven. Akinari enjoyed intellectual activity for its own sake, and did not insist on reaching a conclusion in his studies. His own position was that if the meaning of a passage was not clear, one should let the matter stand unresolved,

rather than force an interpretation.[61] He was able to recognize the diversity of mankind, whereas Norinaga insisted on the universal aspirations of the human race. His uncompromising nature is apparent in his response to Akinari. He could not agree that Akinari had a point worthy of discussion; he could only say that Akinari was wrong, and then try to prove it. One gets the impression that he felt threatened, and over-reacted, trying to smother Akinari with an excess of verbiage. His rebuttal was more than three times the length of Akinari's statement.

Subsequently, Akinari turned his attention to the world maps used by Dutch navigators:

> When we look at the maps they have prepared to aid them in their goings and comings, we see that countries which use Chinese characters are few, and as for the others, we have never heard even the names of most of them. Furthermore, we see lands of huge dimensions, but when we look where our realm lies on these maps, we find it to be a small island, looking like a solitary leaf that has quietly fallen to the surface of a big pond. Now, suppose we were to say to the peoples of foreign lands, "This little island was verily created before all other nations, and is the land where the sun and moon, which shine over the whole world, first appeared. Therefore there is no country which does not receive favor from our nation. Since this is so, offer us tribute and come to pay homage." Not only would no country obey, but they would ask, "On what grounds do you say these things?" When we replied, "Because of our ancient traditions," they would dispute our claim, saying, "We have such traditions in our own countries. Truly, the sun and moon appeared long ago in our lands." Who would be able to judge and decide the matter?
>
> It is said in India that at first the brightness of the Buddha's person gave light to the country, but that he later commanded the bodhisattvas Hōo and Kichijo to create the sun and moon. In China, however, it is said that Pan Ku's eyes became the sun and moon, but it is said also that the Earthly Emperor "established the sun, moon, and stars, dividing day from night." Moreover, in countries that do not use Chinese characters as well, there are all kinds of miraculous tradi-

tions. They do not accept those of other lands. It is fitting that the Japanese people, like Norinaga, faithfully believe in the wonderful legends of old, but if we try to extend their words to other countries, even writings like Kara osame uretamigoto should be viewed with a discerning eye. All the classics see one country as the whole world. Applying their sayings to other lands calls to mind the adage, "Evidence from a concerned party," which is hard to take heed of.

Long ago there was a man named Masuho So-and-So in my village. While talking about the wonders of antiquity he said in fun, "As an experiment, I would like to marry a deaf man to a deaf woman, send them to live in an uninhabited region, and see how the children born there would turn out. Would they not be much like the people of ancient times?" And I say in fun, "If we could cause Norinaga to be born in China and India, and learn the traditions of three nations, what would his opinions be like after that?" I would like to hear them.[62]

Akinari's arguments were more telling here, and Norinaga apparently realized it. Thoroughly aroused, he leaped to the attack with a vengeance.

It is amusing that you pretentiously speak of seeing a map of the world as if it were a rare thing. In this day, is there anyone who has not seen such a map? And is there anyone who is not aware that this realm is of a most unimposing size? The refinement or vulgarity, the beauty or ugliness of a thing is not determined by its size alone. A great stone of several fathoms is not equal to a gem of one inch. Cows and horses are large, but unequal to men. No matter how big it may be, an inferior country is an inferior country. Even though it be small, a superior country is a superior country. Looking at a map of the world, we see a vast and desolate land beneath the South Pole. Grass and trees do not grow there, and there are no people. This huge land comprises nearly a third of the earth. I suppose you consider it the most splendid country in the four seas.

Our realm is the source and the suzerain of all nations. The fact that it is not large in area must surely be for some deep reason that was decided when the two pillars, those great august deities, created our land. That reason certainly cannot be comprehended by the limited knowledge of ordinary men. If I speak like this, you will probably say that I am trying to excuse my ignorance, but what should I say if not that incomprehensible things are incomprehensible? To try and force comprehension of the incomprehensible is the

way of a Chinese heart showing off its limited knowledge. Let us lay that incomprehensible reason aside, for wonderful ways in which our land surpasses all others stand out among things we can see with our eyes. I will not speak again of our unbroken imperial line. As for other things, the beauty of the rice and grain which preserve the lives of the people surpasses that of all other nations. I lack the time to list other excellent things. Moreover, though you say our boundaries are not wide, we have never been trespassed upon by foreign nations since the Age of the Gods. It was our country alone that could not at last be violated even by the mighty power of that scion of China's Yüan Dynasty. We are not like those other nations that were made to suffer by their neighboring countries and at last were swallowed up. By this fact alone, you should realize that some incomprehensible reason exists.

China is a wealthy nation among the barbarians, I am told, but it is inferior to our realm. Our country's area is much smaller than China's, but China cannot compare with our many rice fields and great numbers of people. That country has vast land indeed, but much of it is marshland, mountains, and wilderness. Compared to our nation, rice fields are extremely scarce, and people few and far between. Thus, if one argues just from the standpoint of land size, he errs greatly. In sum, for dense population, and for wealth and prosperity, there is no country in the world that matches our own. No matter how much one ponders these facts, he must conclude that there is some incomprehensible reason. Yet generations of men have gone astray by concentrating solely upon the Chinese classics, and cannot know of these noble and superlative qualities of our own nation. What a misfortune that you too are stuck in the old rut and, unable to understand these things, put out your superficial criticism. All nations have their ancient legends, you say. But the legends of other nations are not correct. Some are erroneously reported fragments; some are groundless falsehoods that deceive foolish people. The legends of countries that do not use Chinese characters are mostly of the same sort. Like the Christian teachings revered in those far-off nations of the West, all are fabrications. But the ancient traditions of our realm, unlike those of foreign lands, are true and authentic accounts which show that the state of men and the world today coincides in every respect with the Age of the Gods. The wonder of this cannot be expressed. You, however, have scorned them as being one with the legends of other lands. You cannot comprehend their beauty, because that patch of dark cloud still has not cleared away. As long as this dark cloud fails to disperse, no matter how hard I may remonstrate, I will be like the proverbial wind in a horse's ear.

Nevertheless, I will try and convince you with a parable.

For the original manuscript of the one hundred poems which Fujiwara Teika collected in his mountain villa in Ogura, there must, of course, have been one sheet of paper for each poem. Today there are perhaps ten persons who claim to have the original manuscript. This is like all countries having their own legends, all of them resembling one another, and yet one among them surely being true, and the others false. Your present argument is that all of them are false. This is like saying that you doubt all ten manuscripts. If you knew that all were false, it may be wise not to be deceived, but to fail to realize that one among them is surely the genuine article, and to consider them all much the same--what is that? It is thoughtlessness. It is saying that, being unable to discern the truth, simply not to be deceived by fabrications is wise. What is wise about that? To discern the one true manuscript and believe in it--that is wisdom.

When I speak thus, you would probably reply, "Even though there surely is one genuine manuscript among them, each of the ten owners will reject the appraiser's report and uphold the verity of his own manuscript's history, saying that what he holds is the true article. How could we decide which was authentic?" This is a doubt which springs from your inability to distinguish truth from falsehood for yourself. When you have completely washed away the thoughtlessness of your Chinese heart, and open your pure and unsullied eyes on the ancient learning, you will naturally understand that our traditions of the Age of the Gods are wonderful and true, and you should not be confused in the least by those nine forgeries. When you have reached that stage, you naturally will feel ashamed at having considered the true object as one with the fabrications. Your saying that only the people of Japan should faithfully believe in the wondrous traditions of old is another manifestation of your thoughtless heart. It is the error of a man who cannot discern what he should believe. Talking like this is not believing, but acting as though you believe. Such is the habitual deceiving way of the Chinese. Since this is one world, if something is really to be believed, not only the people of this country, but the people of all countries ought to believe it. But you say, "Only the people of Japan...." This is like saying, "Don't really believe it, just act as though you do." How can you say that this is proper.[63]

A careful reading of Akinari's remarks on Japan's small size in relation to other nations will show that it was not his intention to call Japan an insignificant country. He meant only to illustrate that since Japan looked insignificant to the people of foreign lands, those

people would not be disposed to consider the truth of the Japanese traditions to be self-evident. Yet Norinaga's zeal led him to misunderstand, making much of his rebuttal irrelevant. He thought that Akinari was equating Japan's unimpressive size with its worth as a nation, and he seized on the issue to uphold Japan's supremacy, but he was trying to refute a point that had never been made. In this portion of the debate, Norinaga's words are more like a sermon than an argument. He seems to have been simply trying to tell Akinari what was right, seeing no need to supply proof that it indeed was right. He appealed to the ancient legends to support his own position as though he had failed to realize that it was those very legends that were under attack. He could not understand how anyone could question them; he could not tolerate any viewpoint other than complete acceptance of his own beliefs. Akinari merely wanted the Japanese traditions to be examined rationally, but Norinaga could only see him as a misguided heretic who needed to be reformed.

As stated before, Norinaga left his version of the quarrel for posterity. He completed Ueda Akinari ronnan dō ben 上田秋成論難問弁, the record of their clash on ancient phonetics, early in 1787,[64] and Ueda Akinari Kenkyōjin hyō dō ben, their conflict on the ancient traditions, probably about the same time, though the exact date is not known.[65] Subsequently the two manuscripts were published together under the title Kakaika, which literally means "Reproving the Reed Cutter." This was a derogatory reference to Osaka, where Akinari lived, the area having traditionally been associated with reeds since ancient times. The title may also be read "Ashi kari yoshi," however, and in

this reading there is a pun on "ashi," which may be interpreted as "wickedness" as well as "reeds." The implication is that Norinaga saw himself as the good man ("yoshi") cutting down the evil one.

We may say that the quarrel ended at this point, for Akinari never made a formal response to Norinaga's rebuttal. In a letter to Suetomo he restated his position that the past could not be restored, but only learned from, and indicated that he was ceasing to study Norinaga's writings and calling off the dispute. He was too busy, he said, to carry things further.[66] He apparently thought it pointless to go on trying to reason with a man whose mind was closed, and so withdrew from the fray, settling for less than a clear victory. Norinaga probably interpreted Akinari's silence as capitulation, and so let the affair rest. Thus overt hostilities came to an end, but there was no formal armistice. For the rest of his life, Akinari remained hostile to Norinaga, never missing an opportunity to hurl verbal barbs at him. Even after Norinaga was dead, Akinari called him "Kojiki Dembei" 古事記伝兵衛,[67] a name obviously derived from the title of Norinaga's masterwork, but which may be interpreted to mean "Dembei the Beggar," referring to Norinaga's desire for fame and followers, which Akinari considered unbecoming a true scholar. Such was the depth of feeling that accompanied their quarrel. More than its subject matter, it is the thought patterns of the two men as revealed in their conflict that arouses our interest today, but in their own time their dispute amounted to a contest of world views. It remains one of the famous scholarly confrontations of pre-modern Japan.[68]

NOTES

1. Tandai, no. 69, NKBT, LVI, 293.

2. Ibid., no. 5, p. 253.

3. Ibid., no. 14, pp. 258, 259. Compare Samon's treatment of Akana in "Kikuka no chigiri," p. 49.

4. Ibid., no. 69, p. 293.

5. Jiden, Ibun, p. 255. A map showing the locations of Akinari's birthplace (Sonezaki), the Shimaya, his rented home in Amagasaki, and this new home is included in Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 111.

6. Tandai, no. 69, NKBT, LVI, 293.

7. Ibid., no. 50, p. 283.

8. From Kitō's manuscripts, dated An'ei Era, 5th year (1776), 2nd month, 18th day. Quoted in Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 90.

9. Implied in a letter from Buson, apparently to Kitō, dated An'ei 5th year, 2nd month, 21st day. See Buson shū, ed. Ōtani, et al, p. 360. Buson also mentioned a visit to Kyoto by Akinari, perhaps the same one, in a letter to Tōshi 東籬 dated An'ei 5th year, 2nd month, 18th day. See Ibid., p. 431. In Akinari nempu, p. 96, Takada, for unstated reasons, dates this letter a year later.

10. Besides those mentioned in Note 9, above, see Buson's letters in Buson shū, ed. Ōtani, et al, to Kitō, dated An'ei 5th year, 9th

month, 28th day (p. 365); to Masana, dated An'ei 5th year, 9th month, 6th day (p. 433); to Masana (?), dated An'ei 5th year, 9th month, 22nd day (pp. 433, 434); to Tōshi, dated An'ei 5th year, 12th month, 13th day (pp. 435, 436); to Masana and Shunsaku春作, dated An'ei 6th year, 5th month, 24th day (pp. 436, 437).

11. For Akinari's preface, see Ibun, pp. 507, 508.

12. Publication data given in Takada, Akinari nempu, pp. 98, 99.

13. Akinari gave Umaki's death date as "6th month, 10th day." See Fumihōgu, Zenshū, I, 194. This corresponds to the date in the register at the Sambōji三宝寺, where Umaki was interred. See Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 99.

14. Fumihōgu, Zenshū, I, 195.

15. See Takada, Akinari nempu, pp. 99, 100.

16. See Akiyama no ki, Zenshū, I, 43; Kozo no shiori去年の枝折, Zenshū, I, 165-172, N.B. p. 165. The baths at Kinosaki are considered especially effective for neuralgia, gastro-intestinal complaints, and gynecological disorders. See Dai Nihon hyakka jiten, V, 483.

17. Some twenty years earlier, as mentioned in Akiyama no ki, Zenshū, I, 43, 49.

18. Ibid., p. 44. Previously Akinari had referred to the traditional fates of Murasaki and Lo in his preface to Ugetsu. See NKBT, LVI, 35.

19. Zenshū, I, 165. See also p. 172, where Akinari says that he wrote Kozo during the winter of the year after the one in which he wrote Akiyama.

20. Nubatama no maki, Ibun, pp. 95-124. For the preface, see pp. 95, 96.

21. For instance, he once composed a sequence of fifty-four waka, each one related to one of the fifty-four chapters of Genji. See Zenshū, I, 39-42.

22. Compare the physical description of this man with that of the priest who discourses on Genji in Akiyama. See Ibun, p. 98; Zenshū, I, 44.

23. See Ōsaka shuppan shoseki mokuroku, p. 118.

24. Koyō jōgen古葉刺言 , Zenshū, II, 235-244, N.B. p. 236.

25. See Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 115.

26. Kaseiden, Zenshū, II, 245-270. Although the exact date of its completion is unknown, it seems to be indebted to a work that was published in 1774, and so could not have been finished earlier than that year. See Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 102. Even so, in 1799 Akinari mentioned having written Kaseiden some thirty years before. See Mitake sōji, Zenshū, I, 71, 73. A postscript to Kaseiden, called Kaseiden tsuikō追考 , is dated 1785. See Zenshū, II, 270. We can only say, in sum that Kaseiden was completed between 1774 and 1785, though it may well have been started even earlier.

27. For a list of the sources quoted from in Kaseiden, see Takada, Kenkyū josetsu, p. 408.

28. In a letter to Akinari, Umaki spoke of lending him Man'yōshū manuscripts. See Fumihōgu, Zenshū, I, 193.

29. Manihōshū 万匂集, a collection of kyōka published in 1775, was reported to be the work of Akinari, and if true, it probably predated Kaseiden. But the evidence for Akinari's authorship is quite tenuous, and it seems unlikely that his first Man'yōshū-inspired work would be a satirical treatment. See Takada, Akinari nempu, pp. 86-88.

30. See Hakoya no yama 箱屋の山, Ibun, pp. 382-384.

31. Not stated in so many words, but very likely so because of the closeness of the dates. See Minasegawa 水無瀬川, Zenshū, I, 89.

32. Yamazuto, Ibun, pp. 345-363.

33. Ōsaka shuppan shoseki mokuroku, p. 125.

34. Nomura Nobumoto's preface, quoted in Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 131, is dated Temmei Era, 5th year (1785), 10th month.

35. Ōsaka shuppan shoseki mokuroku, pp. 131, 132.

36. Publication data given in Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 160.

37. Ōsaka shuppan shoseki mokuroku, p. 132.

38. As given in Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 140.

39. Kakizome kigenkai, ed. Maruyama Sueo (Tokyo: Koten Bunko, 1951), pp. 1-77. Akinari disclosed his authorship in a letter to Nakahara Ōe 中ほら大兄, dated 3rd month, 23rd day, apparently of 1791. Portions of this letter are quoted in Takada, Akinari nempu, pp. 138, 177. See also Asano Sampei, "Kakizome kigenkai ni tsuite," KKB, 35, No. 2 (Feb. 1958), 41-49; Harusame monogatari, ed. Maruyama Sueo (Tokyo: Koten Bunko, 1951), pp. 26-36.

40. The meaning of the title, and other aspects of Kakizome are explained in Asano, "Kakizome kigenkai ni tsuite." See also Asano's "Mittsu no fūshiteki sakuhin--Kakizome kigenkai, Kuse monogatari, Manihōshū," KKK, 23, No. 2 (June 1958), 42-46.

41. See his letter to Nakahara in Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 138.

42. Ibid.

43. See Tandai, no. 101, NKBT, LVI, 312.

44. See Ōkubo Tadashi, "Akinari to Norinaga--ronsō no kei-i to tairitsu no imi," KBKKK, 12, No. 10 (Aug. 1967), 121-126, N.B. p. 121.

45. See Yamazuto, Ibun, p. 354.

46. See Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 123.

47. See Fumihōgu, Zenshū, I, 195.

48. Ibid.

49. Asama no kemuri, Ibun, pp. 190-201, N.B. p. 194.

50. See Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 120; Ōkubo, "Akinari to Norinaga," p. 122.

51. Kan Ito Koku-ō kin'in kō 漢委奴国王金印考, Zenshū, I, 491-495, N.B. pp. 492, 493.

52. Fumihōgu, Zenshū, I, 195.

53. The letter is found in Kakaika 呵刈葭, Zenshū, I, 423-464, N.B. p. 464. It is dated "8th month, 20th day," but no year is given.

54. Kakaika, Zenshū, I, 440, 441.

55. Ibid.

56. For more technical and detailed analysis of the phonetic side of the quarrel, see Fukunaga Shizuya, "Akinari to Norinaga no ronsō," JK, 31 (Dec. 1963), 7-19; Takada Mamoru, "Kakaika ronsō no keisei katei shikō 呵刈葭論争の形成過程試考, in Akinari nempu, pp. 385-401.

57. The probable title, though no original manuscript is known to exist. The work forms the basis of Akinari's criticism in Kakaika.

58. See Yasumigoto, Zenshū, I, pp. 480, 487-489.

59. Kakaika, Zenshū, I, 425. Actually Norinaga's quotation of Akinari's argument goes on, but this exerpt suffices to establish the tone and gist of his remarks.

60. Ibid., pp. 426, 427.

61. See Tandai, no. 5, NKBT, LVI, 254.

62. Kakaika, Zenshū, I, 425, 426.

63. Ibid., pp. 427-430.

64. For this date, see Ibid., p. 464. In Akinari nempu, p. 139, Takada points out that this date also appears on Norinaga's original handwritten manuscript.

65. The printed version was taken from a copy of the original, dated Kansei寛政 Era, 2nd year (1790), 6th month. See Kakaika, Zenshū, I, 437.

66. See Fumihōgu, Zenshū, I, 195, 196.

67. Tandai, no. 5, NKBT, LVI, 254.

68. More detailed treatment of the debate on Japanese traditions may be found in Nakamura Hiroyasu, "Yūkō na honshitsu, mukō na honshitsu--'Hi no kami' ronsō ni tsuite"有効な本質、無効な本質-「日の神」論争について, in Akinari, ed. Nihon Bungaku Kenkyū Shiryō Kankōkai, pp. 158-174; Takada, Kenkyū josetsu, pp. 362-381.

CHAPTER VI

THE QUAIL'S ABODE

In the spring of 1787, at the invitation of a friend named Hirase Sukemichi平瀬助道, Akinari went to enjoy the cherry blossoms at Arashiyama. He had gone there the previous summer, staying at the quarters of a certain priest from the Tenryūji Temple, and he lodged there with Sukemichi on this visit as well. The mountains and the river were virtually in the priest's garden, Akinari said, and they spent three or four pleasant and relaxing days there. On the first day of the third month, as he passed through Kyoto on his way home, Akinari witnessed the ceremonial procession of a certain Takatsukasa鷹司, who had just been appointed to the office of kampaku.[1] But more interesting than his account of the trip is his statement that it was taken during a period of respite from his illness. Less than two months later he gave up his medical practice and moved out of Osaka, giving as reasons the need to care for his ailing body and to find a place to dispose of his corpse when he died.[2] It would appear that his health had begun to fail during the previous year, and he felt that his life was about to end.

Although the nature of his malady is unclear, poor health probably was Akinari's immediate reason for leaving the medical profession. Even so, though his physical condition subsequently improved, his retirement was final. In spite of financial embarrassment he never again practiced medicine as a means of livelihood, so we must conclude that he was not sorry to give it up. In a day when medical science

was undeveloped, a diligent physician surely found his work frustrating and often heartbreaking, and as we have seen, Akinari had been such a person. He had earnestly tried to help his patients, and his failures had brought him anguish and cause for reflection. Repeatedly he spoke of his lack of skill in a profession that he had entered late in life.[3] Causing the death of a young girl through mistaken diagnosis and yet being kindly treated by her parents, who had accepted their loss as inevitable, gave him particular pain.[4] This may have been the deciding factor. His own illness may well have been due to overwork and the psychological burden of responsibility.

Akinari's writings that touch on his personal life give the impression that he suffered from feelings of inferiority and self-pity, and they seem to have been especially strong around this time.[5] We must remember too that medicine was a line of work that he had entered not from interest but as a means of supporting his dependents. Moreover, it would appear that his feelings of antipathy toward unconscientious physicians intensified over the years. In Kuse monogatari 癇癖談, for example, which he wrote not long after retiring, he stated that physicians like those of former times were no longer to be found in the world, and went on to flay medical practitioners of his own day for pretending to have knowledge they lacked, with an eye to acquiring patrons, thinking more of profit than of alleviating pain, and engaging in side businesses--conduct which he considered disgraceful for a true physician.[6] In all probability it was a combination of these things that sent Akinari into retirement. Feeling his work to be a drain on both his failing health and his peace of mind, nagged by doubts about

his competence, embarrassed by colleagues who gave his profession a bad name, and not having any real love for the work, he seems to have decided to give it up and do what he had really wanted to do all along, be the consequences what they may.

Thus Akinari, accompanied by his mother, his wife, and his wife's mother, who had also come to live with them,[7] moved to Nagara-mura 長柄村, a village on the outskirts of Osaka not far from his old haunts at the Kashima Inari Shrine.[8] Here Akinari built a small thatched hut which he called the Uzurai 鶉居, or the Quail's Abode, likening himself to the bird which has no fixed dwelling but takes shelter wherever it may.[9] It was not without feelings of guilt that he brought his family to their new home. Bowing his head to the floor, he apologized to his mother for this unfilial act, but his mother accepted this change in her fortunes and took it in stride.[10] A kind and understanding woman, she may well have foreseen such a turn of events.

In his own words, Akinari had "crept back to the countryside"[11] to "become an idler, passing the time writing poetry and prose."[12] This was surely an exaggeration, but most of his verifiable acts during his stay at Nagara concerned the world of letters--studying, teaching, editing, and writing. His excursions for sightseeing or meeting literary colleagues increased from this point, implying that he was free to absent himself from home without fear of the consequences. Just how he dealt with the once so acutely felt responsibility of feeding his dependents is not known. He must have realized a small income from teaching, and he probably had a substantial, though dwindling sum

on hand from savings and the sale of his Osaka property. Nevertheless, the family's living standard had taken a dramatic fall. One night a thief broke into their house and made off with most of their possessions, but next morning, looking at the hole the intruder had made in the wall, Akinari merely reflected poetically:

Ware yori mo	Because there was one
Mazushiki hito no	Poorer than I
Yo ni mo areba	In this world,
Ubara karatachi	He stooped to creep through a gap
Hima kuguru nari	In the flowers and thorns.

He refashioned the hole into a window, called it "my burglar's window," and jokingly remarked to visitors that it was good for ventilation.[13] Being robbed does not appear to have been a disaster for them, and the reason was probably that they had so little to be stolen.

While living in Osaka he had acquired two promising disciples, Oka Kunio岡国雄 (also known as Otori男鳥) and Kuwana Masanori桑名雅壱. They had assisted with the editing of Kokin wakashū uchigiki,[14] and it was Kunio's report of the eruption of Mt. Asama in 1783 on which Akinari had based his Asama no kemuri.[15] Akinari referred to Kunio as "a kindred spirit," and to Masanori as "a trustworthy friend,"[16] and when Kunio's wife died, he composed an elegy for her.[17] He appears to have treated his favorite students more like friends than disciples, just as Umaki had done with him. Kunio and Masanori are usually mentioned together in Akinari's writings, which suggests that they were fellow students of comparable ability, and were both highly regarded by their teacher. Nevertheless, both men remain obscure, for

along with their other common traits, each of them died prematurely, before his talents had borne fruit. Kunio died suddenly from illness in the spring of 1788, and Masanori's death apparently occurred only a short time after.[18] Their loss was a personal tragedy for Akinari. Besides his genuine affection for them, he had seen the pair as disciples worthy to carry on his teachings, and he reacted to their death like a father to the demise of his sons. After being predeceased by those two, he said, he stopped looking for friends,[19] and it is true that in his old age he was averse to accepting disciples.

He enjoyed a longer-lasting relationship with another of his students, Hashimoto Tsuneakira 橋本経亮 (also known by the surname of Tachibana 橘; 1760-1806). An attendant at the Umenomiya 梅宮 Shrine in Umezu-mura 梅津村 on the western outskirts of Kyoto, Tsuneakira was to achieve some fame as a waka poet and authority on ancient court practices. The date and circumstances of their first meeting are not known, but his name appears frequently in Akinari's writings after the move to Nagara. He seems to have been an intimate friend, though it is clear that he also asked Akinari's advice on matters of scholarship. On one occasion, for example, Tsuneakira acquired a copy of Kada Azumamaro 荷田東麿's comments on the Saimeiki wazauta, a poem from the Nihongi known from ancient times as a difficult verse to interpret. Tsuneakira asked Akinari's opinion of the manuscript, and Akinari obliged by outlining his doubts concerning Kada's interpretation. This occurred sometime between 1787 and 1792, but clearly during the time Akinari was living at Nagara.[20]

Akinari had also become friends with Matsumura Gekkei 松村月溪

(also known as Gōshun 呉春 ; 1752-1811), a painter and haiku poet who had studied with Buson. Although it was certainly not their first encounter, the earliest record of a meeting between them was the 8th year of the Temmei Era (1788), 1st month, 29th day, when Akinari went to Kyoto and stayed at Gekkei's home. Tsuneakira, who was also a friend of Gekkei's, came to visit, and the three of them stayed up talking until quite late. Towards dawn a fire broke out in the city. Fanned by strong winds it developed into a disastrous conflagration and burned all through the next day. By noon Gekkei's house had been destroyed, and Akinari had joined the refugees in the streets. It was an appalling spectacle, he later wrote. "The smoke scorched the clouds, and the light of the sun and moon could not be seen. The sound of things collapsing resounded like myriad thunders. People ran about in confusion, weeping and shouting. The scene was sad beyond compare. The several houses where I had planned to stay were now gone completely. I was terribly miserable, and could scarcely tell whether it was a dream or reality." At last he found shelter in Takai Kitō's home, but after a short rest he decided to return to Nagara. Late in the afternoon he set out, and he witnessed many scenes of pain and suffering on the way. When he arrived at Fushimi he learned that there was no boat for Osaka that night, so he had no choice but to sleep in the open with other refugees. There was a thunderstorm and a strong wind, and the flames continued to burn, turning the sky red. After a miserable night, he was finally able to get a boat and return home.[21] His decision to leave Kyoto had been prudent, for Kitō's house also was lost in the blaze.

Just a few weeks later, Akinari made a trip to Yoshino. Nishikawa Tadanao西河忠直, a scholar with whom he was acquainted, had long wanted to see the area, and being sixty years old was anxious to make the journey while he was still able. Thinking that it would afford him a chance to keep his promise to visit his cousin in Nagara-mura in Yamato, and to call on some other relatives as well, Akinari accepted Nishikawa's invitation to accompany him. In his account of the excursion[22] Akinari was vague as to just when they started out, but they passed through Kashiwara柏原 and stopped at the village of Kuniwake国分 to visit his kinsman named Nishio西尾, who received them very cordially. Pressing on, they came to the village of Tatsuta立田, where they spent a night, and worshipped at the Dharma Temple of Kataoka片岡. Then they reached Tawaramoto田原本, where they found lodgings and heard to their dismay that the cherry blossoms at Yoshino had already fallen. Next day, by now the fourteenth of the third month, they went to Miwayama三輪山 and visited the shrine there, where Akinari recalled a previous pilgrimage with his father many years before. From there they went on to Ama no Kagu Yama天の香具山.

By then Nishikawa was becoming fatigued, so they cut their sightseeing short and made their way to an unspecified village where they were put up by a man named Ueda, the man whom Akinari described as like his brother.[23] That evening they visited the nearby Tachibana Temple, and the next day they went to see another relative, a man named Ikeda池田, in the village of Hirao平尾, but they found him ill, and though he made an effort to be hospitable, Akinari regretted having disturbed him. Afterwards they carried on to the Yoshino area to find that the

report was correct. Most of the blossoms were gone, and many trees had been blown down by strong winds. After spending the night, they walked around Mt. Yoshino, visiting many famous spots. Akinari took notes on the places they passed by, asking local people about their history and traditions, and recalling the facts that he already knew about them. Repeatedly he mentioned that he had passed this way long ago, and it would appear that he was virtually retracing the path he and his father had followed on that previous excursion. Next morning, after spending the night at Kamiichi 上市, they descended by river. Although they had enjoyed good weather most of the time, this day was rainy. After losing their way and finding it again, they came to the village of Nagara. The headman here was Akinari's cousin--the man he had promised to visit--and Akinari ended his account with their arrival at his house, providing no further details. His literary account of this excursion, which he wrote later that year, is doubly interesting. It shows Akinari's extensive knowledge of the history and legends of the Yoshino area, and also provides material for speculation about his true parentage.

As previously mentioned, the complete Kokin wakashū uchigiki was finally published in 1789. Thereafter Akinari continued to edit and publish works by Mabuchi and persons associated with him. He prepared a fresh copy of Umaki's Tosa nikki kai 土佐日記解, and wrote a preface for it that showed his own detailed knowledge of the Tosa Diary.[24] But publication was never carried out, possibly due to lack of funds. He was more successful, having the backing of Nomura Nobumoto, with anthologies of verse by Mabuchi and Umaki. Planning to publish a col-

lection of Umaki's poems for the thirteenth anniversary of his death, he had unfortunately missed the date. Therefore, when Nomura approached him about compiling a book of poems by Mabuchi, Akinari seized the chance to issue his collection of Umaki's verses along with it. A publication request was submitted early in 1791,[25] and the two anthologies, Agatai kashū 県居歌集 by Mabuchi and Shizunoya kashū 靜屋歌集 by Umaki were published as a single volume three months later.[26] The Shizunoya title may have been an allusion to the name of Yuya Shizuko 油谷倭文子 (1733-1752), a female disciple of Mabuchi's with whom Umaki was widely rumored to have been romantically involved. In 1790 Akinari had written a preface for a new edition of Ayanuno 文布, a collection of her poems,[27] presumably at the request of someone who thought that in view of Umaki's reported love for Shizuko, it was fitting for his leading disciple to write the preface.[28]

Meanwhile, in 1787, he had finally relented and allowed Yasaishō to be published. His haiku continued to appear occasionally in printed collections, and thanks to his new abundance of leisure time, his friendship with Takai Kitō took on new life. Kitō was then at the height of his career, most of the members of Buson's group having gathered around him after the master's death in 1784. It is during this period that Akinari's name appears with greatest frequency in Kitō's journals. They got together fairly often during 1789, composing poetry together or with other members of Kitō's circle, or sometimes just talking and exchanging opinions on each other's work,[29] and when they were unable to meet personally they exchanged letters. Such activities added variety to Akinari's life at Nagara, but this was

ended abruptly late in 1789 by Kitō's sudden death.

In mid-1789 Akinari went to Kyoto to participate in services marking the thirteenth anniversary of Umaki's death.[30] He had barely returned when his wife's mother passed away.[31] Only a year before he had seen his two most prized disciples die an untimely death, and now a similar tragedy struck in his immediate family.

In the autumn of the year, after the appropriate ceremonies had been completed, Akinari took his wife to Kyoto to entomb her mother's ashes. It was Tama's first visit to the capital since moving with her foster parents to Osaka years before, and seeing her former home again helped to alleviate the sadness of the occasion. On the eleventh day of the ninth month, in appropriately rainy weather, the ashes were entrusted to a temple in Nijōgawara.[32] His duty to the dead having been completed, Akinari went to visit Kitō the following day, and together with another member of Kitō's group they went to the Nanzenji 南禅寺 Temple and composed a number of poems in honor of their meeting.[33] Despite his apparently good health, Kitō had only a few weeks to live, and this was probably the last time Akinari saw him.

The next day Akinari and his wife, together with a girl who seems to have been one of Tama's relations, set out for Sagano to enjoy the autumn colors and to watch the moon. It was the thirteenth day of the month, and Sagano was traditionally an ideal place for moon viewing. On the way they stopped at Umezu to call on Hashimoto Tsuneakira, but found him away attending to his priestly duties at the shrine. His mother invited then to stop there for the night, but they chose to press on to their destination. Akinari had visited Sagano just one

year earlier. He had stayed at the hut of a certain nun, and it was to her hermitage that they now went for shelter. There they spent the evening, watching the moon and composing waka on the scene, until the cold wind forced them reluctantly to retire. The next day they wandered about enjoying the scenery, and returned late in the afternoon to find Tsuneakira waiting for them. Akinari seems to have found him especially easy to talk to. They conversed until evening. When Tsuneakira started for home Akinari and Tama accompanied him as far as the river, where they exchanged verses about the moon shining on the water before saying good-bye. In the morning Tsuneakira returned and guided them around the famous places in the area. Towards evening he escorted them to his home and lodged them for the night. Once settled, Tama observed, the men became deeply involved in an intellectual discussion about the distant past--things she herself had never heard of--while the women spent the time in "womanly talk." One senses that she felt left out. That night it rained, but by morning the sky showed promise of clearing, and anxious to be home, they declined an invitation to prolong their stay and set out for Fushimi, which they reached in time to catch a boat for Osaka that evening.[34]

Upon reaching Osaka, Akinari may have sent Tama on to Nagara by herself while he stayed in the city to visit his mother, who earlier that year had moved from the Quail's Abode to live with some of her relatives.[35] In any case, just a week later, when Tsuneakira came to Osaka to attend to some business, Akinari was on hand to meet him, and escort him to the Quail's Abode to spend the night. Akinari and Tama had promised to take Tsuneakira on a tour around Mt. Minō to repay his

kindness in showing them around Sagano. They planned to start out early in the morning, but as usual Akinari and Tsuneakira became engrossed in conversation that continued long after they had gone to bed. When morning came both of them were too tired to get up, in spite of Tama's urging, and it was after midday when they finally left the house. Taking shelter in a mountain temple that night, they rose before dawn to watch the sunrise. From there they hiked to the waterfall of Minō, where they made tea and warmed sake over an open fire of pine cones and dry leaves. They spent the remainder of the day simply enjoying the scenery until the time came for them to part at the foot of the mountain and return to their homes. Subsequently Tsuneakira and Akinari collaborated in writing a literary account of the outing.[36]

However, these pleasant excursions were merely intervals of relief from the tragedy and misfortune that were now beginning to overtake Akinari. He still had nearly twenty years to live, but these final two decades were to be filled with difficulties as one by one his friends and family members died. He grew more and more alienated from the world, his poverty increasing and his health slowly but relentlessly deteriorating. It was just a month after the excursion to Mt. Minō, for example, that Takai Kitō suddenly collapsed and died. Akinari felt the loss keenly. In Kanetsukuba 鐘築波, a commemorative volume published early the following year by Kitō's associates, he contributed the following verse:

Ototo Shimmei wo kanashimu	Lamenting my younger brother, Shimmei:

Fuyu karete	Withered in winter
Yukashige mo naki	And with nought to draw me thither--
Miyako kana[37]	Still, the Capital.

Although Akinari referred to Kitō as his brother, he did not care for some of the other members of the group. He contributed the above verse out of respect for Kitō, but nevertheless he quarelled with Miya Shigyō 宮紫暁, who led the circle for a time, about the compilation of Kanetsukuba, apparently miffed at not being called upon to play a greater role himself.[38] Later, when Shigyō was preparing the manuscript of Kitō's Yoshino kikō よし野紀行 for publication, Akinari submitted a short preface, which Shigyō rejected on the grounds that its length would add to the printing costs. He asked Akinari to shorten it, but Akinari angrily declined to do so, asking Matsumura Gekkei to inform Shigyō of his desire to cease relations with the group.[39] Significantly, Gekkei himself largely withdrew from haikai circles after Kitō's death and concentrated on his painting.

Kitō's ashes were scarcely cold when Akinari's mother passed away toward the end of the same year.[40] She had come to him as a stepmother but had given him all the care and love a natural parent could, and though she had been the third person to fill the maternal role for him, it was she to whom he had given his filial devotion. From the time he was six years old until just a few months before her death she had lived in the same house as he, being a source of companionship and a sympathetic consultant in times of uncertainty, even after he had reached maturity. Akinari never once hinted that looking after her in her old

age was a burden. He only expressed regret that he could not care for her better.

The family now consisted of Akinari and Tama alone. Prompted by the succession of tragic events, Tama took religious vows, and thereafter was known by the monastic name of Koren 瑚璉, which she took from the name of a jewelled sacrificial vase mentioned in the Confucian Analects.[41] It was an appropriate selection, for "Tama" itself means "jewel." Despite its lofty origin, however, when Akinari asked his wife how her new name was written, she laughingly told him to choose any characters he liked. She had chosen the name because he constantly drew her attention by calling "Korekore!" she said.[42]

Misfortune next took the form of poor health. Koren suffered from an illness early in 1790, and though she had recovered by the middle of the year,[43] she was ailing again towards its close.[44] From spring of the same year, Akinari experienced severe pain in his hand and arm which continued until the summer. Shortly after the suffering abated he began to have trouble with his vision, and by the end of the summer his left eye had failed completely. He was understandably depressed, for the loss of one eye and the danger of losing the other threatened to rob him of the ability to read and write--without which his main purpose in life would be gone. He felt that he had experienced nothing but misfortune ever since the fire that had destroyed his oil and paper business, and he believed that he was being punished for the unproductive way he had lived.[45] When he retired to the countryside he had tried to see himself as following the examples of men like Kamo no Chōmei and Yoshida Kenkō, but he could shake off neither

the merchants' work ethic nor feelings of guilt for not following it. He also saw his illness and blindness as punishments for bringing his own and his wife's mothers out into the country to die. No one had accused him, but he blamed himself nevertheless.[46] His ailments may have been at least partly psychosomatic. Certainly he was on the verge of despair, irrationally convinced that heaven had selected him for special chastising, or that some evil deity had attached itself to him. He appears to have temporarily lost the rational objectivity that had served him so well in his dispute with Norinaga.

But glimpses into his home life show that throughout these tribulations his wife remained loving and faithful, and a great comfort to him. One winter's evening, as Akinari was closing the flimsy bamboo door against the cold, Koren remarked that, pleasant as their Osaka home had been, she had always been extremely busy there, and faced with troubles of which her husband had been unaware. In comparison, she said, life in this humble cottage had been so peaceful, one could scarcely say that it was a worse place to live. Somewhat overcome, Akinari called her his guardian deity, one who had spent the years taking care of a madman like himself. Partly, but by no means entirely in jest, he bowed his head to the floor in obeisance. Smiling, Koren voiced regret that people who misunderstood her husband could not witness this scene. She would continue to serve him, she said, no matter what transpired, with no thought of sorrow or bitterness.[47]

It was under such circumstances that Akinari wrote Kuse monogatari, his best-known effort from this period. Completed in the spring of 1791,[48] it is commonly considered a work of fiction, and indeed

does contain some fictional episodes, but it is really more like a zuihitsu in form. It consists of a preface and twenty-five miscellaneous sketches that criticize or poke fun at the habits and personalities of scholars, physicians, haiku and waka poets, tea masters, priests, courtesans and their patrons, musicians, kabuki actors, and other characters. Akinari's intention seems to have been similar to that in Kakizome kigenkai, but Kuse monogatari, with its broader scope and more finely tuned style, totally eclipsed that earlier work. Being a book about people's faults, its tone lends support to the view that Akinari retreated from society because he could not endure it. Many of the episodes appear to have been based on things he had heard or experienced, and which had made him angry. Some of the sketches are self-mocking, others lightly jesting, but on the whole the tone is one of condemnation, written from the point of view of a disapproving and sarcastic onlooker.

As its title suggests, Kuse monogatari is a stylistic parody of Ise monogatari. Akinari's interest in The Tales of Ise went back at least as far as his years at Kashima-mura, where he had prepared his own annotated manuscript of the work, Ise monogatari kō. About the same time that he wrote Kuse, he was preparing for publication Kamo Mabuchi's Ise monogatari koi 伊勢物語古意, to which he appended his own Yoshi ya ashi ya よしやあしや.[49] This was a collection of explanations of phrases from Ise selected from Ise monogatari kō--apparently portions of the work that Akinari found himself still pleased with twenty years after they were written. Kuse may be seen as an outgrowth of this activity. Actually, the idea of writing a parody of Ise did not origin-

ate with Akinari. Numerous such burlesques had appeared during the Tokugawa period, probably the most famous being the early-seventeenth-century Nise monogatari仁勢物語.[50] Kuse monogatari reveals Akinari's thorough familiarity with and full understanding of Ise, and its satire and adroit blending of elegant and common language illustrates his keen wit and skillful classical style. Parodies of lines and passages from Ise, and to a lesser extent from the other classics, dot the pages,[51] and as a result the irony is unintelligible to anyone who is not well versed in old Japanese literature. No wonder few scholars have been so bold as to attempt a study of it.

The twenty-five sketches are a hodgepodge, having no apparent organization. Some are brief stories; others are merely descriptive anecdotes about society. Although most of them begin with "mukashi," after the manner of Ise monogatari, the reader should remember that Akinari was not really talking about the past, but of people and events of his own time. He did not take a self-righteous position, however. After making stabs at various and assorted other character types, he concluded by turning his barbs on himself, as exemplified by the following specimen from the text.

> In former times there was a man who, perhaps because he was tired of the world, sought out a dwelling in the village of Fukakusa and lived in seclusion. Though it seemed to him that he had been there but a short time, four or five years had already gone by. Whenever he thought fondly of the capital he would fix his gaze on the sky in that direction. Having leisure time in abundance, he took as his sole companion a pillow beneath his window, and as he slept he heard in a dream, amidst the chirping of the birds that played in the branches of his garden, a robin who spoke rapidly, but exactly like a human being. "I come to play at this hermitage every spring," the robin said, "and never is the master doing

any kind of work. What a lazy man! Is there any profit in living like this? How detestable he is!"

A magpie who was at play in the branches below heard the robin and answered, "This man originally came from the capital. He is narrow-minded by nature. He is afraid of incurring debts if he tries to make a normal livelihood. Men of broader outlook will lie or do wicked acts without thinking, if it does no harm to others, but whenever this man sees or hears of such things, he becomes sorrowful and angry. When he reads books, only the past pleases him, and he abhors the world of today. When he engages in the arts, he looks up to the men of old, skillful and clumsy alike, as noble and refined, but he scorns all he sees of the present and takes no delight in it. That is why he passes the time to no purpose. We ought to pity him."

At this the robin laughed aloud. "Just as I thought," it said. "He pampers himself. What a mean spirit he has!"

"But the master never wears fine clothing nor eats good food," the magpie replied. "He makes do with paper bedding and paper curtains, and seems to be frugal in all things. He does not appear to be pampering himself."

"That is not what I meant by 'pamper,'" the robin said. "The master has a worsening case of hypersensitivity and cannot control it. So, although he does not exalt himself, he indulges his heart by regarding everybody as impure. Neither a world nor a people that would match his ideal has existed since ancient times. Is it not because the writings of both China and Japan state unceasingly that the people of this world are dishonest and lament that they are generally corrupt? Even though people may accept the teachings in those books, there seem to be none who act in accordance with them. The master too is that sort of person. Whether or not one practices the teachings does not depend on his wisdom or ignorance. Even though a wise man may follow them, if the world mistreats him, they would appear to have no value.... We may say that it is good not to become impure even though one is buffeted by the world. But unless one presents a sullied appearance, he can hardly mingle with society. The master cannot do so. When he hears of impurity he has to despise it, but when he sees that such is the human condition he cannot loudly condemn it.... If he moved with the times he would not get angry or resentful at the things he hears and sees. When he laments over things that are contrary to the Way, he pampers his self-centered heart. He eats poor food and wears thin clothing, but if we gave him fine apparel he would probably wear it, and if we sent him good food he would probably eat it. It is not that he shuns luxury; he lives thus because he is poor."

So saying, the robin laughed aloud, and all the other birds joined in. The magpie also gave a merry laugh, and the mountains and the moors laughed too. Thereupon I awoke from

> my springtime drowsiness and penned these idle tales of life, which you may call Kampeki dan, or Kuse monogatari, or whatever you please.[52]

This was surely very much how Akinari saw himself at that time. He believed that, ideally, a man should be involved in the real world around him, work hard and cultivate himself. Even his fiction reflects this view--his characters who stray from that path invariably suffer. He did not believe that literature was a thing a man should spend his life at. Time and again he used the word "asobi" 遊び in reference to writing prose and poetry and studying the classics, and when he gave in to the temptation to devote himself to such pursuits it caused him some pain and loss of self-respect. But from the beginning he had felt out of place in society, and his alienation increased as his interest in the classics and Japanese antiquity intensified his hatred of the present and his affinity with an idealized past. From Umaki he had acquired the view that ancient society had been natural for ancient times, and contemporary society was natural for his own day; that even if it was impure one should live in it anyway. But although he reached this conclusion logically, he could not accept it in practice. He could only withdraw. Still, he was too honest with himself to see his withdrawal as other than an act of self-indulgence. He had done nothing for society by leaving it, and his action had inconvenienced his family. No one but himself had benefitted. The self-portrait that he added to his castigations of others was his own admission that he was really no better than the world he criticized.

Although their confrontation was over, neither Akinari nor Norinaga had capitualted. Each man had, in effect, declared himself the

winner and tried to fortify himself against future assaults. To shore up his own position, Norinaga had compiled the two works that together became Kakaika. Late in 1792, Akinari finished writing Yasumigoto, which summed up his own views on the subjects they had quarreled over. He discussed history and administration in ancient Japan, and considered the country in relation to other nations. He restated his view that the past cannot be recreated in the present, that Japan was not necessarily the supreme nation of the world, and that natural disasters are caused by nature, not by malevolent deities. Notably, he dismissed the Kojiki as a spurious work, as he thought it appeared to contain interpolations by various editors, and he upheld the Nihongi as a superior historical document. Without mentioning him by name, but with no ambiguity, he attacked Norinaga's misguided reverence for the Kojiki. Akinari's criticism of the Kojiki subsequently led to him being called a traitor by Katō Chikage 加藤千蔭 (1735-1808),[53] a former student of Mabuchi who had become one of the day's leading waka poets and kokugaku scholars. Perhaps it was owing to this remark that Akinari called Chikage an illiterate poetaster who owed his reputation to his money.[54]

During their residence at the Quail's Abode, Akinari and his wife had become friendly with the family in the neighboring house and were naturally interested when their son was married. In 1790 the couple had a child, but the next year the mother took sick and died. Akinari and Koren had never had children of their own, and now they turned their unfulfilled parental instincts on the motherless boy next door. They took great delight in watching him grow and learn to talk. Aki-

nari became so absorbed in playing with the child that he would forget his own bad health, and Koren, too poor to buy cloth, would remake items of her own and her husband's clothing into things for the boy to wear. But in the autumn of 1792 the child became ill. Akinari tried frantically to find an effective medicine, and the father offered prayers without ceasing, but their combined efforts proved futile. The boy's condition steadily worsened until the day of the festival of Jizō地蔵 in 1793, when he died, as though this bodhisattva had carried him away. Akinari was beside himself with grief. He assumed all the expenses for the funeral and cremation and personally made the journey to Osaka for the final interment of the ashes, feeling, no doubt, as though he were doing it for his own son.

There seemed little point to go on living. The loss of the child was only the latest in a series of events that had made Nagara a place of bitter memories. Akinari and Koren decided to abandon their home and set out on a final journey that would end when they fell down and died. Thus they left Nagara and started out for Kyoto, arriving in time for the Gion Festival that summer. Still sorrowful, and both of them in poor health, they had little inclination to participate in the festivities, but they ventured out into the crowded streets nevertheless, an old couple on unsteady feet. But they could only think of how the child would have enjoyed the festival, and of how they would have found pleasure in taking him. Young children in the crowd reminded them of the one they had lost, and wares in the shops made them think of the presents they could no longer give him. They went away more unhappy than they had come.

Later, when they were about to continue on their journey, friends in the capital offered comforting words and pleaded with them to stay longer. "Your grief will lessen as time passes," they said, "and there is much to see in the capital." Akinari and Koren gave in to their persuasion and found temporary lodgings,[55] but though they planned to stay only for the time being, the move was to be permanent. Kyoto was where both of them spent the rest of their lives.

NOTES

1. Akinari, Uzura no ya 鶉の屋, Ibun, pp. 418-425; for his account of this excursion, see pp. 419-423. It is Akinari's report of seeing the procession of the new kampaku that enables us to date this trip. The historical record states clearly that Takatsukasa Sadahei 鷹司 was raised to that office in Temmei Era, 7th year (1787), 3rd month, 1st day. See Dokushi biyō, ed. Tokyo Teikoku Daigaku Shiryō Hensan Jo (Tokyo: Naigai Shoseki Kabushiki Kaisha, 1933), p. 245.

2. See Uzura no ya, Ibun, p. 423. Akinari gave the date of their move from Osaka as 4th month, 20th day. This must have been in 1787, as he described the move as though it was made directly after his excursion to Arashiyama. In two other sources, however, Akinari said that he was fifty-five when he gave up medicine, which would make the year 1788. See Jiden, Ibun, p. 256; Tandai, no. 5, NKBT, LVI, 254. Still, both of these writings were completed during Akinari's final years, while Uzura no ya, to judge from its style, was written during

the same year as the events it describes, and so is probably the more reliable source.

3. Tandai, no. 5, NKBT, LVI, 254; Jiden, Ibun, pp. 256, 261.

4. Jiden, Ibun, p. 261.

5. See particularly the opening lines of Uzura no ya, Ibun, p. 418.

6. Kuse monogatari, Zenshū, I, 329-350, N.B. p. 332.

7. See Tandai, no. 69, NKBT, LVI, 294. Tama's "mother" was most likely her foster mother, Mrs. Ueyama. Presumably her husband had died before she came to live with them. It is not certain whether she accompanied them to Nagara-mura or joined them there later.

8. Nagara-mura was also known as Awajishō-mura 淡路庄村. Its precise location is not clear. Most scholars believe it was in present-day Higashi Yodogawa-ku, but Asano Sampei, in "Akinari den ni okeru ni san no mondaiten," KKB, 38, No. 6 (June 1961), 42-52, argues for a location in Ōyodo-ku, on the opposite side of the Yodo River. Takada Mamoru presents a convincing case against Asano's view in Akinari nempu, pp. 146, 147; see also the maps on p. 145.

Care should be taken to avoid confusing this Nagara-mura with the Nagara in Yamato where Akinari's cousin was village headman. Awajishō-mura also should be kept distinct from the Awaji-chō in Osaka where he had been living. The coincidence of place names is interesting, but does not seem to have any special significance.

9. See Uzura no ya, Ibun, pp. 423, 424; Tsuzurabumi 藤簍冊子, Part 2, Zenshū, I, 37.

10. See Tandai, no. 69, NKBT, LVI, 294.

11. Jiden, Ibun, p. 256.

12. Ibid., pp. 261, 262.

13. Tsuzurabumi, Part 2, Zenshū, I, 37.

14. See Kokin wakashū uchigiki fugen 附言, Ibun, pp. 520-527, N.B. pp. 526, 527.

15. Kunio was a native of the province of Kōzuke, which suffered severe damage in the eruption. For Akinari's quotations from his report, see Asama no kemuri, Ibun, pp. 196-200.

16. Machibumi 麻知文, Ibun, pp. 212-244, N.B. p. 218.

17. Tsuzurabumi, Part 1, Zenshū, I, 19, 20. Most of this poem is also quoted in Machibumi, Ibun, pp. 217, 218.

18. For the time of Kunio's death, see Akinari's letter to Tsuneakira, quoted in Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 153. On Masanori's death, close on the heels of Kunio's, see Tsuzurabumi, Part 2, Zenshū, I, 37.

19. Tsuzurabumi, Part 2, Zenshū, I, 37.

20. See Kada Shi kundoku Saimeiki wazauta zongi 荷田子訓読書明紀童謡存疑, Zenshū, II, 1-7. Tsuneakira's copy was dated 1787 (see p. 2); the published version of Akinari's comments was taken from a manu-

script dated 1792 (see p. 7).

21. Akinari recounted this adventure in Kagutsuchi no arabi 迦具都遅能阿良咩, Ibun, pp. 363-368.

22. Iwahashi no ki, Ibun, pp. 263-286. The entire description of the trip is taken from this work.

23. See Chapter I, note 14, p. 24.

24. Tosa nikki kai jo, Ibun, pp. 532-537. This was written in 1790.

25. Osaka shuppan shoseki mokuroku, p. 139.

26. See Akinari's Agatai kashū jo, Ibun, pp. 540-543; Shizunoya kashū batsu, Ibun, pp. 543, 544.

27. Saihan Ayanuno jo 再版文布序, Ibun, pp. 538, 539. The first edition of Ayanuno had been published in 1758.

28. Suggested by Takada in Akinari nempu, p. 175.

29. Concerning Akinari's meetings with Kitō in 1789, see Takada, Akinari nempu, pp. 159, 161-163.

30. The nagauta that Akinari offered on this occasion appears in Tsuzurabumi, Part 1, Zenshū, I, 17, 18. The fact that Akinari remained loyal to Umaki long after his death is underlined by the visit he received from Umaki's adopted son while living at Nagara. See his letter to Tsuneakira in Kada Shi kundoku Saimeiki wazauta zongi, Zenshū,

II, 7.

31. In his letter to the Jippō-in, Ibun, p. 632, Akinari gave the date as 6th month, 20th day. See also Tandai, no. 69, NKBT, LVI, 294.

32. Tama, Tsuyu wake goromo 露分衣, Zenshū, I, 135-138.

33. Kitō, Shimmei shū 晋明集, quoted in Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 165.

34. These events are all related in Tsuyu wake goromo.

35. See Tandai, no. 69, NKBT, LVI, 294, and note 8 for comment.

36. Minō yuki 箕尾行, Ibun, pp. 368-371.

37. Quoted in Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 172.

38. See Akinari's letter to Matsumura Gekkei, dated simply "28th day," Ibun, pp. 583-585.

39. Letter to Gekkei, 6th month, 2nd day (presumably 1790), Ibun, pp. 585-589.

40. On the 21st day of the 11th month. See Akinari's letter to the Jippō-in, Ibun, p. 631. In Tandai, no. 69, NKBT, LVI, 294, however, Akinari said that his mother died five years after he left Osaka, which would be 1792. This was probably no more than a slip of the pen. In the same passage he said that both Tama's mother and his own died in the same year, and his letter to the Jippō-in gives 1789 as the year of death for both women.

41. For the term "koren" and commentary on it, see Rongo 論語, Shinshaku Kambun Taikei, I (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1960), 103.

42. Tandai, no. 69, NKBT, LVI, 294. It is not certain just when Tama took her vows, but Akinari's letter to Gekkei, 6th month, 2nd day (presumably 1790) refers to her as Koren. See Ibun, p. 588.

43. Letter to Gekkei, Ibun, pp. 588, 589.

44. Letter to Gekkei, probably 1790 (see note 45, below), 12th month, 16th day, Ibun, pp. 577, 578.

45. Ibid. In Jizō hakogaki, Ibun, p. 499, Akinari said that he was fifty-seven when he lost this eye. It is this statement that enables us to date the letter to Gekkei.

46. Machibumi, Ibun, p. 212.

47. Uzurai, Zenshū, I, 115-118, N.B. pp. 115, 116. Akinari said this incident happened thirty years after their marriage--thus in or around 1790.

48. In his letter to Nakahara Ōe, Akinari said that Kakizome kigenkai (published in 1787) was written four years prior to Kuse monogatari. See Takada, Akinari nempu, pp. 177, 178. Since the final words of Kuse seem to have been written in the springtime, we may assume that it was completed in spring, 1791. It was not published until 1822.

49. These two works were published together in 1793. See Yoshi

ya ashi ya, Zenshū, II, 385-408, N.B. p. 408 for publication data. Akinari's preface to Ise monogatari koi appears in Ibun, pp. 544-546.

50. See Jack Rucinski, "A Japanese Burlesque: Nise Monogatari," MN, 30, No. 1 (Spring 1975), 1-18.

51. For examples see Asano, "Mittsu no fūshiteki sakuhin," pp. 43, 44.

52. Kuse monogatari, Zenshū, I, 348-350.

53. See Nakamura Yukihiko's introduction to NKBT, LVI, 6. Nakamura does not give the source of this information.

54. Tandai, no. 111, NKBT, LVI, 318.

55. The account of the child's death and their move to Kyoto is drawn from Koren's Natsuno no tsuyu 夏野の露, Zenshū, I, 138-141.

CHAPTER VII

KYOTO

The move to Kyoto may not have been as accidental as Koren implied. Having set out to tell a sad story, she made use of all the devices that literary license permitted, exaggeration and distortion included, to intensify the feeling of tragedy. Akinari never mentioned the child in his own writings, but said rather that he went to Kyoto as a concession to his wife, who was lonely for her native home.[1] Still, his own fondness for the capital must not be ignored. After their mothers had died, Akinari and Koren had sold the articles that were of no use to them and had made frequent pleasure excursions to Kyoto on the proceeds.[2] The desire to settle permanently in the capital may well have developed gradually in the course of such visits. Moreover, Akinari's interests were now concentrated in Kyoto. After giving up his work in Osaka, he had moved to Nagara with the intention of spending the rest of his life there, but his expected demise had not occurred, and as time passed he had grown dissatisfied with his attempt to withdraw from society. Most of his friends and colleagues were now in Kyoto, and moving there offered easier association with them, as well as a change of scene. One of his companions later noted that as he grew older he increasingly felt out of place in the commercial atmosphere of Osaka. Kyoto would offer quieter surroundings, he thought, and its people would be of a more congenial nature.[3] Even so, there is no reason for doubting that the death of the child in Nagara did provide the immediate stimulus for moving. Akinari said that the

action was taken on a trial basis,[4] and in the autumn of the year they moved he gave his residence as Settsu,[5] or Osaka, implying that he did not yet regard Kyoto as his home. The decision to remain permanently appears to have been made later.

They came to Kyoto with fifty ryō to their name and moved into lodgings in Fukuro-machi 袋町 near the Chion-in 知恩院 Temple, in what is now Matsubara-chō, Higashiyama-ku. There, in Akinari's words, they "lived a plain and simple life, eating grain and drinking tea made from parched rice."[6] For livelihood Akinari relied upon the pittances he received from his publishers,[7] probably some occasional remuneration from teaching, and just possibly some revenue from practicing medicine on a part-time basis.[8] Together these would have amounted to only a small and irregular income, but even though Koren described their quarters as "difficult to get both knees inside,"[9] and though Akinari said that they arrived in the capital to find, like Urashima Tarō, that persons they could call upon had all vanished,[10] they appear to have been reasonably contented, and they did have a number of friends who gave them help.

One such person was Hakura Nobuyoshi 羽倉信美 (also known by the surname of Kada 荷田 ; b. 1750), a disciple of the poet Ozawa Roan. Akinari had met him before moving to Kyoto, and they had become quite intimate by that time, it would appear, for Nobuyoshi took him to meet Roan shortly after his arrival in the capital. It is unlikely that Nobuyoshi would have paid a short-term casual acquaintance the honor of a formal introduction to his teacher. Perhaps they had met through Hashimoto Tsuneakira, a mutual acquaintance, but whatever the origin

of their relationship may have been, it developed into a genuine friendship. From the time Akinari came to live in Kyoto until he died, and even thereafter, Nobuyoshi was an unfailing source of aid.

Roan also became a true and lasting friend. When Akinari first went to his home, Roan received him kindly, and acted as though he had been impatiently awaiting his arrival. No doubt Roan had already read and been impressed by some of Akinari's work and was looking forward to meeting him in person. Akinari too, in his younger days, had heard much about Roan from Kojima Shigeie, the man whom he credited with introducing him to classical studies. Roan's and Akinari's mutual esteem for Shigeie, and their fond reminiscences of him, helped them to feel a common bond at their first encounter. Besides Nobuyoshi, Tsuneakira was also present at this meeting. He and Roan played the koto together, and a number of poems were composed to celebrate the occasion--though Akinari mentioned having Nobuyoshi act as scribe in his own behalf, implying that his eyesight was giving him some trouble.[11]

Akinari may have found his dwelling at the Chion-in with the assistance of Murase Kōtei, who was one of Gekkei's associates. Kōtei's residence was very close to Akinari's, and considering their mutual friendship with Gekkei, this proximity was probably not due to mere chance. For some time Akinari had had a growing interest in the tea ceremony, and since Kōtei was a tea master of some standing, Akinari found his companionship very rewarding. During the time they were neighbors, Kōtei did much to guide and develop Akinari's own interest in the art of tea.[12]

Yotsugi Makazu 世継翁, quite a wealthy merchant in the capital,

was another friend who enjoyed the tea ceremony. Again, the origin of their friendship is unclear, but Akinari had become acquainted with him at least a few years prior to moving to Kyoto. Gekkei or Tsuneakira may have furnished the introduction. In a letter to Gekkei in 1791, Akinari mentioned receiving a painting from Yotsugi,[13] and shortly after he had become settled in the capital, he and Yotsugi went to Uji together to visit Tsuneakira, who was staying there at the time. On this trip they took shelter in Tsuneakira's lodgings, made tea with the pure water from the river, and went through the usual round of poetry composition. Subsequently they all went by boat to see the Byōdō-in Temple. Enroute they were surprised to find numerous small boats on the river, their occupants picking bundles of firewood from the water. In answer to their query they learned that a few miles upstream a wagon loaded with firewood had overturned, spilling its contents into the river, and the local inhabitants were profiting from the mishap. Akinari seems to have found this incident most interesting, for he described it in detail but said virtually nothing about the Byōdō-in in his account.[14]

Another good friend was the poet and kokugaku scholar Ban Kōkei 伴高蹊 (1733-1806), who was a close associate of Roan, and like him was known as one of the "Four Heavenly Kings" in waka circles in the capital.[15] Nevertheless, it would appear that Akinari had met him independently of Roan before going to Kyoto, as Kōkei mentioned in his writings sending correspondence to Akinari at Nagara.[16] It has been reported that when Akinari went to live in the capital he initially relied upon Kōkei for assistance, but that shortly a rift developed

between them, and he then turned to Roan.[17] But even if this was so, their estrangement could not have been serious. Akinari wrote a preface for Kōkei's Utsushibumi warawa no satoshi 訳文童喩 in the winter of 1793,[18] and they were clearly on good terms a few years later. Nevertheless, it is true that they did not see eye to eye all of the time. Kōkei once sharply criticized a verse that Akinari had written,[19] and on another occasion, when Kōkei suggested that the two of them try composing poetry after the fashion of the then-defunct shokunin utaawase 職人歌合--poetry competitions in which the verses had the skills of the various artisans as their subject matter--Akinari, who felt that poetry had become too commercialized, sarcastically replied that in the present day the name should be changed to shōnin 商人 utaawase, or "merchants' poetry competitions." He added, with obvious satisfaction, that his retort effectively silenced Kōkei.[20] But such episodes need not be interpreted as evidence of ill feeling between them. More likely they just indicate that neither Akinari nor Kōkei were inclined to compromise their beliefs for the sake of harmonious relations. When they disagreed they made their feelings known, but they were not unable to tolerate opposing viewpoints. Indeed it is not inconceivable that Akinari might have become friendly even with Norinaga, had Norinaga not been so adamant and patronizing.

Akinari's students in Kyoto also gave him assistance at times. Not much is really known about them, but they did include a Ueda Saneyuki 上田成幸, who was apparently quite well-to-do, to judge from Akinari's record of visiting his villa in the northern hills of the capital.[21] Akinari described him as "not a writer of poetry"[22]--perhaps

he was not particularly talented, but their friendship was such that Saneyuki prepared the final copies of Akinari's manuscripts on at least two occasions.[23] Another student was Tani Naomi谷直臣 (also called Etsu Gyoshin越魚臣), who, among other things, wrote Man'yōshū uchigiki, a collection of notes on Akinari's lectures.[24]

Akinari and Koren lived an unsettled existence in the capital. In the spring of 1794, less than a year after settling there, they left their hut at the Chion-in and moved into quarters within the precincts of the Nanzenji, having been invited by someone to do so. The new dwelling was small, but larger than the one they had been occupying, and Akinari liked the increase in living space and the stream of clear water that flowed nearby.[25] The house consisted of a single eight-mat room, about half of which was taken up by household furnishings. There was also a veranda outside, shaded by means of a reed screen hung from the eaves. The windows provided a pleasing view of the mountain scenery, and the cries of birds could be heard mingled with the sound of running water. Akinari called this hut the Uzurai, after his former home in Nagara.[26] It was a quiet and relaxing environment, but before long, for unspecified reasons, they moved into a tenement building at Tōdō-in Shijō東洞院四条, about a mile and a half west of the Chion-in. This was the building where Gekkei was living.[27] But their stay here also was brief. Soon they moved, again for unspecified reasons, to the vicinity of Maruta-machi丸太町 and Koromodana-chō衣棚町,[28] about a mile to the north. This abode likewise proved temporary. "We did not sit there either," Akinari wrote, "but moved back to our former fukuro in Fukuro-machi, in front of the gate of the

Chion-in."[29] Their nomadic life drew laughs from some of the people they knew, he noted,[30] but he seems to have been less concerned about public opinion after moving to Kyoto. When an acquaintance asked him where he was going to move next, Akinari replied in verse:

Kaze no ue ni	The clouds that dance on the wind
Tachi mau kumo no	Have no destination,
Yukue naku	And I shall decide
Asu no ari ka wa	Tomorrow's dwelling place
Yoku zo sadamen.	Tomorrow.

Akinari was informed that when the man received this poem he made a gesture of scorn and called him a detestable person, but Akinari's record of the incident does not suggest that he was upset.[31]

One little-known fact about Akinari is that he was a vegetarian and a teetotaller. He claimed to have disliked sake and preferred tea since his younger days.[32] On the wall of his home he hung a list of "forbidden things," which included wine, fish, tobacco, and oily foods--as well as literary men, tea masters, rich people, anything with a strong smell, and selling medicine.[33] Abstaining from intoxicants was consistent with Akinari's strict nature, but the fact that he had shunned them even while engaging in other forms of dissipation in his youth[34] suggests that his aversion may have been physical as well as mental. And he appears to have been tolerant of those who did not share his aversion, including his wife, who, he noted, was fond of a drink.[35]

Akinari's preference for tea over wine nurtured his interest in its preparation. He had probably become at least roughly acquainted

with the tea ceremony at a relatively young age, for one of the few pieces of information he gave about his sister was that she had studied under a master of the art.[36] His subsequent deeper interest may have been aroused by such men as Tsuga Teishō and Kimura Kenkadō. He became conspicuously active in the way of tea while living at Nagaramura and after moving to Kyoto--a period when he and Kenkadō were getting together quite often, to judge from the entries in Kenkadō's diary--but even his Ashikabi no kotoba, which he had written for Kenkadō in 1774, mentioned tea in its opening lines.[37] If he really was a descendant of Kobori Enshū, and aware of the fact, then a desire to emulate his progenitor may also have contributed to his interest. Moreover, in Kyoto he enjoyed the companionship of Murase Kōtei and Yotsugi Makazu, both of whom, as we have seen, were tea enthusiasts, and he frequently praised the pure water that flowed past his Nanzenji dwelling as ideal for making tea.[38]

It was in the sencha dō 煎茶道, or the way of green tea, that Akinari achieved distinction. This was a ritual method, Chinese in origin, of preparing green tea, simpler than the formal ceremony using the powdered matcha 抹茶. The sencha dō had been introduced from the continent only in the early Tokugawa period, and was still in its evolutionary stages by Akinari's time. Indeed, he and Murase Kōtei are today known as two of the men who brought its rules to their final form.[39] It was Akinari's own "Book of Tea," Seifū sagen 清風瑣言, that earned him much of this credit. The work was published late in 1794, though just when it was written is uncertain. Murase, in the preface he wrote, implied that Akinari composed Seifū during his lei-

sure hours in Kyoto,[40] and in a letter written when he was seventy-two, that is, in 1805, Akinari mentioned having produced such a work ten years earlier.[41] From the text itself, however, Nagara-mura would appear to have been the place of writing.[42] Of course this does not rule out the possibility that Akinari revised it in Kyoto prior to publication.

Seifū sagen covers such topics as the nature of tea, the varieties of the beverage, its history in China and Japan, areas of production, methods of cultivating tea plants, the manufacture of tea, and ways of preparing it for drinking. Details of the tea ceremony and general information for the gentleman of taste are also included. Akinari drew his information from a wide range of Chinese and Japanese works, but he did not plagiarize. He cited the sources for all his conclusions, supplemented what he had gleaned from books with his personal experiences, and expressed his own views freely. Seifū displays both the wide extent of Akinari's knowledge and research, and his appreciation of tea as a true art form. He saw it as a spiritual art. He had long considered himself a seeker after purity in an impure world, and in tea he found not a mere drink, but a temporary relief from the pains of life; something that did not currupt the heart as wine did, but purified it. The verse,

Nigorishi to	I cannot run away
Yo wa nogarenedo	From this polluted world,
Tanimizu ni	But I can make tea
Cha wo nite kokoro	With water from a mountain stream
Sumasu bakari zo	And put my heart to rest,[43]

reflects this attitude. In the soothing effect of the drink, and in the tranquil beauty of its ritual preparation, he could find peace of mind. It was as an extension of this feeling that he began to delve into tea lore, and ultimately to create his own earthenware vessels for making tea. In this latter pursuit he achieved a high degree of skill and a far-reaching reputation. People came to learn pottery-making from him,[44] and a teapot he and Murase designed became so popular, it was reported, that there was no dealer in tea wares from the three main urban centers to the farthest outlying regions who did not sell it.[45] Some of the tea vessels that Akinari made with his own hands are still in existence, being highly prized by collectors, and as with his ceramics, so with his book. Seifū sagen was only one among many similar works, but it established Akinari as a first-ranking authority on tea. It seems to have been widely read when it first appeared, and it still is highly acclaimed.[46]

Akinari continued his scholarship in other fields as well. After coming to Kyoto, or perhaps even before, he began to write Reigotsū, a comprehensive work in six sections, one each on the names of Shinto deities, the names of Japan's provinces, noted products of the various regions, poetry, terminology, and kana orthography. The kana section was completed by the winter of 1795 and published in early 1797.[47] Unfortunately this was the only part ever to be published, and the manuscripts of the other five sections have all been lost.

In the kana section of Reigotsū, Akinari took issue with most of the scholars of his day on the matter of kana orthography. It would appear that toward the end of the Heian period the Japanese language

underwent appreciable phonetic changes that eliminated distinctions between the pronunciation of such kana symbols as お and を, い and ゐ, え and ゑ, and so on, with resultant confusion as to which symbol should be used in a given word. Writers generally followed the historical spelling, using the symbols that had always been used for each word, but some disunity was inevitable. A very real problem had developed by the Kamakura period, and proposals for standardization were being heard from such figures as Fujiwara Teika 藤原定家 (1162-1241) and Minamoto Chikayuki 源親行. In the latter half of the fourteenth century their ideas were finally codified by Chikayuki's grandson, Gyōa 行阿 in Kana moji zukai 仮名文字遣. This system, known as Teika kanazukai, became the standard among waka poets and was followed by most other people as well until the Edo period, when further phonetic changes occurred in the language, and competing views on kana orthography again began to emerge. The strongest advocate of reform was Keichū, who thoroughly revised the Teika system on the basis of the old historical conventions he had gleaned from ancient writings. Keichū's system won wide acceptance among kokugaku scholars and people in related lines of study, but there were dissenters. Of these, one of the most prominent was Tayasu Munetake 田安宗武 (1715-1771), a son of the eighth Tokugawa shogun, Yoshimune 吉宗, and a student of Kamo Mabuchi. He contended that kana should be written according to the sound. If a phonetic change occurred in the language, the symbol used to express the particular sound should also be changed, he said. In Reigotsū, Akinari built upon Munetake's opinions, maintaining that the rules for kana orthography were all man-made, not natural, and so one need not

feel bound to adhere to any particular system.[48] He saw having more than one symbol to express the same sound as needless pedantry, which made what was simple seem complex, and he went to great lengths to show the irrationality of contemporary kana usage. In ancient times, he said, kana was written according to the sounds expressed, and it was only logical to do likewise in his own day. Thus he advocated no codified system, but simply discarding the old conventions and writing words as they were pronounced. Such a view brought Akinari some censure from other scholars, notably from Murata Harumi村田春海 (1746-1811),[49] but more recently he has been seen as one of the early advocates of a truly phonetic script, an idea which began to acquire momentum after the Meiji Restoration.[50]

His other writings of this period include Man'yōshū kaisetsu会説. His first general discourse on the Man'yōshū, it was completed in 1794,[51] though the bulk of it could have been written earlier. A short piece, it briefly treats such topics as the meaning of the Man'yōshū title, the identity of the compiler, the number and variety of the poems included, and so on. For the most part Akinari was content to echo the conclusions of other scholars, expressing few opinions of his own, but despite its lack of originality the work remains noteworthy as another forerunner of his more exhaustive Man'yōshū scholarship.

In collaboration with Hakura Nobuyoshi he collected stray items of poetry by Kada Azumamaro and compiled them into an anthology to which he gave the title Shun'yōshū春葉集 . It was completed by the autumn of 1795, according to the postscript to the collection,[52] though it was not published until 1798. Also in the field of poetry, Akinari

appointed himself to carry on the work begun by Mabuchi in his 1757 work, Kanjikō 冠辞考. This had been a study of makura kotoba in the Man'yōshū. Mabuchi had arranged selected words in alphabetical order and explained the origin and meaning of each one in minute detail. In 1796 Akinari completed Kanjikō zokuchō 続冠, [53] which, like its predecessor, consisted of selected "pillow words" listed in go-jū-on order, and defined and commented upon. It was a solid work of philology that modern scholars still mention as an extension of the important work that Mabuchi had begun. [54]

Akinari changed his area of emphasis a number of times, but the literary form that he continued to practice over a longer period than any other was the tanka. A recent collection of his thirty-one-syllable poems contains a total of 2337 such verses. [55] His earliest known waka appeared in his ukiyo-zōshi, and he continued to compose them for the rest of his life. Nevertheless, it was only after he had moved to Kyoto and been introduced to waka circles there that he became a poet of standing. Credit for this must go principally to Ozawa Roan. After Umaki's death Akinari had carried on by himself, but it was difficult to break into poetry circles and achieve recognition without the backing of a teacher. It was in this respect that Roan offered invaluable assistance. Not only did he go out of his way to assist Akinari materially, keeping a close watch over his welfare and sending him fuel every winter, [56] but he also took special pains to put him in contact with men of common interests. Roan often invited Akinari to his home, and through taking part in poetry sessions there Akinari began to get acquainted with prominent waka poets in the capital. Thus he formed

connections with the Tadagoto 僊言 school, of which Roan was a leader, and with poets from the imperial court as well. The record shows that in 1799 he participated three times with the court poets in their New Year poetry sessions.[57]

Nevertheless, he was known as an outsider, even though he was respected as a proficient one. He himself was inclined toward the Kogaku 古学 style of poetry, advocated by Mabuchi, which aimed at recapturing the purity and simplicity of ancient times, subordinating craftsmanship to the direct portrayal of human feelings. Its ideal was to go back to the Man'yōshū, or even beyond it to the poetry of the Kojiki and Nihongi. This style was generally opposed by the poets in Kyoto, who mostly looked to the Kokinshū as their model. But Akinari was far from inflexible in the matter of poetry. He did not become a disciple of Roan by any means, though he did send poems of his own composition to Roan with a request for criticism.[58] It was this willingness to explore other poetic styles rather than narrowly adhere to a single one that enabled him to win acceptance among poets in the capital.

Although Akinari was happier in Kyoto, bitter experiences did not cease. Indeed, during his last years he saw nearly all of his close associates die before him. At some time, probably while he was still living at Nagara, he had acquired a student named Ikenaga Hatara 池永 秦良. A member of an Osaka merchant family, Hatara had shown literary talent from childhood, and ultimately abandoned commercial pursuits entirely.[59] Early in 1794 he came to visit Akinari and stayed for several days,[60] which suggests a strong degree of intimacy. There were probably other visits as well, though the next one recorded took

place late in 1795, nearly two years later, when Hatara brought the manuscript of his Man'yōshū miyasu hosei 万葉集見安補正 and asked Akinari to read and criticize it. Akinari declined, pleading the difficulty of doing it with just one eye, nor was he in the mood to listen while Hatara read it aloud. Hatara was moved to tears by this refusal, so eagerly had he been anticipating Akinari's help. In the end he left the manuscript with Akinari anyway, promising to come back for it in the spring. But he was never to return. Towards the end of spring he became sick, and in the sixth month, not yet thirty years old, he died. Akinari was shocked and repentent. Hatara was his third promising disciple to be nipped in the bud by death, and he now said that their relationship had been like that between father and son. Not long afterwards the publisher who had agreed to print Miyasu hosei came calling on Akinari in search of the manuscript. Finding much that he could not agree with when he finally took the trouble to read Hatara's work, Akinari refused to let it go to press in that form. He wrote a revision which he turned over to the publisher in the winter of that year.[61] The final version, which was not published until 1809, may actually be more Akinari's work than Hatara's.

Even more bitter for Akinari may have been the loss of Tsuneakira, for it came about not through death but desertion. Notwithstanding his high regard for Akinari, Tsuneakira appears to have been an opportunist, not one to hesitate out of loyalty if he felt his interests lay elsewhere. In 1793, shortly before Akinari moved to Kyoto, Norinaga had also gone there to live. Tsuneakira had helped him to meet certain influential persons, and he continued to associate with

him thereafter. Under these circumstances it would have been hard for Akinari to remain kindly disposed toward Tsuneakira, and relations between them appear to have cooled shortly after Akinari's arrival in the capital. There is no specific proof of an estrangement, but verifiable contacts between them ceased not long after. As late as 1793, or possibly even later, Akinari wrote that he regarded Tsuneakira as a brother,[62] but the last record of good relations between them was the preface that Tsuneakira wrote for Shun'yōshū in 1795. Thereafter Akinari made no mention of him, not even when he died in 1806, nor is Akinari mentioned in any of Tsuneakira's writings.[63] It is worthwhile to note that in 1800 Ozawa Roan formally rejected Tsuneakira as a disciple on grounds of "bad behaviour."[64] Perhaps he too had had occasion to feel slighted by Tsuneakira's opportunism.

In the autumn of 1797 Akinari and Koren made an excursion to Kusaka-mura 日下村 in the province of Kawachi to visit their friend, the nun Yuishin 唯心. Yuishin was the widow of Hirase Sukemichi, the companion with whom Akinari had gone to Arashiyama in the spring of 1787. When her husband had died, since her parents too were no longer living, she had taken the tonsure and retired to a hermitage in Kusaka where, Akinari said, she spent the time reading and practicing calligraphy. Presumably she and her husband had been friendly with the Uedas in Osaka, for Akinari said that he had known her for twenty years or more by this time.[65] Perhaps Akinari had even given her some assistance with her literary interests. In any case, both he and his wife must have considered her a valuable friend, to make a special trip of considerable distance to call on her. As part of this trip they took the

opportunity to pass by the Kashima Inari Shrine and renew their acquaintance with the Fuji family as well.[66]

This must have been the last time that Akinari and his wife ever went anywhere together, for Koren died quite suddenly that winter, January 31, 1798 (Kansei Era, 9th year, 12th month, 15th day).[67] Akinari was prostrated with grief. "Casting myself down, I writhed about, stamped my feet, and wept," he wrote, "but there was nothing to be done, so I sent her to the moors and let her go up in smoke. In her coffin I wrote these words of regret:

Tsurakarishi	The pain and misery
Kono toshi tsuki no	Of your years and months with me
Mukui shite	Made you take revenge.
Ikaniseyo to ka	Now that you have foresaken me,
Ware wo suteken	What can I ever do?"[68]

Undemonstrative though he may have been with his affection, Akinari had loved and needed Koren. She had stayed beside him through thirty-seven years of married life, few of which could have been pleasant for her. Now she was gone, leaving him in poor health, with failing eyesight, and his financial resources exhausted. This was the low point of his life. There is a note of resentment in his expression of grief, as though he felt that she had died deliberately as an act of betrayal.

Roan in particular offered considerable assistance, and sent numerous verses of condolence, and most of Akinari's other friends also came to express sympathy, but he refused to be comforted and in time they left him to himself.[69] Sorting through Koren's belongings, he was surprised to come upon two manuscripts that she had written. Un-

til then he had been unaware of their existence. His first impulse was to throw them away, lest they call back painful memories, but after reading them over he thought them worthy of preservation for the literary talent they displayed. The manuscripts were in very rough form with many words and phrases crossed out and rewritten. It was obvious that Koren had planned to rewrite them, so during the early part of 1798 Akinari addressed himself to the task of preparing clean copies. After completing the work he entrusted the manuscripts, Tsuyu wake goromo and Natsuno no tsuyu, together with the messages of condolence that his friends had sent, to the Jippō-in Temple.[70] This was probably on the forty-ninth day after her death, when her ashes were interred.

Shortly thereafter, at the end of the cherry-blossom season, Akinari went by himself to Kawachi to visit with Yuishin and apparently stayed for some time. He had remained despondent and had even contemplated taking his own life, but retracing the path that he and Koren had followed on their last journey together, and sharing reminiscences about their late spouses with Yuishin brought him comfort.[71] But misfortune persisted. Eight years before, as though brought on by grief at the death of his mother, he had lost the use of his left eye. Now, in the same way, close on the heels of his wife's death, the trouble spread, and within five months of her passing he was completely blind.[72]

NOTES

1. Tandai, no. 69, NKBT, LVI, 294; Machibumi, Ibun, p. 213.

2. Tandai, no. 69, NKBT, LVI, 294.

3. Fujita, Ken'ei waka jo, Zenshū, I, 149.

4. Tandai, no. 69, NKBT, LVI, 294.

5. See Kaifūsō batsu 懐風藻跋, Ibun, pp. 552, 553.

6. Tandai, no. 69, NKBT, LVI, 295.

7. Ibid.

8. In his Kikō omoide gusa 紀行思出草, Tsumura Seikyō 津村正恭 mentioned becoming ill while on a visit to Kyoto and receiving medicine from Ueda Yosai, to whom he was introduced by Murase Kōtei 村瀬栲亭. This was in mid-1793, just after Akinari had come to the capital. See Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 187. On Murase Kōtei, see p. 199, above.

9. Natsuno no tsuyu, Zenshū, I, 141.

10. Machibumi, Ibun, p. 213.

11. Akinari described his first meeting with Roan in Machibumi, Ibun, p. 213. See also Aki no kumo, Zenshū, I, 157; Tsuzurabumi, Part 2, Zenshū, I, 36.

12. See Tandai, no. 69, NKBT, LVI, 294; also Kōtei's preface to Seifū sagen, Zenshū, II, 479, 480.

13. See Ibun, p. 577.

14. See Machibumi, Ibun, pp. 213-215. Akinari described this excursion as though it was made in the same year that he moved to the capital. Presumably it was around the tenth month of the year. In Tsuzurabumi, Part 2, Zenshū, I, 24, there is a verse with a prefatory note to the effect that it was composed the morning after a night spent at Tsuneakira's home in Uji, "about the Godless Month."

15. Heian no Waka Shitennō 平安の和歌四天王 . The other two were Chōgetsu 澄月 (1714-1798) and Jien 慈延 (1748-1805).

16. Kōkei, Kanden fumigusa 閑田文草 , quoted in Nakamura's supplementary notes to Tandai, NKBT, LVI, 397.

17. Honma Yūsei, Mimitokawa, quoted in Nakamura's notes, Ibid.

18. Akinari dated his preface, "Winter of this year of Kansei." Since Utsushibumi was published in Kansei 6th year (1794), the preface must have been written in 1793. See Takada, Akinari nempu, pp. 191, 192.

19. See Machibumi, Ibun, pp. 230, 231.

20. Tandai, no. 3, NKBT, LVI, 252.

21. Machibumi, Ibun, p. 216.

22. Jūu yogen 十明余言 , Zenshū, I, 147, 148.

23. These were Jūu yogen and Man'yōshū kaisetsu. See Zenshū, I, 148; II, 20.

24. Unpublished and of uncertain date. See Maeno Sadao, "Ueda Akinari no Man'yōgaku," KBKKK, 4, No. 7 (June 1959), 62-71, N.B. pp. 70, 71.

25. See Akinari's letter to Roan in Fumihōgu, Zenshū, I, 200. It may have been the Ōsawa大沢 and Isogai石谷貝 families, who were very helpful to Akinari while he lived at the Nanzenji, who invited him to come there. Concerning these two families, see Iwahashi Koyata, "Zuiryūzan ka no Ueda Akinari," Wakatake, 13, No. 3 (March 1920), 5-10; No. 5 (May 1920), 7-13.

26. See Uzurai, Zenshū, I, 120, for a detailed description of this dwelling.

27. See Tandai, no. 69 and note 23, NKBT, LVI, 294.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid. Note 25 says that this move was made in Kansei 8th year (1796), 3rd month. See also Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 214; Tsujimori Shūei, Ueda Akinari no shōgai (Tokyo: Yūkōsha, 1942), p. 40. None of these references give their source of information.

30. Machibumi, Ibun, p. 213.

31. Tsuzurabumi, Part 2, Zenshū, I, 36, 37.

32. Letter to Ōdate Kōmon大館高門 , Ibun, pp. 572-577, N.B. p. 573.

33. Kabegaki 壁書, Ibun, p. 570. By literary men and tea masters Akinari must have meant those who engaged in the pursuits for commercial gain rather than for love of their art.

34. Jiden, Ibun, p. 255.

35. Tandai, no. 69, NKBT, LVI, 294.

36. Ibid., no. 53, p. 286.

37. See Ashikabi, Zenshū, I, 185.

38. See, for example, Cha no uta, Ibun, pp. 457, 458.

39. See Dai Nihon hyakka jiten, XI, 44.

40. Seifū sagen, Zenshū, II, 479-502. For publication data, see p. 502; for Murase's remarks, pp. 479, 480.

41. See his letter to Ōdate, Ibun, pp. 573, 577.

42. See Seifū, Zenshū, II, 480, 492.

43. From Cha no uta, Ibun, p. 457.

44. See Fumihōgu, Zenshū, I, 202.

45. Stated by Tanomura Chikuden 田能村竹田 (1776-1834), a painter and associate of Murase, in Toseki sasaroku 屠赤瑣々録, quoted in Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 207.

46. For more comprehensive treatment of Akinari's activities in the art of tea, see Sakada Motoko, "Ueda Akinari to senchadō," JK, 31

(Dec. 1963), 62-76; Tsujimori, Ueda Akinari no shōgai, pp. 321-336.

47. Reigotsū, Zenshū, II, 409-438. For publication data, see p. 438. The preface by Etsu Gyoshin (pp. 409, 410) was written near the end of 1795, but it says that Akinari had been working on Reigotsū for the past two years. It is this preface that tells us the nature of the missing sections.

48. I am indebted to Nihon bungaku daijiten, ed. Fujimura Tsukuru, 8 vols. (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1950-1952), II, 24-26 for most of the information on the history of kana orthography. For Akinari's comment specifically on this point, see for instance Zenshū, II, 421-422.

49. See Tandai, no. 4, NKBT, LVI, 252, 253.

50. See Nihon bungaku daijiten, I, 23.

51. Man'yōshū kaisetsu, Zenshū, II, 9-20. For the date of completion, see p. 20.

52. Quoted in Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 211. Akinari's preface to Shun'yōshū appears in Ibun, pp. 555-557.

53. Kanjikō zokuchō, Zenshū, II, 271-384. For the date of completion, see p. 275.

54. See Nihon bungaku daijiten, II, 112.

55. Asano Sampei, Akinari zenkashū to sono kenkyū (Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1969).

56. See Fumihōgu, Zenshū, I, 201.

57. Twice in the last month of Kansei 11, and once in the first month of Kansei 12. See Asano, Akinari zenkashū, pp. 514-519.

58. See Fumihōgu, Zenshū, I, 200.

59. Sugino Tsune杉野恒, Tenseki sakusha benran典籍作者便覧 (comp. 1812), quoted in Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 215.

60. For Akinari's record of this visit, see Machibumi, Ibun, pp. 218-221; for the date, Yuki wa kiku雪聞, Zenshū, I, 94-97, N.B. pp. 94, 95.

61. See Man'yōshū miyasu hosei jo, Ibun, pp. 553-555.

62. In a copy of the Izumo fudoki that Tsuneakira had borrowed, thinking it to be Tsuneakira's own book. It is not clear just when Akinari did this, but the printing date of the Izumo fudoki copy was Kansei 5th year (1793), 2nd month. See Harusame monogatari, ed. Maruyama, p. 41.

63. Pointed out by Takada in Akinari nempu, p. 261.

64. Ibid., p. 260.

65. See Tsuzurabumi, Part 2, Zenshū, I, 36; Machibumi, Ibun, pp. 223, 224; Yamagiri no ki山霧記, Ibun, pp. 287-314, N.B. p. 287.

66. Material at the Kaguwashi Jinja, quoted in Takada, Akinari nempu, pp. 218, 219. It is not definite that this visit was part of

the trip to Kusaka, but most likely so.

67. See Machibumi, Ibun, p. 222; also Akinari's letter to the Jippō-in, Ibun, p. 632.

68. Machibumi, Ibun, p. 222.

69. Ibid., pp. 222, 223; see also Fumihōgu, Zenshū, I, 202, 203.

70. See Natsuno no tsuyu shikigo 漢語, Ibun, p. 560; Akinari's postscript to Tsuyu wake goromo and Natsuno no tsuyu, Zenshū, I, 141; Ban Kōkei's postscript to the two manuscripts, quoted in Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 222; Machibumi, Ibun, p. 223.

71. See Machibumi, Ibun, pp. 223, 224.

72. Ibid., p. 224.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FINAL YEARS

After losing both his wife and his eyesight, one might expect Akinari to have become a helpless old man, but he was not really alone. At some previous time he and Koren had adopted a girl as their daughter, and this woman stayed in the house to assist him after his wife died.[1] Little is known about her, however. Her name is believed to have been Mineko峯子,[2] and she may have been the girl who accompanied them on their excursion to Sagano in the autumn of 1789,[3] but even these points are mere assumptions. Akinari did not get along well with her--the fact is implied, if not explicitly stated, in nearly every reference to her that he made--which suggests that the adoption had been Koren's idea and Akinari had simply acquiesced in the matter. The daughter is known to have taken religious vows, presumably after Koren's death, and she suffered from poor health, which apparently rendered her unable to give Akinari and the domestic tasks her undivided attention. It was probably for this reason that a second woman, an elderly nun from Osaka named Matsuyama Teikō松山貞光, joined their household.[4] It has been supposed that she had been a maidservant in Akinari's home when he was practising medicine,[5] but this too is pure conjecture, and she remains, indeed, just as obscure a person as the adopted daughter. Nevertheless, we do know that between them these two women took care of Akinari and provided him with a measure of companionship.

Yuishin remained a third woman in his life. Even though they continued to live far apart, they maintained close ties and enjoyed

one another's company. It was at her invitation that in 1798, towards the end of the fifth month, Akinari and his daughter set out for her home in Kawachi,[6] intending both to visit with her and to consult an eye specialist in Osaka.[7] Roan came to see them off, and they stopped by Kōkei's place to exchange parting verses on the way.[8] They must have passed through Osaka enroute to Yuishin's home, for Kimura Kenkadō recorded being visited by Akinari and his daughter on the twenty-eighth day of the fifth month that year,[9] and Akinari very likely made his first visit to the physician then. The first date he mentioned after reaching Kusaka-mura was 6th month, 12th day (though his account indicates that they had arrived some time before), and he apparently could see well enough to enjoy watching the moon that evening.[10] Just what kind of treatment he received is not known, but he did credit his physician with restoring a degree of vision to his left eye,[11] which had been sightless for the past eight years. Strangely, it was his right eye, which had failed only a month or so earlier, that proved beyond remedy. Still, the cure must have been less than perfect even in his left eye, for he continued to dictate much of his work to a scribe, and he stated repeatedly that his eyes were dim and of little use. Moreover, on the fourteenth day of the month, when he returned to Yuishin's hermitage to find her suffering from severe abdominal pains, he was in no condition to look after her. Rather he moved with his daughter, who was also ailing, to a nearby temple to be taken care of himself. He stayed there for a full month,[12] keeping busy conducting poetry competitions and associating with people in the district.

It is not clear when he returned to the capital. The poems with

which Roan and Kōkei had bidden him farewell suggest that he was planning on a lengthy absence, and Kenkadō's diary indicates that he was in Osaka for at least a week near the end of the ninth month.[13] Quite possibly he had stayed with Yuishin until then, and stopped over in Osaka on his way back to Kyoto. After his return he moved with Teikō and his daughter to a detached dwelling at the home of Hakura Nobuyoshi in Maruta-machi, near the Kamo River.[14] He went there, he said, because he was expecting to die.[15] In fact, he had almost eleven more years to live, but the feeling that his days were numbered seems to have roused him to an unprecedented level of literary activity. Despite his failing health and vision, the last decade of his life was the most productive of all for sheer volume of material. It included a number of short pieces of prose and poetry, but some very lengthy works of scholarship and fiction as well.

He also gave lessons on the classics to a young Kyoto aristocrat named Ōgimachi Sanjō Kiminori正親町三条公則.[16] The Ōgimachi Sanjō family had been involved in the so-called "Hōreki Incident" of 1758, when the Tokugawa bakufu had taken punitive action against members of the imperial court who had spoken to the emperor against the despotic rule of the shogunate. The head of the family had been dismissed from office, placed under house arrest, and subsequently ordered to take the tonsure. It was not until 1769 that his son, Kiminori's father, was allowed to hold a government position. Akinari's friendship with the family need not be taken as evidence that he himself opposed the Tokugawa hegemony, for the first record of his affiliation with them is the congratulatory verse that he sent on the occasion of Kiminori's

ceremonial initiation into manhood, in 1786.[17] Akinari appears to have seen Kiminori as a promising student who could carry on his teachings. He once recorded sending three boxes of his books to Kiminori, together with the verse:

Ima wa tada	Now there is only
Oinami yosuru	A crumbled shore, washed
Kuzuregishi	By the waves of old age,
Fumi todomeyo to	And you, asking me
Tanomu kimi kana.	To leave you my books.

He received ten ryō in gold in return.[18] He was finding it necessary to sell his personal book collection in order to make ends meet, but in this case the books seem to have been sent as a gift, and Kiminori's money more of a donation than a payment. There is no doubt that they were very close, but it was as though becoming Akinari's favored disciple was to invite personal disaster, for, in the manner of Oka Kunio, Kuwana Masanori, and Ikenaga Hatara before him, Kiminori died in the autumn of 1800 at the age of twenty-eight.

Early in the summer of 1800 Akinari commenced writing Nara no soma 楢の杣,[19] which he planned as a commentary on the entire Man'yō-shū, but he stopped well short of completion. Since he was writing it primarily for Kiminori, he had little inclination to continue after his student's death, but his immediate reason for suspending the task was that his vision and general health had deteriorated further. By autumn it had become necessary to go to Osaka for more treatment. Thinking it probable that he would never return, he took pains to put his personal affairs in order before leaving. He requested the abbot

of the Jippō-in Temple to hold appropriate rites at the proper times for his adoptive parents, his real mother, his wife, his mother-in-law, and for himself, if he should die on the journey. His depression when he wrote the letter is obvious. He told the abbot that he had no knowledge of his true father and little of his real mother, that he had been unfilial to his foster parents, losing his entire inheritance in a fire and spending the rest of his life aimlessly, until now he was separated from his old home and family, blind, and living off the charity of others. He had accomplished nothing of value, and had earned censure from the world for his useless writings, he said. He was ashamed of himself and wished to die, but kept on living. Thus he set out for Osaka, with instructions hung around his neck that his ashes, or at least word of his death, be sent to the Jippō-in.[20]

It is not clear whether his daughter accompanied him. Matsuyama Teikō had died the previous winter,[21] and with just the two of them in the house, relations between Akinari and his daughter had become even more strained. Indeed, not long after Teikō died, Akinari dreamed that she appeared to him with a message from his wife, whom she had met in the nether world, urging him to try to get along better with their daughter[22]--a clear indication that the problem was very much on his mind.

The purpose of his journey to Osaka was probably as much to pay final visits to certain friends as for improving his vision. He really was expecting to die, so he was anxious to be off without delay. Kiminori had been taken ill a week or two before, but Akinari left Kyoto anyway, about the middle of the eighth month, going first to

Yuishin's hut in Kusaka-mura. It was here that word reached him, on the sixth day of the ninth month, that Kiminori had died five days before. Having Yuishin act as his scribe, he sent his condolences to the family, expressing his own profound shock and grief, but he was not strong enough to return to the capital. Instead, he had someone carry him to a temple in Osaka, and offered prayers for Kiminori there.[23] Not long afterwards he went to Kashima-mura and stayed until sometime the following year.[24]

It may have been while he was at Kashima-mura that he had his first meeting with Ōta Nampo, which took place at the Jōganji 常元寺 Temple in Osaka. Nampo had been impressed by "a strange piece of writing" by Akinari--presumably Ugetsu monogatari--that he had read, so he made a point of meeting the author when his duties as a shogunate official took him to Osaka. The encounter went well. Each man was favorably impressed with the other, and though opportunities for subsequent meetings were few, it was nevertheless the beginning of a friendship.[25] Although Akinari later said bluntly that Nampo, despite his exalted reputation, was an inept writer of poetry, he had high praise for his kambun. Nampo, however, had no such reservations. He said that when it came to writing, Akinari had eight to of the nation's koku of talent (a to being the tenth part of a koku). The remark was made in jest, of course, but it shows Nampo's regard for Akinari's ability.[26]

Akinari appears to have been away from Kyoto and slow to be informed when Ozawa Roan died in mid-1801, for there is no record of his attending the funeral, and very little reference to Roan's death in his

writings. Very likely he was still at Kashima. There must have been some such reason, for he had had a long and genuine friendship with Roan, and owed him a debt of gratitude as well. Akinari had, of course, been writing waka for many years before coming to Kyoto, but they had not attracted much notice. After his arrival in the capital Roan had guided him as a superior and given him periodic instruction. His work was often included in waka collections by Roan's recognized disciples, showing that he was accepted as one of them. Roan believed that true waka poetry embodied the innate spirit of Japan, and therefore should not be forced to conform to conventions at the expense of spontaneity. According to his view, a poet should not consciously strive for any goal other than to express his thoughts simply and naturally in his own words. This was not unlike what Katō Umaki had preached, and Akinari had no trouble accepting it. Thus, unlike most of his contemporaries, he took no poet or poetic collection as his handbook, but sought to learn from all and incline towards none. Rules were to be a guide, he believed, not an unbreakable law. As we have seen, he had grown up thinking waka composition to be a courtly pursuit, but over the years his attitude became so changed that he was able to argue with strong conviction that a person's worth as a poet had nothing to do with his social status. It was the heart that was of critical importance. A man of good character could produce good poetry even though he might be of low birth or mean occupation.[27] Thus he concentrated on simplicity and freedom of expression, confident in his own ability. He studied the classics for what guidance they could offer, but refused to be tied down. His waka, as a result, are rich in variety.

Some do smack of the Man'yōshū or the Kokinshū, or of other collections, but many others defy classification.

Since he subscribed to no set of conventions, it is not surprising that he left no coherent discourse on poetic theory. His thoughts on the subject appear as random remarks scattered through his writings, which the reader must piece together for himself. Even so, Akinari stated plainly that he considered the source of Japanese poetry to be the Man'yōshū, and he advised all would-be poets to study it.[28] He shared Mabuchi's view that perfection in poetry was not something to be discovered, but to be rediscovered and emulated. To do this one should study the Man'yōshū and try to capture its essence in one's own poems. He considered waka a medium for expressing the thoughts and feelings of the heart, but he felt that excessive emphasis on poetic artistry had suppressed the expression of human emotions, which was the outstanding feature of the Man'yōshū. But while he condemned the Kyoto poets for failing to comprehend the Man'yōshū's spirit, he himself did not necessarily try to imitate its style. He saw the Man'yōshū much the same way as he saw the distant past. Neither was a thing to be restored in the present, but simply to be understood and learned from. Thus he sought to write poetry that incorporated the spirit of the Man'yōshū. This is why his style appears relatively straightforward and unadorned compared to most of the other poets of the day. He was opposed to lavish verbal embellishments, for he believed that the ancient poetry had been written in the vernacular and merely expressed what the people had felt in their hearts. To do more than this, he believed, was to cultivate artificiality. Thus in order to be good, a

verse had to be natural, not forced, and the poet himself must have a heart free from deceit. It was not necessary to memorize a lot of old waka before trying one's own hand at writing them. Rather, if one's heart was right, he would automatically produce poetry without effort.

It was partly his belief that there were few upright hearts around that made him think it useless to try and teach the techniques of poetry composition. In his view, literary ability was something one either had or did not have. If he had been born with the gift, a teacher was not really necessary; if he had not been born with it, no amount of teaching could give it to him. Roan once strongly urged him to take poetry students as a means of supplementing his meager income, but Akinari refused. To do so would be to make fools of those who were not talented by birth, he said. A person might be capable in some pursuits, but could never master those for which he was not gifted. He added that Roan offered no rebuttal, in his account of this incident.[29] His view that poetic talent was inborn, not acquired, was precisely what Umaki had told him years before.[30] It was useless to rely on a teacher, he believed. One could scarcely acquire half of his teacher's ability, and that teacher would have acquired only half of his own teacher's proficiency.[31] In addition to his conviction that any effort to teach a person how to write poetry was futile, he was unwilling to follow the example of many of the local teachers who, he felt, were plying their trade strictly for profit. Such was a prostitution of one's own talent, he believed. He was greatly pained by the commercialism in nearly all of the arts, as well as in scholarship, and he was loath to follow the crowd even if the alternative were pov-

erty.

Akinari must have been considered a good poet in his day. Roan would hardly have urged him to teach if he had thought otherwise, and the fact that forgeries of Akinari's calligraphy were being sold while he was still alive[32] may be seen as a further indication. Nor would the recognized masters in the capital have deigned to permit an unknown amateur to participate with them formally. In Kōjinshū ruidai 紅塵集類題, a collection of more than 2700 waka by poets of the Tokugawa period, published in 1812, Akinari ranks fifth among the thirty-seven poets represented in terms of number of verses included. He is surpassed by men like Kamo Mabuchi and Kada Azumamaro, but trailed by Keichū, Motoori Norinaga, Ban Kōkei, Katō Umaki, and Ozawa Roan, and others, and some outstanding poets are not even represented. This provides some idea of Akinari's popularity with the compiler, if nothing more.[33] But after Roan died, Akinari seems to have dropped out of waka circles and continued on his own, following his old preference for private study. It was hard to achieve lasting recognition as a poet unless one became a renowned teacher, but as we have seen, Akinari shunned this role, and none of the few men who could be called his students became sufficiently well-known to advertise his name. Nor did he belong to any particular school or make any real contribution to waka theory. Moreover, his poetry, like his fiction and his scholarship, has been overshadowed by Ugetsu monogatari. It is for reasons such as these that he has not been remembered as a poet since his death.[34]

He had been expecting to die ever since he moved to Nagara-mura

in 1787, but in 1801 he found himself still alive. He was now sixty-eight years old, and he saw this as a fulfillment of the prophecy given to his father many years before by the deity of the Kashima Inari Shrine. To express his gratitude he composed a series of sixty-eight waka and presented them to the priests.[35] But now he had exhausted his allotted life span, and no doubt felt that he was living on borrowed time.

Kimura Kenkadō's death early in 1802 continued the trend of Akinari's friends leaving him behind. Still, though their ranks were thinning, his old friends remained loyal, and he had made some new ones as well. These included Morikawa Chikusō 森川竹窓, a calligrapher from Osaka, and Shōdō 昇道 (d. 1811), a priest from the province of Bingo, a student of Murase Kōtei, and apparently of Akinari as well to some degree. It was at their instigation that a collection of Akinari's poetry and short prose works was prepared for publication. It was not Akinari's ideal to publish poetry in order to gain recognition. That, he believed, was best left for a poet's admirers to carry out after he was dead, much as he had done for Mabuchi and Umaki. Thus he had never attempted to edit his own numerous verses into a single collection. In 1802, as part of his preparations for death, Akinari had prepared his own grave under a plum tree at the Saifukuji, a subsidiary temple of the Nanzenji, and ordered a coffin to be made for him.[36] At the same time he had entrusted a basket (tsuzura 葛籠) containing a number of unpublished manuscripts to the head priest. Knowing of the existence of these writings, Shōdō, in collaboration with others, obtained them from the abbot and commenced editing them. According to Shōdō,

when Akinari became aware of what was going on he was most displeased and only reluctantly allowed the work to proceed.[37] Nevertheless, he must have cooperated to some degree, for a few writings that were not among those in the basket were included when the work was published. Because of the source of most of its material, the collection was given the title of Tsuzurabumi.[38]

In the summer of 1802 Takizawa Bakin visited the capital and tried without success to meet Akinari. Later he expressed high praise for Akinari's talent, but described him as a man who hated the world and did not mingle with people.[39] Other persons had much the same opinion, but Akinari did find time to associate with his small circle of friends. He went to Osaka with his daughter in mid-1803 and stayed in quarters near the Ōe 大江 Bridge,[40] which was not far from his old home in Dōjima. It was while he was there, on the twenty-fifth day of the sixth month, that his Osaka friends held a party to congratulate him on reaching the age of seventy. Ōta Nampo sent his good wishes from Edo for the occasion. About two weeks later, Akinari participated in a memorial service for Roan.[41] He went to Osaka again just over one year later, and became sick during the visit,[42] but he was well enough to enjoy a visit from Nampo, who was on his way to a new assignment in Nagasaki.[43] Nampo had called on him in Kyoto in the spring of 1802, but this was their first meeting in more than two years.[44] At this encounter Nampo was asked to supply a postscript for Tsuzurabumi, which was then being readied for the press. Shōdō may have been present and made the request himself, though Akinari's words are too ambiguous to be certain. Shōdō had already asked Murase Kōtei to write this post-

script, but Kōtei had kept on postponing the task, so Shōdō finally transferred his request to Nampo. Nampo agreed, and sent the promised postscript from Nagasaki after he had arrived there. Murase's failure to write the postscript may indicate that relations between him and Akinari were strained at the time. When they met in 1807 it was said to be for the first time in eleven years.[45] This would mean that in spite of the proximity of Murase's dwelling, Akinari had had no association with him during his second period of residence at the Chion-in, and indeed there is no record of any contact between them during the eleven-year period.

Shōdō's preface to Tsuzurabumi was dated Bunka Era, 1st year (1804), 3rd month; Nampo's postscript in mid-winter of the same year.[46] The first three scrolls were published in 1805; a new edition consisting of all six scrolls, but with a few changes in the first three, came out in the autumn of 1806.[47] For undetermined reasons, another edition, again with certain revisions, was issued the following spring.[48] Tsuzurabumi had been conceived as a collection of Akinari's poems, to be supplemented with a few prose writings, but in its final form it became an anthology of his poetry, zuihitsu, travel diaries, and fiction. The first two scrolls were devoted entirely to poetry, containing a total of 656 tanka and chōka on a wide range of topics. Many of them were composed for specific occasions, and have accompanying explanatory prose passages. The third scroll is taken up by Akinari's poetic account of his trip to Kinosaki in 1779, Akiyama no ki. The last three scrolls together include twenty zuihitsu items, four travel accounts, three short stories, and a congratulatory piece. Additional poems ap-

pear in most of these. To complete this assortment, Koren's Tsuyu wake goromo and Natsuno no tsuyu were appended. The publication of this collection has preserved many of Akinari's short works that might otherwise have been lost. At the time, however, it sold poorly, and the publisher suffered a severe loss.[49]

While Tsuzurabumi was being edited, Akinari had been writing Kinsa 金砂, which, with its brief afterword, Kinsa jōgen 判言, is by far his longest work. Kinsa itself bears no date, but Akinari claimed to have written it in the same year as Jōgen, which he completed in the first month of 1804.[50] He implied that he wrote it during a short period of concentrated effort, but even if he were in the best of health he could hardly have completed the whole of it in less than a month. Near the beginning of Kinsa he mentioned looking at the autumn scenery while writing,[51] from which we can assume that he began the work during the autumn of 1803, finished it shortly after the New Year, and then proceeded to Kinsa jōgen. Even so, it shows a remarkable surge of energy on Akinari's part. An interpretative collection of outstanding verses from the Man'yōshū, Kinsa proves beyond any doubt that Akinari was thoroughly acquainted with the whole collection, and marks the culmination of his classical scholarship. The poems in Kinsa are arranged under topical headings. For each division Akinari selected verses from throughout the Man'yōshū, transcribed them from Man'yōgana into contemporary script, included the name of the poet, and added his own critical comments. Kinsa jōgen complemented this selective work with a general consideration of the Man'yōshū as a whole.

It was probably about this time that he finished writing Machi-

bumi. "Stopped writing" might be a more accurate expression, for he had begun it at Nagara-mura in 1787, and added bits and pieces to it over the years. A miscellany, in some respects a literary diary, it is a catalogue of events that occurred while he was living in Nagara and Kyoto. It includes reflections in prose and poetry on the incidents mentioned, with some chronology. The contents are of an intensely personal nature, and for this reason it was never published. Akinari's expressions of self-pity and discouragement often show him in an unflattering light. Shōdō said in his preface to Tsuzurabumi that the editors had considered including Machibumi, but that Akinari was ashamed of it and had adamantly refused.

During the autumn of 1805 Akinari moved out of Hakura Nobuyoshi's establishment and took up temporary residence at the Saifukuji, which three years earlier he had decided upon as his burial place. He stayed there for about two hundred days, until spring of the following year,[52] when permanent quarters at the Nanzenji were ready for him. He had gone to Nobuyoshi's mansion expecting to die shortly, but, "Since I was not able to die," he wrote, "I again built a hut on the site of my Nanzenji hermitage of former times, and moved there in the spring of my seventy-third year."[53]

It would appear that his daughter was no longer with him at the time of this move. She is on record as serving as his scribe toward the end of 1803,[54] and as accompanying him and Nobuyoshi on a visit to the Shūgakuin Detached Palace about a year later,[55] but Akinari's next reference to her was to say that she had run away. This had apparently happened by the fourth month of 1805.[56] Akinari is known to have been

visiting Osaka at that time,[57] and it may well be that she took advantage of his absence to abscond. About this same time Akinari wrote a short story about an old man who lived with his daughter. In this tale the girl loses a shell of priceless value while her father is away. The old man is so grieved by the loss that he takes to his bed, but, after being comforted by his friends, he comes to accept the misfortune and forgives his daughter. This has been seen as an allegorical representation of the events underlying Akinari's own daughter's disappearance. The story is interpreted to mean that the girl was seduced while Akinari was away from home, and ran off with her lover. Akinari was at first very upset, but at length gave in to his friends' remonstrations and extended his foregiveness.[58] This is no more than speculation, but it does give a plausible explanation for the daughter's flight. Still, even though Akinari may have pardoned her misconduct, she was never again mentioned in his writings. One may search his works in vain for a complimentary reference to her, yet she stayed with him for at least seven years after his wife's death, so she must have had strong feelings of obligation, if not of love, toward him. As mentioned in Chapter IV, when Akinari went to visit the Kitano Kamo Shrine in the winter of 1801 he lost his way and arrived home late, convinced that a fox had bewitched him. In his accounts of this experience he noted that when he finally reached home it was to find his daughter standing by the roadside in the heavy rain, waiting for him.[59] This does indicate that she was concerned for his welfare, as does the fact that she often accompanied him on his travels in spite of her own poor health. But this regard did have its limits, and now she was gone.

Akinari appears to have become quite at ease after moving back to the Nanzenji. Dissatisfied with the world but recognizing his inability to create a better one, he had decided to stoically accept whatever happened, waiting patiently until death overtook him. Indeed, he wanted to die. His body was worn out, and all of his family members and most of his old friends were dead. Hosoai Hansei had died in 1803, and Ban Kōkei's death in 1806 depleted their number even further. His life was, in effect, over; it was a divine punishment, he believed, that he should continue to live, and he thought that he must be paying for some misdeed committed either in his present or in a previous incarnation.[60] "I can do nothing more," he wrote, "so I drink green tea and look forward to death."[61] He had achieved a kind of inner peace. The Ōsawa and Isogai families, who continued to assist him, remembered him as having a gentle disposition, but this must have been only relative, for a member of the Ōsawa family who was born nearly fifty years after Akinari died recalled being frightened as a child with the warning that Yosai-san would come and scold him if he misbehaved. Evidently he had not mellowed completely. Nor had he lost his sense of humor. Each night an elderly woman from the Isogai house would prepare a bath for him, and after he had bathed Akinari would invite her to make use of the water. She would often accept, but the edge of the tub was unusually high, and Akinari had many a laugh watching her efforts to climb in. Again, one hot summer day he was dozing inside his hut when his nap was disturbed by a stranger who introduced himself as the kyōka poet Shikatsube Magao 鹿都部眞顔 (1753-1829). A student of Ōta Nampo, he had probably come at Nampo's suggestion. But when Akinari

asked the purpose of his visit, the caller replied in extremely pompous language that he had taken the opportunity to come by while making a journey to various places celebrated in poetry. Piqued by his haughty demeanor, Akinari responded with a spontaneous verse, mercilessly mocking his visitor's name with puns that defy translation.

Shikatsube na	You who journey
Asa gamishimo no	In formal linen attire
Uta makura	Through places known in song,
Sonna magao wa	Ah, cease that solemn countenance
Maa yoshinasai.	And relax.

The traveller did no such thing, however, but promptly ran away.[62] Obviously Akinari's mind remained keenly alert. Nor was the condition of his body so bad that he was unable to make a journey over the mountains to Ōtsu in the autumn of 1806, where he stayed at the villa of an acquaintance and enjoyed watching the moon on Lake Biwa at night.[63] Also, he apparently assisted the priests at the Saifukuji with their record keeping, and perhaps with other miscellaneous tasks on occasion. The temple's principal function was to conduct funerals, and there are some entries in its death register that appear to be in Akinari's handwriting.[64]

He maintained good relations with a small but loyal circle of friends. Around 1804 he and Gekkei collaborated in producing Nenjū gyōji zukan 年中行事図巻, a series of fourteen sketches by Gekkei and twenty-five haiku by Akinari.[65] To celebrate his seventy-second birthday his Kyoto friends joined with him in composing waka on seventy-two topics that he had selected,[66] and when he went to Osaka not long af-

ter, he showed the results to his friends there, and they promptly tried their own hands at a similar effort, though this time in kambun.[67] Towards the end of 1805 Ōta Nampo called on him at the Saifukuji. He was guided there by Tamiya Yuzō, with whom Akinari had recently severed relations when questioned about his connection with Shodō kikimimi sekenzaru. It is not certain whether Tamiya was actually present at the meeting, but Nampo himself reported a cordial reception.[68] Nampo, who was one of the leading kyōka poets in Edo, may have been the inspiration behind Kaidō kyō utaawase 海道狂歌合, which Akinari wrote that same winter.[69]

But in spite of these friends and the companionship they provided, he felt lonely and out of place. He once said that he had found two friends in the capital, but none whom he really considered a kindred spirit,[70] and on another occasion that he had no intimate friends in any of the three main urban centers, and only three acquaintances--Ōta Nampo in Edo, Ozawa Roan and Murase Kōtei in Kyoto, and none in Osaka.[71] One may think it strange that he would accord such an honor to these three, for he had looked up to Roan as a senior, his acquaintance with Nampo was relatively new and their meetings were infrequent, and he had gone for eleven years without seeing Kōtei. But he explained that those whom he called "acquaintances" (the word he used was "chiki" 知己) were not people who trifled with literature, but who were able to understand it and exchange ideas about it. Such was his estimation of Roan, Kōtei, and Nampo, but he specifically denied that they were friends. Apparently he felt that for him there was no person worthy of the name. Still, he remembered those who were or had been close to

him, in spite of crushing poverty. Early in 1808, in preparation for memorial services for his wife and father, he wrote the short story, Seburui no okina den, and begged Yotsugi Makazu to buy it for a sum sufficient to provide flowers and incense.[72] A year and a half earlier he had offered commemorative verses before Umaki's grave on the thirtieth anniversary of his death.[73] On a happier note, when Nampo celebrated his sixtieth birthday in Edo in 1808, Akinari sent him 106 verses with the wish that he might live to be 106 years old.[74]

In 1806, as part of his attempt to put his affairs in order in preparation for death, he commenced writing Chaka suigen 茶瘕酔言. The title suggests that it was originally planned as a further commentary on tea, and Akinari and Murase Kōtei spoke of it as such at their 1807 meeting. But Akinari apparently changed his mind while writing, for he included a number of personal events and opinions, and the result, which was probably completed toward the end of 1807, was a miscellany.[75] The references to himself seem to be part of his attempt to show himself as he wanted to be remembered after death. It was this same desire that led him, in the autumn of 1807, to throw five bundles of his manuscripts down a well. He felt very much relieved after doing so, he said,[76] and he penned the lines,

Nagaki yume	Long-felt delusions
Mi-hatenu hodo ni	Shall never more disturb me,
Waga tama no	For my soul has gone
Furu i ni ochite	Cast into an ancient well--
Kokoro samushi mo.	And how cold my heart now grows.[77]

In Chaka suigen he noted that these included Kinsa,[78] but if this was

true then someone must have been waiting nearby to fish the papers out of the well as soon as Akinari's back was turned, for the work survives. It has been noted that the extant manuscripts of Kinsa and Nubatama no maki do look as though they had once been in the water.[79]

Sometime in 1807 he prepared Aki no kumo 秋の雲, a collection of his own poems, with his comments about them.[80] Earlier, he said in the preamble, he had compiled 360 of his verses in imitation of the Maigetsushū 毎月集 of Sone Yoshitada 曾根好忠, but since they had not been appreciated by those to whom he had shown them, he had decided to prepare this collection with his own comments, explanations, and criticism. The larger collection has been lost, but Aki no kumo appears to be a selection of poems from it that Akinari was especially pleased with.[81] As such, it may be seen as a guide to what he considered good poetry to be. This too may have been a deliberate step toward getting his affairs in order.

Another such step was the publication in 1808 of Fumihōgu, a collection of his letters and miscellaneous fragmentary writings.[82] It was said to have been published because Ōsawa Shunsaku 春朔 had secretly made copies of the materials, and had then entrusted them to Matsumoto Ryūsei 松本柳斎, a former disciple of Roan's, for editing. This is doubtful, however, for the explanatory notes contain information that could hardly have been obtained without Akinari's cooperation. Moreover, a manuscript copy of Fumihōgu in Akinari's handwriting is extant today. The contents range from letters that Akinari sent to Katō Umaki to some items written as late as 1807. Together they constitute a valuable source of biographical information.

Even more valuable for what it tells us about him is Tandai shō-shin roku. This collection of stray notes was probably a miscellany in the true sense of the word, added to from time to time over the years, though it is evident from the text that it was put into its final form in 1808. Written in a mixture of colloquial and literary language, it provides a good cross section of his opinions on such matters as history, scholarship, poetry, and contemporary society, along with considerable information about himself and his associates--including biting criticism of many who were supposed to be his friends. Its value as a source of information and the variety of its contents are both perhaps best illustrated by the number of times and assorted reasons for which it has been cited in this study. Another collection of notes about his life, untitled, but now known as Jiden, was also written in 1808. It may originally have been intended as part of Tandai.[83] He wrote a further collection of jottings, different versions of certain sections of Tandai, early in 1809.[84]

During the last years of his life--perhaps as much as the last decade--Akinari was working sporadically on his second major work of fiction, Harusame monogatari. It was read in manuscript form by a small number of admirers, but was not published until 1907, and then only partially. Not until after the Pacific War did the complete text become available in print.[85] It may indeed have been Akinari's intention that the work never be published, for its contents are not aimed at the general reader. A work of deep meaning, it is pervaded by a philosophical element, and covers a wide range of subjects, including historical events, literature and literary conventions, religion, ethics,

and social problems, and Akinari's views on them. An outstanding feature is its lack of form. The ten tales have no uniformity of length, the longest one being about twenty times the length of the shortest. Some of the stories are scarcely worthy of the name, being little more than collections of random thoughts or disjointed narrations of events. Even those which do qualify as tales suffer from imperfect organization and roughness of narrative. Of course some of this may be no more than evidence that Akinari was still revising Harusame when he died, but in any case, because of the unevenness of the collection, it is best appreciated by examining its component parts rather than the work as a whole.

Since the second tale is a continuation of the first, the two stories that begin the collection may be considered together. "Chi katabira" 血かたびら is set in the early Heian period. The emperor Heizei (774-824; r. 806-809) is the central character, and his gentle and upright nature the focal point of the story. Heizei is the embodiment of naoki kokoro 直き心, that mythical quality of the ancients that encompassed the virtues of purity and sincerity and total lack of deceit, leading them to do that which was right and proper as a matter of course. The tranquility of the realm is idyllically portrayed, but it soon becomes apparent that this is a facade. Heizei is a vanishing species, for the native Japanese virtues are being assailed by corrupting influences from China. In contrast to the simple and guileless Heizei stands his brother, the Crown Prince Kamino. Well versed in Buddhist and Confucian teachings, and continental manners and culture in general, he is talented and sagacious, and above all, ambitious.

Although supernatural manifestations portend disaster, Heizei proceeds with his plans to abdicate, and retires to the former capital of Nara. Here scheming courtiers, led by Fujiwara no Nakanari and his sister Kusuriko, conspire to persuade Heizei to rescind his abdication, rally support to his side, and declare Nara to be the imperial capital once again. Prince Kamino, now reigning as the emperor Saga (r. 809-823), hears of the plot and has Nakanari put to death. Kusuriko is placed in confinement, but stabs herself to death, unrepentent. The extent of her corruption and the depth of her resentment are made clear when the blood that has stained her clothing refuses to dry. Arrows cannot cause her robe to move, and swords shatter against it. Recognizing his own negligence in not being aware of the conspiracy, Heizei takes monastic vows.

"Amatsu otome" 天津乙女 continues the action of "Chi katabira," but it is just a collection of brief episodes, and does not succeed as a story. The efforts of Saga and his successors, Junna (r. 823-833) and Nimmyō (r. 833-850), to reproduce in Japan the splendor of China, with the further rise of continental influences, the increasing luxury and frivolity of the court, further plots against the throne, Buddhist influence on domestic politics, and the concomitant decline of the Japanese spirit are all portrayed, but the material is not clearly presented. The sentence structure lacks polish, and the events are isolated from one another, not following smoothly in logical sequence.

The didactic element overshadows the story in "Chi katabira," and overwhelms it in "Amatsu otome." In these two tales Akinari used literature as a podium from which to propound his view of history as a process

decay, not of progress. He saw the early Heian period as a time of upheaval in Japanese thought which had led to the corruption of the native spirit. Confucian and Buddhist teachings, with their promise of limitless rewards had, he believed, stimulated human desires, causing men to forget the simple virtues of the past and giving rise to power struggles even among members of the imperial family, who ought to have been above such things. Thus in "Chi katabira" it is continental learning that has corrupted Prince Kamatari and made him eager for authority. Heizei is portrayed as a good man, but anachronistic. His nature is better suited to the past, when ruler and subject alike possessed upright hearts, and the Japanese emperor could rule like the Taoist sage-king, through non-action. In his own day, Heizei's extreme simplicity appears not so much as a virtue as an unfortunate naivete, but Akinari's tone is not condemnatory. Rather he is lamenting for a bygone era. Retaining his own virtue while others are losing theirs, Heizei transcends the corruption around him with a kind of greatness--but though he transcends, he lacks the power to overcome, and therein lies the tragedy.

Akinari saw the decay that had begun in the Heian period as extending to his own time. His later writings, especially Tandai shō-shin roku, are filled with passages lamenting that things are no longer as they were in his youth. Everything had changed, and for the worse. Scholars had become lax, no longer rigorous in their pursuit of truth. Artists were no longer striving for excellence, but thought only of money. In former times courtesans had been good-hearted, wearing simple costumes with few adornments, and had been besieged by

wealthy patrons; now the courtesans had become scheming women with petty thieves for customers. Even the sumō champions of his old age were inferior to those of his youth, he felt, succeeding only through lack of competition. "In Shikoku," he once said, "it is badgers that possess people; in Kyushu, water imps. In Kyoto and Osaka it is courtesans, teachers, and tea masters who possess you and cause you grief. You cannot be at ease anywhere in this world."[86]

The third tale, "Kaizoku"海賊, takes as its setting Ki no Tsurayuki's voyage back to the capital after completing his term as governor of Tosa. In his Tosa nikki, Tsurayuki spoke repeatedly of the danger of pirates, though none were actually encountered, but in Akinari's version a pirate does overtake the ship and come aboard. His objective, however, is not to plunder but to criticize Tsurayuki and expound his own views on poetry, scholarship, and society. At this point the narrative gives way to an undisguised polemic that touches on the correct interpretation of the Man'yōshū title, whether the varieties of poetry can be classified or whether they are as numberless as the range of the human emotions they express, the doubtful propriety of including poetry about illicit love in the imperial anthologies, and other matters. Probably most readers will find this the least satisfying of the ten items. It begins quite well as a tale, but does not fulfill its promise. The story stops in midstream to end in a welter of disconnected scholarly arguments, most of them hair-splitting and pedantic, and not clearly presented. The story and the polemic stand apart from from each other. There is no fusion of the two, and neither is really successful.

After these first three attempts, however, Akinari managed to settle into the role of storyteller and yet retain that of moral apologist. The next two tales, while quietly didactic, remain stories from beginning to end. "Nise no en"二世の縁 is a satirical tale with a religious theme. A young farmer sits up reading late one night, and becomes aware of the sound of a bell ringing. Mystified, he searches for its source, finally determining that it comes from beneath a stone in a corner of his garden. Next morning, when his servants excavate the site, they unearth a coffin in which lies a man, old and shrivelled, his hair grown down past his knees, but alive. They realize that he is a priest in a state of zenjō禅定, a trancelike condition of suspended animation said to be achieved by certain devout followers of religious disciplines. They finally succeed in reviving him, but the words of inspiration they expect to hear are not forthcoming. The priest cannot even remember his own name, let alone his former life or the paradise he sought. As his condition improves, he exhibits an ordinary man's desire for food, including forbidden things such as fish. When he has recovered fully, he makes his living at the lowest sort of menial labor. He takes a wife, and proves to have a normal sexual appetite. He displays anger. His wife nags and henpecks him. Such is the man who had thought to attain spiritual greatness. He seems, if anything, even lower than the average man, as though his religious austerities have had a negative effect. With this example of the fruits of piety before them, the villagers lose their faith and turn away from religious activity, disregarding their priests' efforts to explain the situation.

Observers laughingly suggest that the priest has remained in the world in order to fulfill the saying, "Fūfu wa nise" 夫婦は二世, referring to the Buddhist teaching that the relationship of a married couple extends from this life into the next. The implication is that the man's new wife is a reincarnation of his former mate, but a pun is probably intended as well. The words, "Nise no en" may be interpreted to mean "fake destiny," as the Buddhist teachings on the relationship of cause and effect are made to look false. Still, one must avoid getting the impression that Akinari was simply anti-Buddhist, for it becomes clear in subsequent tales that this was not the case. It was not religion as such, but the hypocritical practice of religion for ostentatious display or personal gain that he was opposed to. He recognized that there were many among both clergy and laity who were motivated by selfish concerns, and he abhored that kind of piety, but true religious devotion, which led to personal peace of mind and rectitude of heart, remained his ideal.

"Me hitotsu no kami" 目ひとつの神 may remind readers of Ugetsu, for it has the strongest supernatural element of all the Harusame tales, but it is a light-hearted and amusing supernatural--the world of "Muō no rigyo" and "Hinpukuron." Aspiring to become an accomplished waka poet, a youth from Sagami, in the uncultured eastern part of the country, sets out for Kyoto to take instruction from the masters there. On the last night of his journey he lies down to sleep in a forest, in front of a small shrine. He is awakened by the arrival of a Shinto priest, an itinerant Buddhist mendicant, and two women (actually foxes in disguise), and a weird-looking deity with only one eye, who emerges

from the shrine to join them. Terrified, the youth pretends to be still asleep. A cask of wine is carried in by a monkey and a hare, and the group begins to drink. At length they call on the boy to join them. The situation is reminiscent of that on Mt. Kōya in "Bupposō," though these supernatural beings are a good-humored, harmless lot, and the sinister and terrifying atmosphere of that tale is totally missing. As the boy consumes wine with the group, the one-eyed god counsels him against going to study under the so-called masters of poetry in the capital. Such men are all imposters with no real ability, he says, and in any case, it is better to develop one's talents alone. He concedes that a teacher may be necessary to get started, but maintains that true poetry comes only from the heart and cannot be learned. The story concludes with the youth agreeing to accept this advice, and being whisked back to his home in Sagami by supernatural power. In this tale, the polemic element does not intrude into the story. It fits in smoothly, and is kept short enough to prevent it from overshadowing the action. The mood is light and entertaining throughout. Akinari was very successful in this attempt to tell a story and at the same time restate his oft-repeated views on poetic talent. It should not be overlooked that he himself was a one-eyed person when he wrote the tale.

In four of the last five stories, overt didacticism virtually disappears, and the emphasis shifts from scholarship to human interest, with stress on what Akinari considered virtues to be cultivated and vices to be avoided. "Shikubi no egao"死首の笑ひ, a tragic tale of romantic love, is based upon the same incident that Takebe

Ayatari had used as his source for Nishiyama monogatari. There are varying reports of the actual event, but the basic facts are that in 1767, in a village on the northern outskirts of Kyoto, a youth named Watanabe Unai, the son of the village headman, fell in love with Watanabe Yae, who lived in the neighboring house with her mother and two brothers. The families, though related by blood, were on bad terms, and the affair was carried on secretly until it became a matter for village gossip. The girl's mother had her elder son, Genta, try to arrange a marriage, but Unai's father refused the family's overtures and sent his son to the home of a relative. Finally, for reasons that are not clear, the mother sent her daughter, attired as a bride, to her lover's home, escorted by Genta. When the father ordered them away, Genta abruptly drew his sword and decapitated his sister on the spot.[87] Akinari had long been interested in the incident, and in 1806 he had been able to meet Watanabe Genta in person and hear his version of the affair. Following this encounter, Akinari wrote Masurao monogatari, in which he related the facts as Genta had explained them, and condemned Ayatari (for whom, it will be remembered, he had little regard) for his distortion of the truth in Nishiyama.[88]

Nevertheless, after setting the record straight, Akinari went ahead to adapt the events to suit his own purpose. Gosōji, as the father in "Shikubi" is called, is a very prosperous sake brewer, but the epitome of miserliness. His son, Gozō, is quite a different person, accomplished in the arts, refined in his behavior, and considerate of others. Nearby lives Mune, the daughter of a once-wealthy family, now forced to rely upon the meager wages of the son, Motosuke, to maintain

a state of genteel poverty. Gozō and Mune pledge themselves to each other, but Gosōji violently opposes a marriage with a girl from such a family, and forbids his son to visit her home. His wife is more sympathetic, but begs Gozō to obey, even so. Mune becomes genuinely ill with grief, and her mother summons Gozō in desperation. He goes and reaffirms his vow to Mune, whose condition thereupon shows a marked improvement, but then he must return home to face his father's wrath and his mother's pleas. He begs their forgiveness, and thereafter spends each day diligently working in the brewery, obeying his father's every command, but meanwhile Mune again starts to pine away. When she seems to be at the point of death, word is sent to Gozō. Going to her home, he tells her mother to send her to his house the next day as his bride. Together they celebrate the betrothal before he has to leave. Next morning, when Motosuke and his sister, dressed for her wedding, appear at his door, Gosōji is taken completely by surprise and orders them away. Gozō apparently has not spoken to his father. Now he attempts to leave his home and family, taking Mune with him, but Motosuke forestalls such action by drawing his sword and striking off his sister's head. Throughout the story he has presented an air of indifference, but at last this is revealed as stolid self-control, not insensitivity. He has killed his sister in order to spare her the disgrace of going into life as the wife of a disinherited son. He has felt deeply and acted in accordance with those feelings, and yet avoided any display of emotion. Although his is a capital crime, when justice is meted out he is let off with banishment because of his pure motives. He continues as a filial son, working to support his mother,

who accompanies him into exile. Gosōji's wealth and property are confiscated, and he and Gozō are likewise banished from the province. Unrepentent and greedy to the end, Gosōji disinherits his son and goes into exile vowing to become rich once more. Gozō himself becomes a priest.

Akinari left no doubt as to where his sympathies lay in this conflict between romantic love and filial duty, but Gozō's behavior is subject to differing interpretations. On the surface, he appears to be vacillating, first being led by love to pledge himself to Mune, then by duty to obey his parents, and lacking the determination to adhere strictly to either course. The tragedy may be seen to be the result of his indecision, and thus his entering the priesthood as an act of penance. But this is probably not what Akinari had in mind. More likely, considering his praise of Gozō's character, he wanted to portray him as striving to win his parents' approval for his love through exemplary conduct as a son. But this is nowhere explicitly stated, and the resulting ambiguity is the story's fundamental weakness. There is no such uncertainty as to his view of the other characters, however. Mune, who dies a martyr to her love, and Motosuke, who saves her from disgrace, both display the courage and uprightness of heart that Akinari so admired. Unable to wed the man of her choice, Mune seals her love for him with her death, and the smile that remains on her lifeless face symbolizes the victory of this pure love over the squalid world she has left. But, Akinari would appear to be saying, such purity has little place in the present day. One must leave the contemporary world if one is to be unsullied by it. The gap between the ideal

and the reality cannot be bridged any other way.

"Suteishimaru"捨石丸 also has its roots in fact, though much more loosely that "Shikubi." It was suggested by the construction of the Ao no Dōmon青の洞門 tunnel by the priest Zenkai禅海 in the mid-eighteenth century. Zenkai spent thirty years digging this tunnel in order to bypass a precipitous mountain route in what is now Shimoge-gun, Ōita-ken, over which many travellers had lost their lives.[89] Akinari's story begins in the far northeastern part of Honshu. Suteishimaru is the servant of a wealthy landowner. He is a large, exceedingly strong man, unrefined, naive and simple, uneducated, and relatively untouched by philosophies or religion--a natural man. The master, an inveterate tippler, often invites Suteishimaru to join him in his cups. During one such spree Suteishimaru, befuddled by drink, begins to struggle with his master, and thinking he has killed him, takes flight. When the master actually does die during the night, Suteishimaru is branded a murderer. The master's son, Kodenji, is ordered by the local magistrate and the provincial governor to go and bring back the supposed killer's head, or have the property to which he is heir confiscated. Kodenji is neither physically strong nor skilled in the use of weapons, but he spends the next two years assiduously training under a master of the martial arts, and then sets off on his mission of revenge.

Meanwhile, Suteishimaru makes his way to Edo where, after spending some time as a sumō wrestler, he enters the service of a certain daimyo and goes to the domain in Kyushu. At length his habit of drinking to excess produces abscesses in his legs which render him a cripple. Now he begins to reflect on his past life, and is struck with remorse

at having killed his former master. To atone for his crime he vows to spend the rest of his life digging a tunnel through the nearby mountain, making a route that is safe for travellers. Thus when Kodenji, after three years of searching, at last tracks him down, it is to find him engaged in this labor. Touched by his virtue, Kodenji loses all desire for revenge, but stays to help dig the tunnel. Together they work on, and complete the task shortly before Suteishimaru dies. Akinari was not the only person to write a fictionalized version of Zenkai's labor,[90] but while others concentrated on the avenger's change of heart, he placed the emphasis on Suteishimaru's spiritual growth, which changes him from a natural man to a saint. He saw the simple, unsophisticated Suteishimaru as the clay from which a Buddha may be fashioned. It is the same theme that he developed more fully in "Hankai"樊噲, the final story in the collection.

Miyagi, the heroine of "Miyagi ga tsuka"宮木が塚, evokes memories of the Miyagi of "Asaji ga yado" and Fujino of Seken tekake katagi--the gentle, pure, self-sacrificing, and above all faithful woman whose virtue transcends the worldly corruption around her. Miyagi is the daughter of an imperial councilor who dies, leaving her and her mother and a servant of the family in desperate poverty. Through the machinations of the servant, Miyagi is sold to a brothel. Though hating the life she must now lead, Miyagi dutifully accepts her fate for her mother's sake. Soon she becomes a celebrated beauty, beloved of Jūtabei, a wealthy and refined young man who determines to ransom her and make her his own. But Miyagi is also coveted by Fujidayū, a man of considerable authority. He has Jūtabei killed, then courts Miyagi,

who, unaware of his responsibility for her lover's death, finally yields to him. Then, to her dismay, she learns the truth. Just at that time, it happens, the priest Hōnen, known as the founder of the Jōdo sect of Buddhism, is about to depart from the capital to go into exile in Shikoku. Hearing that his boat is to pass her way, Miyagi arranges to have herself taken out into the middle of the river to meet him. As the priest's boat draws near she calls out to him, asking what a person like herself must do to obtain salvation. Then and there Hōnen teaches her the efficacy of the nembutsu, whereupon Miyagi, chanting this invocation to Amida Buddha, casts herself into the river and drowns.

Akinari's tale of Miyagi was based on an episode that was said to have been true. The grave of the real Miyagi was located at Kanzaki, just across the river from Akinari's dwelling at Kashima-mura, where he had first heard her story more than thirty years before. The tale closes with an account of his visit to her grave and with the nagauta he had composed in her memory. His lingering affection for the area is apparent in this postscript, but more important is his view of Miyagi herself. He portrayed her as a strong, intelligent, faithful, and pure woman whose spirit remains unsullied by what her body is compelled to do. She was only the latest manifestation of this kind of woman in his writings, showing that Akinari retained her as his ideal all his life.

The polemic element revives briefly in "Uta no homare" 歌のほまれ. This tale is no more than a short discourse; Akinari did not even attempt to tell a story. Rather he presented four waka from the Man'yō-

shū, each of which describes cranes crying out as they fly over the sea. The wording in all four poems is similar. This fact is not due to plagiarism, says Akinari, for the upright men of old would never have stooped to pirate another's work. In former times, he maintains, since people were not burdened with restraining conventions, they simply expressed in poetry what they perceived with their senses. The result was a brand of verse independent of theory and rules, which came directly from the heart of man. Since two upright hearts would see the same thing in the same way, it was only to be expected that they would describe it in similar terms. Thus, he argues, the four poems were composed independent of one another, and their common expressions are a reflection of the spirit of ancient times.

Finally there is "Hankai." It is the story of a rough, ignorant, wild, and impulsive young man who fears neither gods nor men and makes no distinction between good and evil, relying on his own near-superhuman strength to surmount all difficulties. He is very similar to Suteishimaru. His character becomes apparent right at the beginning of the tale when, challenged to pay a nocturnal visit to the shrine of a ferocious deity, he goes with no hesitation. He is punished for his sacrilege and returns home chastened and subdued, but the lesson does not last. Greed leads him to steal from his family and murder his father and brother, and he must flee. Akinari uses this flight to take his hero on a journey to enlightenment--an odyssey whereby he comes to recognize the limits of his strength, to discern right from wrong, and at last to change from a scoundrel into a saint.

As Hankai begins his journey he is much the same as he has always

been, living by his own means, removing obstacles by brute force. In Hakata and Nagasaki he makes his way by gambling; in Shikoku he joins a band of robbers. Gradually, however, it becomes apparent that his character is not all bad. He saves a family from being deceived by a dishonest merchant, for example. During the winter he cultivates his own musical talent. After robbing the treasury of a wealthy man, he handsomely rewards his friend who had once saved his life. And in Edo he risks his own life in genuine concern for the welfare of his two comrades. The action moves rapidly from one place to the next. One may feel, with some justification, that Akinari was manipulating his character, not always logically, in order to give him the experiences prerequisite to his conversion. The tale does tend to be episodic, but the grand tour of Japan on which the reader is taken is engrossing in itself.

There are two key episodes in Hankai's transformation. The first takes place in the dilapidated temple, where for the first time in his life he is soundly beaten in a fight--and by a most unlikely opponent--and comes to realize that he is not invincible. The second occurs on the Nasuno Plain where, impressed by the virtue of a priest he has robbed, he experiences an abrupt but lasting change of heart. No details of his subsequent life are given, but when we next see him it is as the abbot of a Zen temple in northeastern Honshu, at the point of death.

Akinari's final comment on the action: "All who rule their passions have the Buddha nature; all who set them free are monsters,"[91] sums up the theme of "Hankai." It is well to note that Hankai, like

Suteishimaru, reforms not through the preaching of others, but through himself. His salvation is not something acquired, but simply the result of his own innate goodness coming to the fore; it comes not so much through religious or philosophical teachings as through cultivation of qualities already in him. This is not to say that Akinari rejected such teachings. He recognized their value, and they do prove helpful to Hankai in his quest for enlightenment. Akinari himself was affiliated with religious institutions throughout his life. As we have seen, it was the misuse of religion, not religion as such, that he was against. He had no sympathy for those who self-consciously strove for salvation as personal gain, or who sought for magical formulas which would produce salvation without effort on their own part. In sum, he believed that in ancient times people had been good by nature. By his own day, this human nature had become corrupt. It was not possible to go back to the past, but one could, nevertheless, incorporate the spirit of former times into oneself. The virtues of old Japan had not vanished, they had merely become tarnished. A man could still discover this ideal nature within himself and nourish it to fruition. But there were no shortcuts; to rely on them was to shirk responsibility. It was only through simple living, shunning of worldly matters, upright conduct, and strict self-mastery that one could obtain peace within his own mind and in the world. Such was Akinari's conviction, and if one looks for a common theme running through the diversities of Harusame monogatari, this must be it. Indeed, it runs through much of his other writing as well.

It is not always the work into which a writer puts his greatest

effort that wins the most favor. Harusame is a good example. The complete text has only recently become available, so it has not as yet been fully evaluated, but on the whole, though recognized as an important work, it has suffered from the natural tendency to compare it with Ugetsu. It is true that the style of Harusame is relatively straightforward, with little artistic embellishment, and its structure and organization are lacking in polish, and reading it is a far cry from the aesthetic experience that reading Ugetsu is. In part this may simply be a reflection of the fact that Akinari was in poor health when he wrote it, and the likelihood that he died before he was satisfied with it, but his intentions when he wrote the two works were not the same. Ugetsu was conceived and executed as a work of pure literature; Harusame more as a summary of what Akinari considered the truth to be. When writing the latter, he saw his role as one of informing his readers more than pleasing them. This was relative, of course. Some of the Harusame tales are first-rate examples of the storyteller's craft, and Akinari's opinions are propounded to some degree in all of the Ugetsu pieces. But even in the Ugetsu tales which are openly didactic, Akinari paid such attention to the artistic elements that they remain primarily literature, and only secondarily intellectual discourses. The essential difference between Ugetsu and Harusame is that in the former work the scholarly and literary qualities are fused and digested; in the latter they tend to be separate. Harusame is clearly unequal to Ugetsu as a work of literature, but such a comparison is neither fair nor, in the end, possible, for they are not really specimens of the same kind of writing.

In 1808, the same year that Harusame monogatari and Tandai shō-shin roku were completed, Akinari declared that he had cast his writing brush away.[92] In 1809 he did, as mentioned earlier, revise some of his entries in Tandai, and he apparently wrote a new draft of Harusame as well, but his statement was probably an accurate reflection of his state of mind, nevertheless. Tandai and Harusame together amounted to a summation of what he wanted to leave behind. As such, "All who rule their passions have the Buddha nature; all who set them free are monsters," may be seen as not only his final comment on "Hankai," but as his final comment on life. He now felt that his work was finished. There was little more to say, and he was almost totally blind and his general health was failing rapidly.

He was well enough to make the journey to Osaka toward the end of 1808 to observe his father's fiftieth death anniversary,[93] but he had little time remaining. Sometime in 1809, probably sensing that the end was truly near, he left his Nanzenji dwelling to live once again at the home of Hakura Nobuyoshi. It was there that, August 8, 1809, (Bunka Era, 6th year, 6th month, 27th day), the death he had so long awaited claimed him at last. His grave may still be seen today, standing by itself in honored isolation in the garden of the Saifukuji Temple, marked by a stone monument that his surviving friends erected on the thirteenth anniversary of his death.[94]

Akinari was already an acclaimed author before his death. Both Ōta Nampo and Takizawa Bakin had given him high praise, and the contining popularity of Ugetsu and Sekenzaru, and the posthumous publication

of some of his other works, attests to the regard in which he was held. The Meiji Restoration brought in its wake a general preoccupation with things Western, and a corresponding indifference to traditional Japanese culture. Akinari's popularity suffered accordingly, but by the last decade of the century the pendulum was swinging back. Akinari again became a subject for appreciation and, for the first time, scholarly research. Critical articles about him began to appear in academic journals. The general unavailability of any works except Ugetsu was an impediment to research, but the publication of Ueda Akinari zenshū in 1918 and Akinari ibun, which included the first real biography of Akinari, in 1919, removed this obstacle and sparked a flurry of interest. Nevertheless, as late as 1941 a man was able to purchase a manuscript copy of the long-lost and much-sought-after Harusame monogatari in a second-hand bookstore for a mere twenty sen.[95] And there is the apocryphal story of the researcher who, searching for the Kaguwashi Jinja, went to a nearby elementary school to ask directions, and upon saying that he was seeking information on Ueda Akinari, was promptly asked the student's school year and class number.[96]

Since the end of the Pacific War, study of Akinari has flourished. Some of the stimulus, in both Japan and the West, may be credited to Mizoguchi Kenji's film, Ugetsu monogatari, based on the tales "Asaji ga yado" and "Jasei no in," which won the grand prize at the Venice Film Festival and remains an international classic to this day. The discovery of the complete text of Harusame, and its publication in 1951, made possible more extensive scholarship on that work, which has led to a more complete appreciation of Akinari's talents. It may be

in part the emphasis on scholarship and waka verse in Harusame that has sent some researchers delving into Akinari's role as a kokugakusha and poet. Much remains to be done, especially in these latter areas, but the trend shows every sign of continuing, and is gradually rounding out the general view of the man who was once known almost exclusively as a writer of supernatural fiction. In the West, Akinari has attracted attention ever since Lafcadio Hearn retold "Kikuka no chigiri" and "Muō no rigyo" in his A Japanese Miscellany in 1905. English translations of individual Ugetsu tales have been appearing since 1927, and two complete versions have come out in the 1970's. Ugetsu has also recently appeared in French, Hungarian, Polish, Spanish, and Czech. A complete English translation of Harusame as well has recently come off the press.[97]

Study of Akinari's works is rewarding not just for its own sake, but for the debt that other Japanese writers owe him. Tanizaki Junichirō, Ishikawa Jun, Mishima Yukio, Satō Haruo, Kawabata Yasunari, Kōda Rohan, Izumi Kyōka, Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, Dazai Osamu, Ibuse Masuji, and Enchi Fumiko have all acknowledged such a debt. Today Akinari's place in the literature of Japan is secure. Interest in him is, if anything, growing. It is as though there is something in our age of rational skepticism and scientific technology that sends people back to the haunting imagery, absorbing fantasy, and pursuit of traditional beauty to be found in his works. Likewise, in our world of confusion with the breakdown of long-cherished social and moral attitudes, one may find in the study of Akinari's life a man who did not seek to ingratiate himself with the world, but strove, sometimes unsuccessfully

but without ceasing, to live according to his own principles and beliefs.

NOTES

1. See Machibumi, Ibun, p. 224.

2. An interpretation of the passage preceded by the words, "Onna [or perhaps musume] no moto e kotau"女のもとへこたふ, in Fumihōgu, Zenshū, I, 216, 217.

3. Suggested by Takada in Akinari nempu, p. 165.

4. See Yomotsubumi, Zenshū, I, 132, 133.

5. Takada, Akinari nempu, pp. 223, 244.

6. The events of this excursion are described in Akinari's Yamagiri no ki, Ibun, pp. 287-314; for the date, see p. 314. See also Amakawazu 雨かはづ, Zenshū, I, 109-112.

7. See Machibumi, Ibun, p. 224.

8. See Yamagiri no ki, Ibun, pp. 289, 290.

9. Kenkadō nikki, p. 416.

10. See Yamagiri no ki, Ibun, p. 288.

11. Jizō hakogaki, Ibun, p. 499.

12. See Yamagiri no ki, Ibun, pp. 290, 291, 314.

13. Kenkadō nikki, pp. 424, 425.

14. It must have been then that he took up residence at Nobuyoshi's home, as in 1803, 11th month, he said that he had been there for six years. See San'yo三余 , Zenshū, I, 131, 132. In any case, he was definitely at Nobuyoshi's place by the third month of the following year. See Mitake sōji, Zenshū, I, 71, 80.

15. Tandai, no. 69, NKBT, LVI, 295.

16. See Machibumi, Ibun, p. 235. The time when their association began cannot be firmly established, but Kiminori's death in 1800 provides an upper limit.

17. From a manuscript in the Tenri Library, quoted in Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 134.

18. See Tandai, no. 98, NKBT, LVI, 310; Machibumi, Ibun, p. 238.

19. The introductory portion of Nara no soma is included in Ibun, pp. 597-625; for the date of writing, see p. 625.

20. Letter to the abbot of the Jippō-in, Ibun, pp. 631-633.

21. See Yomotsubumi, Zenshū, I, 132.

22. Ibid., p. 134.

23. See Machibumi, Ibun, p. 236; Fumihōgu, Zenshū, I, 205-207.

24. Presumed because the Kaguwashi Jinja preserves verses written by Akinari which give his age as sixty-seven and sixty-eight, indicating that he visited the shrine in both 1800 and 1801. Since we know that he was in the area during the latter part of 1800, not healthy enough to travel extensively, and considering his close ties with the Fuji family, it is logical that these verses were written on a single prolonged visit. See Noma Kōshin, "Kashima insei jidai no Akinari," Kamigata, 68 (Aug. 1936), 2-10.

This excursion in 1800 was his last visit to Yuishin of which there is any record. His only known reference to her after this was in Mizu yari hana 水やり花, written in 1802 after the heavy rains and disastrous floods of that year. He said that he had been told Yuishin had gone to Osaka shortly before the calamity, and that she had not returned by the time he commenced writing. See Takada, Akinari nempu, pp. 281, 282.

25. For Nampo's account of this meeting, see his Chōyashitsu no ki 長夜室記, in Tsuzurabumi, Zenshū, I, 124; for the year, see Nampo's postscript to Tsuzurabumi, p. 142. In his diary, Ashi no wakaba 葦の若葉, Nampo spoke of a poetry session held at the Jōganji on the sixteenth day of the sixth month, though he did not mention Akinari by name. The passage is quoted in Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 265. For Akinari's account of their meeting, see Tandai, no. 108, NKBT, LVI, 315, 316.

26. Tandai, no. 108, NKBT, LVI, 316; see note 12 on the source of Nampo's statement.

27. Ibid., no. 10, pp. 256, 257.

28. Nara no soma, Ibun, p. 597.

29. Tandai, no. 2, NKBT, LVI, 251.

30. See Umaki's letter to Akinari in Fumihōgu, Zenshū, I, 193.

31. Tandai, no. 51, NKBT, LVI, 285.

32. Ibid., no. 94, p. 308.

33. See Asano, Akinari zenkashū, pp. 524-527.

34. See Tsujimori, Ueda Akinari no shōgai, pp. 129, 130.

35. Kashima Inari Sha ken'ei waka, Zenshū, I, 150-155. The collection is dated Kyōwa Era, 1st year (1801), 9th month. Since it is not certain when he returned to Kyoto, he may still have been visiting at the shrine when he wrote these poems.

36. See Kōbai 紅梅, Zenshū, I, 122-124; Ōta Nampo, Chōyashitsu no ki, Zenshū, I, 124. See also a letter, apparently from Akinari, to Morikawa Chikusō, quoted in Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 275.

37. See Shōdō's preface to Tsuzurabumi, Zenshū, I, 3,4.

38. Tsuzurabumi, Zenshū, I, 1-142.

39. Takizawa Bakin, Kiryo manroku 羇旅漫錄, quoted in Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 283.

40. See Akinari, Makura no nagare 枕の流, Zenshū, I, 129-131.

41. See Akinari, Akikaze no hen 秋風の篇, Ibun, pp. 625, 626. For a list of the participants and the poems that each one contributed, see Takada, Akinari nempu, pp. 290, 291.

42. See Fumihōgu, Zenshū, I, 225. The date is not included in the published version, but it does appear on the original manuscript copy, according to Takada in Akinari nempu, p. 30.

43. For Akinari's account of this meeting, see Tandai, no. 108, NKBT, LVI, 316. Nampo stayed in Osaka from the tenth to the eighteenth of the eighth month of that year. See Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 301.

44. Nampo, Mizunoe inu kikō 壬戌紀行, quoted in Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 276.

45. Tanomura Chikuden, Toseki sasaroku, quoted in Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 326.

46. Nampo's postscript appears in Zenshū, I, 142. Actually it was written quite early in the winter, as we see from Nampo's letter to Akinari in Iwahashi Koyata, "Ueda no hitsuji" 上田のひつじ, KZ, 33, No. 6 (June 1927), 29-48, N.B. p. 31.

47. See Maruyama Sueo, "Akinari no haikai to waka," KKK, 265 (June 1958), 12-19, N.B. p. 16; Takada, Akinari nempu, pp. 314, 321. It is the 1806 version that is included in Ueda Akinari zenshū.

48. See Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 328.

49. See Jiden, Ibun, p. 256.

50. Kinsa, Zenshū, II, 21-216; Kinsa jōgen, Zenshū, II, 217-234. For Jōgen's date of completion, see p. 234; for Akinari's statement that he had written Kinsa that same year, p. 226.

51. Kinsa, Zenshū, II, 40.

52. See Yamamura gantan 山村元旦, Ibun, pp. 451, 452; Fumihōgu, Zenshū, I, 213, 215. Zenshū, p. 213 gives 1806 as the date of moving to the Saifukuji, but it is clear from the other sources that this was a slip of the pen.

53. Tandai, nō. 69, NKBT, LVI, 295.

54. See San'yo, Zenshū, I, 132.

55. See Akinari, Saikei Hakoya no yama 再訪箱矧山, Ibun, pp. 384-388. For the date of the visit, see p. 384; for his daughter's presence, p. 387.

56. According to a passage in the manuscript copy of Fumihōgu, not included in the published version. See Takada, "'Akinari nempu' hoi," pp. 110, 111.

57. See Akinari, Tsuigi kagetsurei 追擬花月令, Ibun, pp. 175-189, N.B. 175.

58. For the original story, see Fujii Otoo, "Akinari itsubun" 秋成佚文, Kokubungaku kō 国文学攷, 1, No. 2 (April 1935); for comments, Nakamura Yukihiko, "Akinari den no mondaiten," KKK, 265 (June 1958),

7-11, N.B. 10, 11, and Takada, Akinari nempu, pp. 310, 311.

59. See Kitano Kamo ni mōzuru ki, Ibun, p. 373; Tandai, no. 29, NKBT, LVI, 271.

60. See Shichi-jū-ni kō 七十二候, Ibun, pp. 125-174, N.B. p. 125.

61. Tandai, no. 69, NKBT, LVI, 295.

62. These anecdotes are related in Iwahashi Koyata, "Zuiryūsan ka no Ueda Akinari," Wakatake, 13, No. 3 (March 1920), 5-10; No. 5 (May 1920), 7-13.

63. Akinari, Donkodō no ki 吞湖堂記, Ibun, pp. 487-491. On p. 491 his age is given as seventy-three, and the time is specified as mid-autumn in the text.

64. See Asano, "Akinari den ni okeru ni, san no mondaiten," pp. 50, 51. These entries were made during the early months of 1807. Considering the Saifukuji's proximity to the Nanzenji, there is no reason to accept Asano's contention that Akinari was actually residing at the Saifukuji at that time.

65. See Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 306.

66. Shichi-jū-ni kō, Ibun, pp. 125-174.

67. Tsuigi kagetsurei, Ibun, pp. 175-189.

68. Their meeting took place on the fifth day of the eleventh month. See Nampo, Koharu kikō 小春紀行, in Ōta Shokusanjin zenshū, I,

252.

69. Kaidō kyō utaawase, Ibun, pp. 335-344. For the date of composition, see the note on the manuscript copy, quoted in Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 316.

70. Machibumi, Ibun, p. 213.

71. Tandai, nos. 108, 139, NKBT, LVI, 315, 343, 344.

72. See Akinari's request to Yotsugi (here called Kyozentei 居然亭), appended to the tale in Ibun, pp. 399, 400.

73. According to manuscripts in the Tenri Library, quoted in Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 323.

74. See Tandai, no. 108, NKBT, LVI, 317.

75. There are two extant Chaka suigen manuscripts. One, in Akinari's own hand, contains sixty-six sections; the other, written by a scribe, only fifty-six. Forty of the sections are common to both manuscripts, but even most of those have their differences. Both versions are reproduced, with introductory comments, in Nakamura, Kinsei sakka kenkyū, pp. 219-249.

76. Tandai, no. 98, NKBT, LVI, 310.

77. Fumihōgu, Zenshū, I, 227; trans. Zolbrod, Ugetsu, p. 28.

78. See Nakamura, Kinsei sakka kenkyū, p. 247.

79. Fujii, "Ueda Akinari den," Ibun, p. 48.

80. Aki no kumo, Zenshū, I, 157-164. On p. 164 he gives his age as seventy-four at the time of writing.

81. On the larger collection, see Asano, Akinari zenkashū, pp. 477-509.

82. Publication data in Zenshū I, 228. For the official version of its compilation, see pp. 191, 228.

83. Presumed by Fujii Otoo, who gave the manuscript its title. See his preface to Ibun, p. 5. The date of its composition is inferred from Akinari's statement that he was seventy-five at the time. See Ibun, p. 256.

84. This was Ihon Tandai shōshin roku, NKBT, LVI, 370-377. See p. 377 for his statement that he was seventy-six when he wrote it.

85. For an account of the various Harusame manuscripts, and their discovery and publication, see Barry Shelton Jackman, The Harusame Monogatari of Ueda Akinari (1734-1809), Ph.D. Thesis, Columbia University, 1973, pp. 14-19.

86. Tandai, no. 35, NKBT, LVI, 276. See also nos. 54, 55, 70, 138, pp. 287, 295, 341-343.

87. Readers who are interested in the actual incident should consult Asano Sampei, "Genta sodō to Ayatari, Akinari"源太騒動と綾足、秋成 (1962), in Akinari, ed. Nihon Bungaku Kenkyū Shiryō Kankōkai, pp. 231-

246.

88. "Masurao monogatari" was, in fact, the name given to this work by Fujii Otoo when compiling Akinari ibun. Akinari's own manuscript was untitled.

89. See Dai Nihon hyakka jiten, I, 69.

90. "Onshū no kanata ni"恩讐の彼方に by Kikuchi Kan菊池寛 is the best-known work of fiction based on this episode, but Akinari's "Suteishimaru" was unknown at the time it was written, and so could not have had any influence. For comparative notes on the two tales, see Morita Kirō, Ueda Akinari (Tokyo: Kinokuniya Shoten, 1970), pp. 189, 190; Jackman, Harusame, pp. 123-125.

91. NKBT, LVI, 247.

92. Jiden, Ibun, p. 256.

93. Letter to a Mr. Kin'ya金谷氏, quoted in Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 344.

94. See Takada, Akinari nempu, p. 348.

95. Reported in Nihon Dokusho Shimbun日本読書新聞, Aug. 30, 1950, p. 4. Although the copyist had purposely omitted "Suteishimaru" and "Hankai," this was the most complete version of Harusame to be discovered up to that time. Edited by the finder, Urushiyama Matashirō, it was published as Urushiyama bon Harusame monogatari by Iwanami Bunko in 1950.

96. Related by Shigetomo Ki in "Akinari no iseki" 秋成の遺跡, in Akinari no kenkyū, pp. 520-523.

97. Tales of the Spring Rain, trans. Barry Shelton Jackman (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1975). For a good summary of scholarship on Akinari in both Japan and the West, see Zolbrod, Ugetsu, pp. 77-82.

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