

The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter: A Study in Contextualization

An Annotated Translation and Critical Examination of the *Taketori Monogatari*
with Special Attention to Tanaka Ōhide's *Taketori Monogatari Kai* Commentary

by Maiko R. Behr

B.A. Swarthmore College, 1993

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF

THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

(Department of Asian Studies)

We accept this as conforming to the required standard

University of British Columbia

April, 1998

© Maiko R. Behr 1998

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the head of my department or by his or her representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Department of Asian Studies

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada

Date 29 April, 1998

ABSTRACT

Inspired by Joshua Mostow's recent work in reception history and the historicized translation of classical Japanese literature, this thesis focuses on a translation of the tenth century *Taketori Monogatari*, or *Tale of the Bamboo Cutter*. In contrast to previous English-language translations of the *Taketori Monogatari*, the present work offers a reading of the tale as it was understood at a particular historical moment, in the commentary of Tanaka Ōhide, an early nineteenth century National Learning scholar.

The first chapter of the thesis examines the historical reception of the *Taketori Monogatari* and its place among other Heian period narratives, showing that the tale was neglected by scholars for a considerable period between its mention in the *Tale of Genji* in the eleventh century and the appearance of the first written commentaries on the tale at the end of the eighteenth century. Chapter Two discusses the actual process of translation and the sources for variant interpretation in such a text, revealing the potential for a complexity of meaning that is denied by translations claiming to present a single "correct" version of the tale. The third chapter then contextualizes the particular commentary used as the basis for this translation. Here, a study of the author's education and training as a National Learning scholar serves to clarify further the motivations behind his interpretation. This also discloses the historical significance of his interpretation to the study of the *Taketori Monogatari* through an analysis of its role in canon-formation.

Chapter Four consists of a summary translation of the introductory sections of Tanaka Ōhide's commentary, the *Taketori no Okina no Monogatari Kai*, including his personal analysis of textual issues, as well as longer passages cited from related sources, both Japanese and Chinese. The final chapter constitutes the body of my translation of the *Taketori Monogatari*, with extensive endnotes indicating problematic portions of the text and citing alternative interpretations proposed by other scholars.

It is the overall aim of this thesis to emphasize the fluid and evolving nature of the literary text resulting from the various contexts in which it is read.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	ii
Table of Contents	iii
Acknowledgement	iv
Note On Transliteration and Use of Japanese Sources	v
Introduction	1
Chapter I. The <i>Taketori Monogatari</i> Through Time	
The <i>Taketori Monogatari</i> today: a timeless classic?	7
A History of Reception	12
Chapter II: Issues of Translation	
Text and Context	23
Interpretive Stumbling Blocks: Issues Inherent in the Text Itself	25
Chapter III: Tanaka Ôhide and the Canonization of the <i>Taketori Monogatari</i>	30
Chapter IV. Tanaka Ôhide's <i>Taketori no Okina no Monogatari Kai</i>	
Translator's Preface	42
The <i>Taketori no Okina no Monogatari Kai</i> :	
Tanaka Ôhide's introduction of 1831	44
Ôhide's Supplementary Texts	51
Chapter V: <i>The Tale of The Bamboo Cutter</i> : The Translation	102
Notes to Chapters I - III	135
Notes to the Translation, Chapters IV and V	138
Bibliography	247
Appendix 1: Literary, Historical, and Reference Works Appearing in Tanaka Ôhide's	
<i>Taketori no Okina no Monogatari Kai</i> Commentary	252
Appendix 2: <i>Yamato Monogatari</i> , Episode 77	265
Appendix 3: <i>Nihongi</i> , Nintoku 16	266

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For their personal support and contributions to my work during my time at UBC, I would like to thank my friends and colleagues in Asian Studies, in particular Agnes Li, Aki Hasebe, and Ms. Shiga Setsuko. I would also like to thank John Johnson and Paul Crowe for being a great resource for the Chinese Buddhist and Taoist texts with which I wrestled in the execution of this translation. Charlotte Adomeit has been a source of encouragement and comfort. I thank my parents for their constant show of enthusiasm, which has often been greater than what I felt myself for the project.

I would also like to thank Dr. Nam-Lin Hur, and Dr. Catherine Swatek for the time and thought they devoted to reviewing this thesis and their comments and suggestions for further research. Thanks also to Dr. Sharalyn Orbaugh for her enthusiasm not only for my work but also for her own. She has shown me what it is to enjoy one's work. Dr. Linda Chance, at the University of Pennsylvania first introduced me to the study of classical Japanese literature, and I feel privileged to have had her as a mentor and professor during my undergraduate years. I am infinitely grateful to Dr. Maribeth Graybill at Swarthmore College for the inspiration she provided in the field of the visual arts of Japan. I only regret that I could not make more direct use of my art historical studies in my present work, but hope to pursue it in the future and look forward to working with her again. I also would like to thank her for introducing me to Dr. Joshua Mostow, to whom I owe my greatest debt of gratitude both for his academic guidance and mentorship in the completion of this thesis, and his patience and understanding as I struggled to understand why I had pursued this path. I know now that it has been mainly for myself and that that is enough.

ON TRANSLITERATION AND USE OF JAPANESE SOURCES

In this thesis, I have used a system of romanization conforming to Joshua Mostow's transliteration of classical Japanese texts as he describes in his book *Pictures of the Heart*. Citations from pre-modern literary works follow the historical spelling (*rekishi-teki kana-zukai*) of words, and classical use of *he*, *we*, *wo*, and *wi* have been romanized as such, reflecting how the texts are written, not necessarily how they are or were pronounced. This system of romanization allows for easy referencing against the original Japanese source, or in dictionaries of classical Japanese. Word division also follows Mostow's system.

Where I have used pre-existing English translations of Japanese and Chinese texts as supplementary material, I have provided the name of the translator with the page number of the passage in parentheses: (Keene, 289). Where the translation is my own but follows a modern Japanese edition of a classical text, the title of the work appears with the page number: (*Genji Monogatari*, 176). Where no attribution appears after a passage, this indicates that I have translated the text directly as it has been cited in Tanaka Ôhide's commentary.

INTRODUCTION

The primary goal of this thesis has been to produce an English-language translation of the *Taketori Monogatari* which recreates the tale according to the way in which it was read at a particular historical moment by focusing on the interpretation found in a particular early modern commentary, that of Tanaka Ōhide from 1831. Joshua Mostow's recent work on *Ise Monogatari* and *Hyakunin Isshu* translation and reception history in particular has been informed by similar concerns for interpretational contextualization,¹ and I owe the inspiration for my present work first to him. In the winter term of 1995-96, Dr. Mostow conducted a seminar in which we read the *Ise Monogatari* in *hampon* illustrated printed book form, and attempted to produce a translation which was conscious of how this edition of the text constituted a particular interpretation by contrasting it with scholarly commentaries and pictorial representations from different periods. Later that year, Dr. Mostow's book *Pictures of the Heart*,² a translation and analysis of the *Hyakunin Isshu* and its dynamic interpretive history in commentary as well as illustration, appeared. The task of reception history and undertaking the contextualization of literary interpretation has, in recent years, been tackled by a few scholars, such as Thomas Harper and Richard Bowring in their respective studies of *Genji* scholarship in the 18th century, and the evolution of the *Ise* commentary tradition.³ As Dr. Mostow notes, however, there does not appear to be any scholarship of note which addresses the importance of this type of historical examination as it pertains to the translation of a literary text. Translators today still tend to shy away from the use of footnotes, hoping instead to produce a text which can speak for itself.

It has become increasingly clear to me through my study of the *Ise* and the *Hundred Poems* under Dr. Mostow's direction, and further in my own examination of the *Taketori* text and commentaries, that translation practice which does not follow a single historical reading, while essentializing the meaning of the text into a single true and "correct" interpretation, unfortunately also serves to negate and deny the tradition of exploration and discovery which surrounds a vast

number of canonical Japanese texts. I realize that my own extensively annotated and in some spots stilted rendition of the *Tale of the Bamboo Cutter* may not, perhaps, be as readable as, for instance, Donald Keene's 1978 translation, which communicates the charm and humor of the tale very simplistically and accessibly. But it is my argument that such an essentializing approach succeeds only in relegating the story to popular fairy-tale status. It is clear, from the examination of commentaries from the late 1700's and later, that in scholarly evaluation of the text, every effort was made to emphasize its ambiguities, its puzzles, and the fascination of its transmission and present form, and its position among the great classics of Japanese literature and its status in relation to them; in essence scholars have worked to reveal the complexity of the tale and encourage the closer examination and contemplation of its distinctive qualities. It could be argued that it is precisely this discussion and controversy, disagreement and uncertainty which distinguish the great works of the Japanese classical literary tradition, or perhaps any "great work" of literature.

If the meaning of a work were so clear and so immutable that it needed no explanation; if it were so straightforward that it generated no debate or dialog, wherein would lie its appeal as a work of literature? Even to the Japanese, Heian period literature is looked upon in a sense as a "foreign language." And any present day edition of the tale in Japanese is replete with the kind of discussion I attempt to provide in my translation, building on a tradition of commentary which is either directly cited or understood to lie behind the analysis. These modern Japanese editions of the text allow the reader the benefit of generations of scholarship and the opportunity to produce an informed interpretation of his own, something which it is readily acknowledged is not attainable from the text itself without the aid of such commentary. It would seem only natural that the English language reader be provided at least as much assistance in appreciating the text. The idea of allowing the text to speak for itself actually, in point of fact, serves the opposite effect and restricts the reader to an interpretation constructed by the translator out of the extensive resources found in these Japanese editions, while a contextualized translation with notes would, in my view, provide the reader with a more accurate sense of what the text is actually communicating -- that indefinite and complex set of mixed messages which constitute much of its appeal.

In the case of the *Taketori Monogatari*, because of the origins of the tale in Chinese and Japanese legend, and because of the existence of a form of the Kaguyahime legend still existing in the popular consciousness today, creating a distinction between academic and “popular” editions of the *Taketori Monogatari* tale is even more important to scholars. Any edition of the tale not adopting the commentary format becomes merely a narration of the popular legend rather than a presentation of a work of literature. Even popular *manga* culture is conscious of this distinction, and series such as the Kumon *Manga koten bungakukan* include introductory and concluding analyses explaining the literary merits of the work, familiarizing young readers with the canonical tale as distinct from the legendary story of the princess from the moon which they were told as young children.⁴

It is precisely because the purpose of my translation has been to present the *Taketori* as a work of literature to the English speaking audience, that this type of annotated edition has been necessary. Admitting of the validity and value of its complex interpretive history, the question then becomes how to produce a single, coherent English language translation. It is clear to me that my own personal understanding of the tale is indebted to the existing commentaries which I have read, resulting in a reading of my own reading which grows from within kind of an unusual context of an American graduate student of Japanese heritage in the 1990's looking at issues of identity and canon construction. Although on the one hand the analysis of the context of my own reading would be revealing to some extent, it would not, in my view, be the most beneficial context from which to assist my reader in understanding the significance of this work historically, and, to go one step further, in understanding how historical interpretations of the work have affected the way in which the tale is understood today. I have chosen to formulate my own translation around the commentary of Tanaka Ôhide, because I see his commentary as central to the establishment of the *Taketori Monogatari* as a canonical literary work, and fundamental to the discussion of this work by almost all later commentators. At the same time, I attempt to provide somewhat of an idea of the discussion and disagreement which has arisen around Tanaka's interpretation as well.

In the presentation of my translation to an English-speaking audience, it is also my belief that an understanding of the process by which I have arrived at this translation and the awareness of the numerous decisions behind it are as important to an understanding of the tale as the final product of my efforts. With this translation I make no claims to objectivity, nor to superiority over previous English-language versions of the story. I merely hope to clarify the motivations behind my translation as well as to provide some insights to my reader as to the process which has informed it. The wording of my translation may not, in fact, present a real challenge to or diversion from previous translations, but it is its overall structure -- particularly the notes and the attention to the plurality and indefinite nature of interpretation -- to which I would like to address my reader's attention.

My desire to produce a scholarly translation of the *Taketori Monogatari* has brought forward a variety of general questions and problems regarding the work as a whole, and the task of its translation into English. These include: the concept of the canonical status of the *Taketori Monogatari*, the literary work, vis-à-vis its position in the history of the evolution of the *Taketori* legend; the issue of the history of scholarly interpretation of the *Taketori Monogatari* with particular focus on the commentaries which I have utilized in my own translation; the problem of the existence of variant texts and an explanation of what I have used as my base text and why; and, finally, the technical difficulties associated with translating a classical Japanese text and the various textual attributes which are the source of controversy and conflict among the various commentators. By way of an introduction, I would like to examine these issues briefly before focusing on the details of the translated text itself. I will also consider the issue of 19th century canonization of the *Taketori Monogatari*, just one of the many issues raised by a translation such as I have produced by situating my reading in the historical context of a commentary formulated in the 1810s.

In presenting an overview of these issues for the reader's consideration, I hope to provide a glimpse of the richness and depth of the interpretative tradition which surrounds the *Taketori Monogatari*, as well as clarify the position of my own translation within that tradition. Included

among the interpretive works surrounding the *Taketori Monogatari* are Japanese scholarly commentaries as well as previous foreign language translations, modern Japanese “translations,” fairy tale and mythical re-tellings, *setsuwa* legends, children’s books, *manga* comics, and less literal interpretations in visual media such as painting, ceramics, lacquerware, *kabuki* theater, film, *ikebana*, and media advertisement. Obviously, it is not within the scope of this analysis to discuss this wide range of material in depth, but I would like to emphasize that all these interpretations together constitute and contribute to the contemporary understanding and appreciation of the story of the bamboo cutter and the princess from the moon, and should all in some way be recognized even in a “scholarly” examination of the work. Freer, non-academic renderings of the *Taketori Monogatari* perhaps work toward different ends than scholarly commentaries, however both types of interpretation are central to a thorough understanding of the significance of the work to the Japanese literary canon.

By recognizing this plurality of interpretations and the unlimited potential within the tale, rather than focusing on achieving a single most accurate reading, it is possible to appreciate more fully the historic appeal and enduring nature of the tale. An English translation can only fully convey these qualities by offering to the English-speaking reader not only the understanding to bridge the gap between today’s world and that of 10th century Japan through vocabulary and cultural references relevant to the text, but also through a certain amount of explanation of the history of the differing interpretations of the story. In this way, readers are encouraged to formulate their own readings, by being provided with a sound basis for doing so. Contrary perhaps to popular belief, a literary text like this one cannot speak on its own, and cannot be restricted to a single “correct” version. Neither does it exist independently of the rich interpretive tradition surrounding it, and therefore it is, to a large extent, unfair as well as misleading to the English reader to provide a translation which does not at least attempt to provide some of this background.

As an early form of Japanese narrative fiction, the *Taketori Monogatari* provides an unusual example of the consolidation and synthesis of different legendary, historical, and mythical

subjects, and their formalization into an “official” version which has been passed down through copyings and recopyings and eventually printings, and is now considered a part of the canon of classical Japanese literature. As such, however, it has had a relatively sparse critical history -- at least as far as we know of today -- in comparison to other major fictional works of the early Heian period. It is my aim to examine briefly the nature of the critical history of the *Taketori* and to think about the significance of that history to the work’s place in the classical canon today. This critical examination, not only of the work itself, but more specifically of the scholarship surrounding it, has led me to an English-language translation which, I hope, differs somewhat from previous ones in its attempt to provide for the English reader not what the translator has assessed to be the “true meaning” of the text, but what is instead a contextualized reading which suggests some of the variety and depth of understanding which has been brought to the *Taketori Monogatari* text by different readers over the centuries.

CHAPTER I: THE *TAKETORI MONOGATARI* THROUGH TIME

The *Taketori Monogatari* today: a timeless classic?

Today, the *Taketori Monogatari* holds a firmly-established place in the official canon of classical Japanese literature, a position recognized and reaffirmed by its appearance in any of a variety of multi-volume anthologies, the most well-known of which include the Iwanami *Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei* and the Shôgakukan *Nihon Koten Bungaku Zenshû*. It is the subject of numerous volumes of critical commentary in Japanese and has appeared in a few scholarly translations, including English versions by F.V. Dickins in 1888 and Donald Keene in 1956 and 1978, and a partial translation by Helen C. McCullough in 1990, as well as translations into German, French, and Italian.

In addition to this attention from the academic community, the story enjoys widespread popularity as a common folktale or fairytale. In simplified form, the story appears in children's picture books and comic books through which Japanese children are familiarized with the character of Kaguyahime, the "Shining Princess from the Moon," from an early age. She has made her way into many English-language illustrated children's books and fairy-tale collections as well.¹ Needless to say, these children's books and popular rewritings of the story have been considerably abbreviated and present a rather different story than the canonical version, but occasionally they do more than simply abridge the *Taketori Monogatari* story. Differences in plot are often significant and are evidence of a complex evolution in the midst of which the *Taketori Monogatari* was formalized as a literary work.

The story, in all of its forms, is a blend of fantasy, legend, and romance, which together constitute its appeal among popular audiences even today. What will be called the canonical version is a text generally thought to have achieved something close to its present form sometime between the late 9th and early 10th centuries through what many commentators believe is a piecing together of many different legend types concerning the themes of "a treasure being found inside of

an object," "suitors' tasks," the "princess with the feathered robe," etc.²

To summarize briefly, the *Taketori Monogatari* is the story of an old bamboo cutter who finds a beautiful glowing child inside of a stalk of bamboo. He takes her home to raise with his wife and within three months she grows into a woman of marriageable age and is given the name Kaguyahime, the "Shining Princess." Soon, men from across the land hear of her unworldly beauty and come to try to catch a glimpse of her, but she is inaccessible and all but the five most persistent give up. These five noblemen are intent to see her, but she refuses their advances. To satisfy her father's insistent pleas that she be united with one of them, she sends them all off on separate and equally impossible tasks, stating that she will marry the one who brings her the object which she demands of him. They are, each in his own way, proven unsuccessful and Kaguyahime is freed from their courtship. Next, the emperor hears of her beauty and insists upon seeing her. He manages a meeting with her, and, although she refuses to enter his court, she does begin an intimate correspondence with him, and the two exchange poems on the subject of their attachment to each other. Soon, Kaguyahime becomes despondent and one evening announces to her parents that she must shortly return to the moon, which is her true home. The emperor sends an army to defend her from the Moon People who come to take her away, but it is to no avail. His soldiers are struck powerless and the doors open of their own accord as Kaguyahime is met by people from the moon who give her an elixir of immortality and a heavenly robe of feathers to make her forget her life on earth. Before donning the robe, she writes two letters, one to her parents and one to the emperor, on the bitterness of parting, and then ascends in a heavenly chariot to the moon. The emperor has no desire for immortality without Kaguyahime and has the letter and the bit of elixir she has left for him burned on the peak of Mount Fuji.

The details of this story vary considerably when it enters the realm of popular distribution. Changes such as considerably shortening the explanations of the suitors' escapades completely in order to focus more simply on the scenes of miraculous birth and fantastic heavenly ascension would not be unexpected from a simplified version of the story. However, reduction of the

number of suitors from five to three, changes in the nature of the tasks assigned to the suitors, and the complete omission of the courtship segment, as well as variations in the final ascendance scene indicate that the story itself has had a relatively complex history of transmission.

Even a work of canonical status does not exist devoid of context, and is continuously influencing and being influenced by other works. Today, there are many versions of the *Taketori* story which are composed of elements entirely foreign to the *Tale of the Bamboo Cutter* which is read as literature. Stories entitled *Taketori Monogatari* or *Kaguyahime*, *The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter* or *The Shining Princess*, and other variations on these appear in the guise of children's stories (*dôwa*), tales of the past (*mukashibanashi*), and "children's classics," in collections which include not other "classic" tales of the literary canon, but rather fairy tales such as the tale of Momotarô (the "Peach Boy"), and Issun Bôshi (the "Inch-high Monk"). Some of these *Taketori* stories are merely versions of the canonical tale which have been simplified for children, but others contain significant omissions and changes to the very plot of the story. For example, the story *Kaguyahime*, from the *Manga Nihon Mukashi-banashi* collection,³ tells of five suitors assigned to bring back the following: 1) a golden bough laden with fruit of living amber, 2) an animal skin with fur of purest gold, 3) a fan that shines like the rising sun, 4) a necklace made of dragons' eyes, and 5) paper that lights up the darkness. These tasks differ considerably from those found in the canonical *Taketori Monogatari*, which has the suitors bring back 1) the begging bowl of the Buddha, 2) a jeweled branch from a tree from the mountain of Hôrai, 3) a robe made from the fur of the Chinese Fire-Rat, 4) a jewel from the head of a dragon, and 5) the Safe-Birth Shell of a swallow. Considerable effort has been spent by researchers to determine the various legendary sources from which these objects were taken, and these range from classics such as Po Chü-i's *Song of Everlasting Sorrow* (J. *Chôgonka*, Ch. *Ch'ang Hen Ko*) to regional legends about Mt. Fuji, and swan maidens myths. The *Taketori Monogatari* seems to have grown out of a very broad folk tradition, and, consequently, variations often draw on the surrounding source material and not directly on the details of the canonical version of the tale.

Yokoi Takashi, in his discussion of "Takatori 'denshō' to takatori 'monogatari',"⁴ attempts to clarify the relationship (not necessarily the distinction) between the legend or folk transmission (*densetsu*, *denshō*, *setsuwa*) and the tale (*monogatari*) by looking at related stories from the medieval period. The popularity of legend -- or more broadly *setsuwa* -- in the medieval period was marked by the appearance of such collections as the *Konjaku Monogatari Shū* (ca. 1120?), the *Uji Shūi Monogatari* (1190-1242), and the *Shintō Shū* (ca. 1358-1361). He shows that in the process of transmission (*denshō*) these stories easily evolved and became intertwined. As a result, the *Takatori* story was confused with, combined with, and adapted to other legends which might, even coincidentally, have had certain themes or motifs or images in common with it. For example, Yokoi points to a passage recounting the details of the early life of Prince Shōtoku from the *Shōtoku Taishi Den Seihōrin* (正徳太子正法輪) of the Tōdaiji library collection. It is explained that the prince was the grandson of Kaguyahime and in his youth descended from the heavens to the peak of Mt. Fuji on the wings of a dragon horse. The story recounts the scene of Kaguyahime's ascent from earth and her parting from the emperor and makes a clear reference to two poems near the end of the *Takatori*. In spite of the fact that the elixir of immortality (*fushi no kusuri*) is irrelevant to the story of Prince Shōtoku, it is mentioned in the poem, making it a part of this new story (albeit an incongruous one) simply because of the connection to Kaguyahime and the emperor.

In like fashion, English versions of the "fairy tale" of the bamboo princess sometimes include details which do not correspond with the canonical *Takatori* tale at all. For example, in Rosemary Harris's story *The Child in the Bamboo Grove*,⁵ Ōtomo no Miyuki's task is not to retrieve the a robe of the Fire-Rat's fur, but rather to bring to Kaguyahime the Snow Mountain Tiger's skin. This tiger's skin is, however, said to have the same fire-proof quality as the Fire-Rat's fur: "the one and only skin of the Snow Mountain Tiger was said to glisten with brilliance of silver and jet, and to be proof against all fire." (Harris, 15) This tiger, because of the feature of its imperviousness to fire, was naturally associated with the Fire-Rat from the *Takatori*, creating an

amalgam of legend and classical tale.

Helen and William McAlpine tell a version of the story which attributes three of the objects demanded of the five suitors to Mt. Hôrai: "The first was for the young Prince Kurumamochi. He was to go to the Horai Mountain and bring from there a branch bearing a gleaming white ball which he would find growing on a golden tree. . . . 'Princess Kaguya requests that the Chief Councillor Otomo-no-Miyuki bring her the Ball of Five Jewels which you will find in the throat of the Dragon of the Horai Mountain.' 'As for you, Iso-no-Kamimaro, she desires you to bring her the Cowry Shell which the Horai Mountain Swallow bears within her.'" (*Princess Kaguya*, 139) Such adaptations are undoubtedly attributable to the powerful image of the mystical and unattainable qualities of the mountain in Chinese legend, causing it to become associated with any number of impossible tasks.

In another more subtle external allusion, Teresa Pierce Williston omits any mention of the emperor's relations with the princess, and reserves the elixir of immortality for Kaguyahime alone. She does, however, retain the reference to the smoke rising from the top of Mt. Fuji, but, rather than ascribing its cause to the burning of letters and elixir, she suggests a more abstract reason for the "smoke":

The moon rose higher and higher. A line of light like a fairy bridge reached from heaven to earth. Drifting down it, like smoke before the wind, came countless troops of soldiers in shining armor. There was no sound, no breath of wind, but on they came. . . . Rising like the morning mists that lie along the lake the white company passed slowly to the top of Fuji Yama, the sacred mountain of Japan. On, on, up through the still whiteness of the moonlight, the long line passed, until once more they reached the silver gates of the moon city, where all is happiness and peace. Men say that even now a soft white wreath of smoke curls up from the sacred crown of Fuji Yama, like a *floating bridge* to that fair city far off in the sky. (emphasis added, *Bamboo Cutter's Daughter*, 80-81)

Here, through an allusion which has no place in the canonical text, the *Taketori* becomes

associated, perhaps unintentionally, with the “floating bridge of dreams” of the *Genji Monogatari*.

With the formalization of the tale of Kaguyahime in the written narrative *Taketori Monogatari*, thought to have occurred around 960, and its subsequent “canonization” in that particular form, the canonical text has necessarily remained fairly static in terms of overall content and structure. However, this narrative version should be looked at in the larger context of the evolution and expansion of the *Taketori* legend. It marks one particular stage within the history of the transmission of the *Taketori* legend, and its significance lies not solely in the sources for its various elements which came before it, but also in the effects and influences it had upon later works and later versions of the story.

In other words, it is clear that the *Taketori Monogatari* does not present a culminating point in the evolution of the *Taketori* legend and should be understood in the larger context of the legendary tradition. It has inspired a history of interpretation which includes scholarly commentary as well as literary and popular interpretation, and its meaning and literary significance have also grown and evolved as a result of this tradition. It is to this history of interpretation which I would now like to turn. Unfortunately, it is not within the scope of this study to examine the full range of interpretations of the story, and I will focus only on the more prominent scholarly commentaries. This is not to imply that these are any more important than the others, just that it is these scholarly works which provide the primary inspiration and foundation for later discussion of the text as a canonical literary work.

A History of Reception

In calling into question the notion of the timeless appeal of the *Taketori Monogatari* as a masterpiece of Japanese literature, I have neglected to emphasize the simple and obvious fact of the work’s survival into the present age, a feature which provides testament to its lasting impact. Not only does the tale survive, it also bears evidence, at various points throughout history, of the recognition it has received as an important literary text.

The earliest such reference appears as early as the 11th century. Murasaki Shikibu makes

direct reference to the *Taketori* as the “ancestor of all romances” (*monogatari ideki-hajime no oya*)⁶ in the “E-Awase” chapter of her *Genji Monogatari*. Coming from the definitive masterpiece of *monogatari* literature, this in itself suffices for many commentators to remove any doubt as to the monumental status of the work. Mention of this reference is by far the most common way of introducing critical analyses of the tale, and it seems possible that this single reference may have been responsible to a large extent for the initial as well as continued scholarly interest in the *Taketori Monogatari*. Commentators utilizing this reference seem, however, to be overly selective in choosing to cite the statement out of context.

In the *Genji Monogatari*, the *Taketori* is referred to in the context of a contest between the art collections of two imperial consorts, Akikonomu and the daughter of Tō no Chūjō living in the Kokiden apartments. Akikonomu preferred the “secure and established classics” while the Kokiden girl “chose the romances that were the rage of the day.” (Seidensticker, 311) The description of the competition goes as follows:

The first match was between an illustration for *The Bamboo Cutter*, the ancestor of all romances, and a scene centering upon Toshikage from *The Tale of the Hollow Tree*.

From the left (the Akikonomu faction) came this view: “The story has been with us for a very long time, as familiar as the bamboo growing before us, joint upon joint. There is not much in it that is likely to take us by surprise. Yet the moon princess did avoid sullyng herself with the affairs of this world, and her proud fate took her back to the far heavens; and so perhaps we must accept something august and godly in it, far beyond the reach of silly, superficial women.”

And this from the right (Kokiden faction): “It may be as you say, that she returned to a realm beyond our sight and so beyond our understanding. But this too must be said: that in our world she lived in a stalk of bamboo, which fact suggests rather dubious lineage. She exuded a radiance, we are told, which flooded her stepfather’s house with light; but what is that to the light which suffuses these many-fenced halls and pavilions?”

Lord Abe threw away a thousand pieces of gold and another thousand in a desperate attempt to purchase the fire rat's skin, and in an instant it was up in flames -- a rather disappointing conclusion. Nor is it very edifying, really, that Prince Kuramochi, who should have known how well informed the princess was in these matters, should have forged a jeweled branch and so made of himself a forgery too."

The *Bamboo Cutter* illustration, by Kose no Omi with a caption by Ki no Tsurayuki, was mounted on cerise and had a spindle of sandalwood -- rather uninteresting, all in all.

... The left [Akikonomu's *Bamboo Cutter* faction] had to admit defeat.

(Seidensticker, 311-312)

From this, it is evident that, by the time of Murasaki Shikibu's writing of the *Genji Monogatari* at the beginning of the 11th century, the *Taketori* was already considered a "secure and established classic" (*inishihe no monogatari nadakaku yuwe aru kagiri*). And this is the point on which modern commentators focus when reading the passage. In doing so, they neglect, however, the comparatively substantial analysis of the tale which follows. Contrary to what might be expected, the "secure and established classic" is outshone by the romance which was considered to be "the rage of the day" -- the *Utsuho Monogatari*, which appeared around 960, the period in which this part of the *Genji* is set -- and the *Taketori* comes off looking dull and old-fashioned in comparison. Earlier, in Chapter 15, "The Wormwood Patch," the Safflower Princess, a most pathetic sight after the death of her father and her brief and forgotten encounter with Genji, turned to picture books of the *Bamboo Cutter*'s tale and other ancient tales for comfort. Although she epitomizes the concept of *mono no aware* in her pining for Genji's attention, her plight is seen as hopeless, and her taste in matters with which she occupies herself in the meantime less than ideal:

Sometimes she would open a scarred bookcase and take out an illustrated copy of *The Bat*, *The Lady Recluse*, or *The Bamboo Cutter*.

Old poems bring pleasure when they are selected with taste and discrimination, with fine attention to author and occasion and import; but there can be little to interest anyone

in random, hackneyed poems set down on yellowing business paper or portentously furrowed Michinoku. Yet it was just such collections that she would browse through when the loneliness and the gloom were too much for her. The sacred texts and rites to which most recluses turn intimidated her, and as for rosaries, she would not have wished, had there been anyone to see, to be seen with one. It was a very undecorated life she lived. (Seidensticker, 292)

Although Genji is inexplicably moved to revisit the Safflower Princess after he notes the decayed state of her house when passing by, and eventually establishes her in a wing of his Nijô mansion, the overriding impression of the description of the lady is that of her extremely old-fashioned tastes and outdated sensibilities. Toward the end of the chapter, the narrator states: "People had always said that Genji chose superior women to spend even a single night with. It was very odd: everything suggested that the Hitachi princess in no respect even rose to mediocrity. (What could explain it? A bond tied in a former life, no doubt)" (Seidensticker, 302). And, as we have seen, one of the pleasures of this less-than-mediocre woman was to look at illustrated versions of old and dated tales such as the *Taketori* and two other stories which have not even survived.

Certainly, in neither of the scenes in which the *Taketori* appears in the *Genji Monogatari* does it appear to connote positive qualities in the ladies who find pleasure in it. And yet although associations with the *Taketori* would initially appear to have a negative impact on the impression one gets of them, both Akikonomu and the Safflower Princess ultimately obtain considerable favor from Genji himself and are reassessed in the eyes of others. The appearance of the tale in the *Genji Monogatari* would seem to imply that there was a general sense of respect for the founding role played by the *Taketori* as a work of narrative fiction in its own day, but there was also a very strong sense of the outdated and mediocre quality of the story itself. I would argue that this analysis of the *Taketori* is just as important a clue to attitudes toward the story as its title "ancestor of all romances."

The *Taketori Monogatari* is seen as antiquated and to a certain extent unrealistic or lacking in credibility. It is perhaps even considered uncourtly, as can be seen in references to

Kaguyahime's "dubious lineage" and the insignificance of her brightness in comparison to the "many-fenced halls and pavilions" of the *Genji* court. These references are interesting in light of the fact that, following the appearance of this fictional literary critique, there exist no surviving scholarly commentaries on the *Taketori Monogatari* until the end of the 18th century.

When compared to other Heian canonical works such as the *Genji* and the *Ise Monogatari*, for example, the *Taketori* does not have a long and extensive history of critical analysis and textual interpretation. Not only did *Genji* and *Ise* commentaries first appear very early in the Kamakura period or even the late Heian period, but these early works then became the beginnings of a regular tradition of scholarly interpretation which has continued in full force throughout the centuries.⁷

The *Taketori* not only lacks a scholarly commentary tradition from the Kamakura and Muromachi years, but even manuscripts of the text of the tale itself, not to mention pictorial versions, either in scroll or picture book form, do not survive from these periods. In spite of the fact that both mentions of the *Taketori* in the *Genji* suggest the existence of painted depictions of the story during that time, even fragments of such documents have yet to be discovered. Katagiri Yôichi states that there are no known *Taketori* scrolls from the medieval period, and that all extant pictorial representations date from the mid-17th century and later,⁸ although Nakano Kôichi does remark that once we reach the Edo period, we find a considerable number of *Taketori* pictures in the form of *nara e-hon* picture books, handscrolls, and *hanpon* printed books.⁹ The oldest *Taketori* painting is a scroll from the Genroku period (1688-1704) now housed in the Imperial collections (*Kunaichô Shoryôbu*).

Although manuscript copies of the *Taketori* text survive from the end of the 16th century, there is no indication of its having received attention from scholars as a work of literature in written commentaries until the 18th century and the rise of the National Learning (*kokugaku*) movement. Although he did not produce a commentary devoted exclusively to the *Taketori Monogatari*, Keichû (1640-1701) was the first to discuss the tale as literature in his *Kawa Yashiro*, a collection of thoughts on classical literature probably written between 1693 and 1695 and divided into one

hundred six sections on a variety of works from the *Kojiki* to the *Genji Monogatari*. The first commentaries to deal exclusively with the *Taketori* begin to appear in the generation of scholars which followed, the earliest being Koyama Tadashi and Irie Masayoshi's *Taketori Monogatari Shô* of 1784. Largely indebted to Keichû, this work does not comment extensively on issues of the wording of the text itself, but is more notable for the detailed discussion of the more general topics of the history of the text, its author, the title, and the sources for its subject matter and marks the beginning of the tradition of scholarly commentary on the *Taketori Monogatari*.

For the purposes of my translation, I have drawn from the research of scholars of two general periods which I have loosely termed the "early modern" and the "modern." This is primarily for purposes of clarity and distinction, and deeper, more restrictive connotations of these terms are not intended in this context. Using Uesaka Nobuo's collection of old commentaries on the *Taketori Monogatari*¹⁰ as a reference, I have considered as "early modern" those works up to and including the first years of the Meiji period (1868-1912), starting with the above-mentioned *Taketori Monogatari Shô* and ending with Ochiai Naobumi's *Taketori Monogatari Dokuhon* of 1896. During the latter part of the Edo period, we begin to see a variety of commentaries focusing on the *Taketori Monogatari*, and I have for my translation used Uesaka's edition of the following early modern commentaries:

Taketori Monogatari Shô (1784) by Koyama Tadashi supplemented by Irie Masayoshi

Taketori Monogatari Isasame-goto (1793) by Koma Moronari

* *Taketori no Okina no Monogatari Kai* (1831) by Tanaka Ôhide

Taketori Monogatari Hochû (1840) by Tanaka Miyuki

Taketori Monogatari Rigenkai (1857) by Sasaki Hirotsuna

Taketori Monogatari Hyôchû (1888) by Suzuki Hiroyasu

Taketori Monogatari Ura Kai (1892) by Igarashi Masao

Taketori Monogatari Kôgi (1893) by Imaizumi Sadasuke

Taketori Monogatari Kôgi (1896) by Inoue Yoribumi

and *Taketori Monogatari Dokuhon* (1896) by Ochiai Naobumi

The most prominent among these is Tanaka Ôhide's 1831 work, which has been the most influential of the early commentaries, and continues to be a vital reference for contemporary scholars of the *Taketori Monogatari*. For this reason, I have chosen Ôhide's reading as the base text for my own translation. The later early modern works all more or less follow Ôhide's lead; most accept his analysis quite readily, while others directly take issue with his interpretation or choice of manuscript text to follow for the analysis of specific words. At various points in the tale, Igarashi (1892) and Imaizumi (1893) provide insightful alternative interpretations which have established the groundwork for modern discussions, and I have tried to note these points of variance in the notes to my translation where they are relevant.

A follower of the *kokugaku* school, Ôhide borrows heavily from Motoori Norinaga's theories on *monogatari* literature and the concept of *mono no aware*, and cites the master's theories throughout his commentary. Structurally, Ôhide's commentary is divided into two sections. The first consists of a general analysis of certain issues concerning the text: how to read *monogatari* literature, how the title should be read, the approximate date the story was written, its authorship, an appendix of foreign sources and legends similar in detail to the *Taketori*, and a discussion of the importance of Ôhide's collation of different variant texts. The second section consists of a phrase by phrase analysis of the text of the tale, clarifying the areas which Ôhide has found inadequate in the Koyama/Irie commentary and explaining which textual version he has used for any particular section and why he believes it to be the most appropriate in each case.

This seems to be the preferred format for commentary even today, and even scholars who argue that issues such as the historical identity of the author are of little importance feel obligated to devote a section of their analyses to each of these topics. Nonetheless, this format of discussion is common to analyses of all the classics of Japanese literature and the issues of author, date, and evolution of the tale are recognized as the mysteries or basic defining traits of each text which need to be explained. Considering the importance placed upon these issues by early modern and contemporary scholars alike, and the amount of research and scholarship which has gone into their

analysis, I have chosen to paraphrase Ôhide's introductory discussion of these issues in my own translation, in order to afford my reader more of a sense of this particular scholar's larger interpretation of the *Taketori Monogatari*.

Although Ôhide's *Taketori no Okina no Monogatari Kai* is generally accepted as a central and monumental work in the tale's interpretive history, many have also criticized the way he has, in his textual analysis, essentially created a text of his own by combining what he considers to be the clearest or most straightforward of the various copied manuscripts available to him, even changing words to his own in places he considers to be obvious miscopyings.¹¹ Since, however, such alterations seem necessary to a certain extent to lend any degree of coherence to the story in certain parts of the text, modern commentators are often obligated to take similar measures themselves.

Leaving a gap of almost eighty years after the last of the early modern commentaries,¹² I have also examined the critical work of Katagiri Yôichi,¹³ Matsuo Satoshi,¹⁴ Mitani Eiichi,¹⁵ and Noguchi Motohiro,¹⁶ which group I will refer to as the "modern commentators." These scholars have addressed their attention to the *Taketori Monogatari* with the purpose of making it accessible to an average Japanese reader. On many counts, they show little deviation from the overall approach of individuals such as Ôhide. Their discussions of the text as a whole center around the same issues of title, author, and date, literary qualities, and textual lineages, with supplementary evidence which builds on the theories and conclusions of the earlier scholarship. In addition to these issues, however, considerable research on folkloric influences and relations to the *Taketori* text has come to play a prominent role in discussions of the evolution and composition of this literary work. Mitani Eiichi provides lengthy discussions on the topic of the historical transmission of the *Taketori* legend and the place of the literary work within that tradition. A summary of his research on this subject is available in the introduction to his textual analysis of the work (*Kanshō*, 1975), and his *Taketori Monogatari Hyôkai*¹⁷ includes an appendix of texts of different *Taketori* legends which have appeared in each of the Nara, Heian, Kamakura, Muromachi, and Edo periods

in Japan, as well as two which are known in China. Although the early modern critics were conscious of the legends which may have served as source material for the *Taketori Monogatari* as literature, this examination of the continued evolution of the legend after the appearance of the literary work is more of a modern concern. For the most part, however, scholarly examinations of the transmission of the *Taketori* legend tend to limit themselves simply to the reproduction of the relevant texts in the form of an appendix, with little or no actual discussion. Because it is my purpose primarily to provide a brief introduction to the range and approach of Japanese scholars to the *Taketori Monogatari*, with particular attention to Tanaka Ôhide's personal interpretation, I am currently unable to offer this subject of historical transmission of the legend the attention it is due, however, I would hope that this could be the subject of further research at a later date.

In their textual analyses (which would, in many ways, be similar in approach to a foreign language translation), modern commentators become adamant in their convictions that there is one true meaning to be found in the text. With the exception, perhaps, of Matsuo, who attempts to provide summaries of previous variant interpretations of controversial sections whether he agrees with them or not, each modern edition provides an annotated text which it claims is the "best," "clearest," and "most faithful" to the original. Noguchi's objective is "to provide a text for the modern reader who wants to follow an original which is the most easy to read, reliable, and overall *best text*" (*Shinchô*, 3). Mitani claims, "It is *clear* that the *Taketori* was written by one author" (*Kanshō*, 19), while Katagiri is just as confident that, "It is *unthinkable* that today's *Taketori monogatari* is the product of a single author writing at a specific point in time" (*Kan'yaku*, 94). The introductory essays of foreign language translations also suggest a search for and an attempt to transmit as directly as possible to the foreign reader the "pure text" and the "true meaning" of the story. In his first translation of 1956, Donald Keene seeks to rectify the "dullness and inaccuracies" of F.V. Dickins' 1888 translation (*Bamboo Cutter*, 329), and René Sieffert says, "I have attempted to translate as exactly as possible, and by following it [the text] very closely, not allowing myself, unless absolutely necessary, not only to eliminate anything, but above all to add anything, also conserving, as much as possible the order of the words and the separation of

phrases" (*Coupeur*, 136).

The difficulties and discrepancies which arise out of this search for a single true meaning in the text naturally result from two major issues. First, there is the practical problem of the inaccessibility of a manuscript or written text from the time when it is thought to have been written, but second, and more importantly, is the problem of approach which dictates that any text must have one true and exclusive meaning, whether that be intended by the author or a natural, immutable feature of the text itself. This issue becomes all the more problematic when it comes to translation of the text into a foreign language, an issue which I will take up at greater length below.

Although occasionally couched in less unyielding phrases such as "Certainly, it is possible that . . .," or "It could be seen to be the case that . . .," the purpose of these commentaries even today lies in either reaffirming or disproving the interpretations of the past through promotion of one's personal reading as "the right one." Very often the commentaries seek to allow the text "to speak for itself," providing the text itself in one column in the middle of the page, with notes primarily on grammar and phrasing appearing above or below, and sometimes with a "literal" translation into modern Japanese below as well. Like Ôhide's *Taketori no Okina no Monogatari Kai*, the annotated text is either preceded or followed by a more general commentary on the larger issues of the text -- again, its author, date of composition, and legendary sources. Very often these commentaries also consist of an evaluative component which identifies the specific merits of the *Taketori* as a literary work.

The significance of these evaluations lies not in their conclusions of whether or not the *Taketori* is a valuable work of literature, but rather in the justifications which these modern commentators find for such conclusions. What did individuals at any particular time find of value in this story, and how does that reflect the culture and values of their own time? As a most simplistic example, consider the valorization of the *Taketori* as "one of the historic sources of the Japanese novel,"¹⁸ or W.G. Aston's comment in 1899 that: "Compared with the later literature of the Heian period, the style of the *Taketori* is artless and unformed, but its naïve simplicity accords

well with the subject-matter, and is not without a charm of its own" (*History*, 80). Without our retrospective understanding of how narrative literature developed after the appearance of the *Taketori*, we would not be able to make this kind of a judgement. Readers of its own day could not have understood the tale in this way, and those readers today who are not provided with the cultural background and the explanations necessary to draw such associations cannot understand it in this way either. In providing a glimpse of a variety of different perspectives on the *Taketori Monogatari* in conjunction with my translation, I hope to provide a broader basis for the English reader's formation of a more informed interpretation. But, more specifically, through a more detailed examination of Tanaka Ôhide's commentary, I hope to give the reader a sense of how the tale was read at one particular point in history. Ôhide's *Taketori no Okina no Monogatari Kai* appears at a critical juncture in the (re)canonization of the *Taketori* as a classical work of literature, and through an overview of the interpretive context within which he worked, I hope to discuss the significance of his particular reading in its own time, and more indirectly, to the reader today.

It should be noted that although literary scholarship on the *Taketori* has remained relatively consistent in terms of the issues of textual transmission, author, date, and sources which it chooses to examine, other fields such as folklore studies have offered different perspectives of the role of the *Taketori Monogatari* within the context of the culture within which it was read, assimilated, and transmitted. It would seem that the line drawn between these two disciplines stems from an overriding concentration on the value of the independent text within the field of literary studies, minimizing the historical context of its reader. However, it is not only clear to me that I will read the text differently from the Japanese scholars upon whom my work is based, but also that my reader will no doubt bring yet another fresh perspective to my translation and to the work itself. It is also clear that an understanding of these different interpretations has provided me with what I believe to be a deeper understanding than one could get from any English translation to date of the complexities and potentialities of the text, an opportunity which I hope to extend, even to the smallest extent, to my readers.

CHAPTER II: ISSUES OF TRANSLATION

Text and Context

Since my own understanding of the *Taketori Monogatari* has been guided by the more informed and knowledgeable analyses of other scholars at various times and in various places throughout history, it has become clear to me that perhaps the most effective approach to a translation of the work would be to retain a consistent perspective throughout the translation. What I have attempted to accomplish in this translation is a representation of the text in the historical context of Tanaka Ôhide's analysis, as I understand him to have perceived it. Since many scholars have disagreed with Ôhide's conclusions, I have attempted to supplement my translated text with a summary examination in note form of many of the points with which various later commentators have taken issue. Due to the context of literary criticism from which these commentators are working, the points of disagreement within the text itself lie very often in formal issues: whether the text was originally written in sinified *kambun* form, how cursive script could be misread or miscopied, questions arising from the lack of quotation identifiers, and issues of differing sources.

My reasons for choosing to translate the text according to Ôhide result from several considerations: 1) the lack of a single "definitive" manuscript on which to base the translation, 2) the influential nature of Ôhide's interpretation, and 3) a desire to contextualize the reading. First, on the matter of the many variant texts of the tale, Matsuo provides a thorough description of the numerous manuscripts and *hanpon* printed versions, discussing the analytical methods which have been used to determine the story's original form (*Zenshaku*, 243-248). The eleven texts which he examines constitute three separate lineages, which are known as the Mutô, or Tenshô line; the Kohon line; and the Kokatsuji-bon line. The first are all relatively close to the Mutô manuscript, considered to be the oldest existing one, dated 1592. This manuscript is considered to be superior to the others by many commentators, and the fact that it is the oldest surviving manuscript stands very strongly in its favor.

The Kohon, or "old book," line was given its name by Arai Nobuyuki, who claimed that

the manuscript in his possession was a copy of an old line of texts. The original from which it was taken contained a postscript stating that it was compiled by comparing several "old books" and using the best of them. It was also discovered that the Kohon version corresponded very closely to a fragment said to have been signed by Emperor Gokôgon (r. 1352-1371) in the early Muromachi period. When another fragment of this same manuscript came to light, however, it became clear that the Gokôgon version was in fact very different from both the Kohon and the Kokatsuji-bon lines.¹⁹ The Kohon is fairly different from the Kokatsuji-bon line and at first glance seems purer, with fewer changes and mistakes, but Matsuo argues that confusing sections in the Kokatsuji-bon versions seem almost too clear in the Kohon and for this reason he suspects that it has been revised considerably by a later copyist.

The earliest surviving example from the line of Kokatsuji-bon printed books is from the Keichô period (1596-1615) and Matsuo argues that this book does not appear to contain reckless additions where the manuscripts on which it must have been based were unclear. Because it would have used the oldest available manuscripts of the time in creating the printed version, it is possible that its base text predates the Mutô text.

Consequently, Matsuo uses the Kokatsuji-bon line of text for the bulk of his analysis, using the Kohon and Mutô-bon texts to clarify the confusing sections. Noguchi and Katagiri also use this version, while Mitani uses the Mutô version as his base text. Donald Keene, in his English translation follows the Kohon version, but states that most commentators use the Mutô text. Regardless of which text is used as the initial guide, however, all commentators have had, to a certain extent, to refine those texts, consult among the others, and determine for themselves what seemed to make the most sense in several unclear passages. Due to the complex nature of these textual problems, it has been advantageous for my particular translation to follow an already-established base text, and for this I have chosen the text which Ôhide has deciphered and pasted together from these various manuscripts and has reproduced in the *Taketori no Okina no Monogatari Kai*.

Considering the widely-respected status of Ôhide's analysis among early modern and modern commentators alike, his has in many ways been the most obvious choice for a base text from among the early modern commentary texts. As mentioned above, this text has been criticized for the considerable use of a variety of sources to create a text which he uses as the basis of his analysis. This, I would argue, may also be seen not as a negative attribute of his work, but simply as a distinctive quality which is characteristic of his individual interpretation of the *Taketori*, a reading which, regardless of this fact, has been well-received.

Finally, in choosing to translate a version of the text which is not entirely of my own creation, I am attempting to provide the reader with an interpretation of the *Taketori Monogatari* within a particular historical context. Given Ôhide's position as a student of Motoori Ôhira, disciple of Norinaga, and his arrival at the historic moment of renewed scholarly interest in the *Taketori*, it is revealing to examine his interpretation for the merits he saw in the text. Through a supplementary comparison with different commentaries, it will be interesting to note the ways in which Ôhide's interpretation reflects his strong *kokugaku* background while at the same time moving away from it, significantly affecting the future of *Taketori Monogatari* interpretation.

As a final note, it should be remembered that in presenting this translation of, in essence, Ôhide's version of the *Taketori*, I cannot claim objectivity any more than I deny it to other commentators. My understanding of his interpretation is limited by linguistic factors as well as cultural ones and is further diluted through my own expression of that understanding in writing. Nonetheless, in spite of these limitations, I am hopeful of the utility and importance of this effort.

Interpretive stumbling blocks: issues inherent in the text itself

Looking at different interpretations of the *Taketori Monogatari*, there are questions both of interpretation of the general meaning of the tale as a whole -- issues such as the significance of the title, the identity of the various legends on which it was based, the date of composition and identity of the author -- which will be discussed to some extent in the body of the translation itself, but there are also issues which arise from the ambiguity of the "original" or base text discussed above.

Certain technical issues within the text itself deserve some explanation before moving on to the actual content of the tale.

Kana Homophony:

The *Taketori Monogatari* which is read today is essentially a *kana* text, although there are various theories as to whether the original was actually written in *kana* script or some sinified *kambun* form. Because of the large number of homophones in the Japanese language, written words in the phonetic script can be highly ambiguous, while at the same time allowing for different layers or levels of appreciation at once. Because of varying degrees of interpretation imposed by the copyists and scholars who produced the manuscript versions from which derive the three lines of base texts, *kanji* have to a greater or lesser extent been assimilated into most of these versions. Some commentators take issue with the *kanji* ascribed by one version or the other, arguing that these were not the originally intended characters but rather meanings assigned to the words by later copyists who were mistaken in their interpretations. See, for example, the discussion of the phrase *kokoku wo tachite* and the possible meanings of “leaving the old country,” “fasting from the five staples,” or “exhausting one’s heart” (*kokoro wo kudakite*) in Section 3, “The Jewel from the Dragon’s Head,” Note 4.

Confusion of Characters in Cursive Script

Along similar lines, the *kana* script used in the old manuscripts and books is a type of transformed character known as *hentai-gana*, cursive characters which are derived from *kanji* and allow for numerous representations of the same sound without attributing a specific meaning. Among these, there are many that, when written in a flowing hand, visually resemble each other very closely. Commentators argue that copyists often mistakenly replace such characters with similar-looking ones, changing the meaning of the text considerably. Their task, then, is to trace the character back to one which may not sound anything like it, but which resembles it in form in order to derive a more plausible meaning from it.

An example of the confusion similar characters can cause, not only for commentators, but also in the copied manuscripts themselves, can be found in Section 6, “The Swallow’s Safe-

Birthing Charm,” Note 6. The phrase *harakaku ka to mausu*, appears in various manuscripts as *hauku ka*, *haraku ka*, *harakuru*, *horaku ka*, *harakaku ka*, *yoshiyoshi ka*, and *hara ni kakusu ka*. Mitani shows how the *ho* 𐄂 and *ha* 𐄂 can be easily confused when written in cursive script, or how *yo* 𐄂 and *ha* 𐄂 or *yo* 𐄂 and *fu* 𐄂 are very similar. Similarly, a combination of characters can be confused for a single character, or vice versa, as in the medial syllables *ku*, and *kaku*, which could also be read *yoshi*, *rakaku*, etc. Many commentators have tried to determine which among these various textual versions is the oldest and closest to the original, and then theorize upon the meaning of the phrase. For example, Mitani has argued here that *harakaku ka* must be the closest to the original phrasing for this section of text, even though this is an unknown phrase. He then notes that, since *hara* means “belly” and since the *Ruiju Myôgi Shô* suggests that *kaku* can mean “to hold” or “to carry,” the phrase *harakaku ka* means something like, “it is held in their bellies” (*Kanshō*, 159). Others, such as Ôhide or Katagiri, do not restrict themselves to the extant texts, but determine on their own what they believe the copyists’ mistakes to have been. Here, Ôhide reads *tsubakurame to mausu mono ha* (that thing which we call the swallow), and Katagiri reads *haben naru* (it would seem to exist). These alternatives would also seem to be determined by the same considerations of characters which were similar in appearance and easily confused.

Ambiguity of Phrasing:

Moving from the meanings of individual words to the structure of the phrasing, there is again cause for some dispute due to the fact that the *Taketori* text, as all classical texts, does not contain any type of punctuation delineating breaks in phrasing and direct quotations. This can cause problems, particularly for the English translation, which necessitates the determination of a subject as well as the punctuation. Although, for the most part, quotations tend to be marked by the quotative particle *to* at the end of the phrase, issues of the speaker are still sometimes called into question. It is possible that early modern commentators did not feel the need to adhere as strictly to the textual indications as the modern scholars have. For example, in Section 1 of the story, when the old man and Kaguyahime are discussing the sincerity of the suitors’ affections, modern

commentators and translators take the following passage to be entirely the words of Kaguyahime:

Kaguya-hime said, "Shall I tell you the depth of sentiments I require? I am not asking for anything extraordinary. All five men seem to be equally affectionate. How can I tell which of them is the most deserving? If one of the five will show me some special thing I wish to see, I will know his affections are the noblest, and I shall become his wife. . . ." (in Rimer, 278)

Tanaka believes, however, that the old man interrupts Kaguyahime with a question, such that the passage reads like this:

Kaguyahime responded, "How shall I uncover the true depths of their feelings? It is really a small task."

"Their feelings all seem to be the same. How can you know among them which is better and which is worse?" [the old man asked].

[Kaguyahime answered,] "Please tell those men whom you say have come, that, of the man among the five of them who brings me the object I would like to see, I shall say, 'Your feelings are the deepest,' and will serve him [as his wife]."

Although such differences do not result in momentous interpretive debate, they are points which have necessitated certain conscious choices in this translation, and therefore have been indicated accordingly.

In summary, the considerations in undertaking a translation of this sort have been numerous and the contributions of a wide variety of sources have been central to a deeper understanding of the significance of the tale to people of different times in different cultures. Although I cannot even pretend to have adequately represented the scope of research on the *Taketori*, not to mention the range of popular interpretations of the tale in circulation today, I hope to have provided food for thought as to the types of issues and problems which have been raised by the tale. The necessity of this attention to multiple interpretations is increased by the inevitable evolution and changes not only in the story itself during its transmission, but more pointedly in the

changing language, values, and perceptions of its readership in the 1000 years since its creation. It is perhaps impossible to know exactly how the story was originally intended by its author to be read or how the Heian courtier interpreted the story, but written commentaries and also visual representations of the story reveal to us how the story was read at different periods in history. Awareness of the context of a particular reading of the story, and the existence of a multiplicity of interpretive possibilities, as well as the motivations and processes behind them, can be perhaps more beneficial to the English-speaking reader than a selective decision on the part of the translator to provide only what he personally thinks is best or closest to the true meaning of the story. Before going into my own translation, then, I will briefly examine the social, historical, and intellectual context of Ôhide's work, the canonizing role it played during its time, and the contributions it has made to later trends in *Taketori Monogatari* studies.

CHAPTER III: CREATING A CONTEXT

Tanaka Ôhide and the Canonization of the *Taketori Monogatari*

The historical contextualization of a translation such as will be seen in the following chapters brings to the forefront a number of fresh perspectives from which our text can be examined more closely. Under these circumstances, more important than what such a reading can tell us about what the text "really means" is for us to consider what the reading has done for the text through interpreting it in the way that it has. As only one example of the potential issues which could be raised by this kind of translation, I would like, in conclusion, to discuss the position of the *Taketori Monogatari* in the literary canon before 1830 and the subsequent role I see Tanaka Ôhide's commentary playing in the confirmation of the tale as a "classic" text in the last years of the Edo and the early Meiji periods.

Although the status of the *Taketori Monogatari* as a canonical text is firmly established and, for the most part, unquestioned today, we have already seen that it has not always occupied such a clear position as one of Japan's "Great Books." Manuscripts and written commentaries of the *Genji Monogatari*, *Ise Monogatari*, and other courtly classics survive in continuous succession from long before the appearance of the first extant *Taketori* manuscript and certainly before its first surviving scholarly commentaries, which date only to the late 1700's.¹ Appearing in print in 1831, the *Taketori Monogatari Kai* is a late arrival in the long tradition of literary analysis and commentary among Japanese scholars. Nonetheless, it is one of the earliest scholarly works to treat the *Taketori* as a work of classical literature along the lines of the *Genji* or *Ise*, and is preceded only by Koyama Tadashi's *Taketori Monogatari Shô* of 1784 and the incomplete and heavily abbreviated *Taketori Monogatari Isasamegoto* of 1793.

The foremost obstacle to any endeavor to affirm the legitimacy of the *Taketori* as an object of scholarly study during this period would therefore appear to be the lack of a tradition of scholarly commentary surrounding it. In a discussion of the new perspectives taken by *kokugaku*

(National Learning) scholars' commentaries on the *Genji Monogatari* in the 18th century,² Thomas Harper calls attention to the fact that, until the advent of the *kokugaku* movement, scholarly examination of literary works had been the domain of the aristocratic elite who had passed down literary manuscripts and the "secrets" (*hiden*) of their meaning exclusively within their own families and to their chosen disciples through the centuries. His argument is that "[a]s far as the nobility were concerned, the notion of what we now call Japanese Literature did not exist. The literature of Japan was not a national heritage. It was the family property of the nobles whose ancestors had written it -- or at best the cultural heritage of the aristocratic class" (119). The care with which manuscripts and commentaries of such well-established texts as the *Genji Monogatari* and *Ise Monogatari* have been preserved no doubt has largely been due to such elite ownership. If this was, in fact, the case, a work of such uncertain authorship and created out of such varied popular legendary sources as the *Taketori* would no doubt have been not only undesirable, but also impossible for the aristocracy to maintain control of completely. With the heightened prominence of the *kokugaku* scholars in the 17th and early 18th centuries, however, the elitism and exclusivity in literary scholarship came to be directly challenged.

The *kokugaku* movement devoted itself to the study and promotion of "native" Japanese literary works, with the express implication that together they constituted a *national* literature. Harper explains that, fighting the exclusivity of the aristocratic elite, "[the *kokugaku* scholars] are bent not simply upon getting the facts straight; they are claiming property rights to *The Tale of Genji*, if not for 'all mankind,' at least for all Japanese" (120). Toward these ends, the transmission of *hiden* secret teachings, which had first been practiced in aristocratic families and then was carried on in the early Tokugawa period by the private schools (*shijuku*) of noted scholars, who were also often patronized by the ruling elite, began to dissipate by the middle of the Tokugawa period. Richard Rubinger ties this trend to the popularization of learning (*gakumon*) in general. He states: "By the middle of the period, . . . along with the general spread of culture and the breaking down of geographical and class barriers to education in many *shijuku*, *hiden* practices

in some areas began to give way" (157). In particular by Norinaga's time, such exclusive practices were looked down upon and concerted efforts made to provide access to interested pupils regardless of economic status or geographical location. "At Norinaga's *Suzu no Ya* . . . [t]he entrance oath at the school had a provision specifically warning against claiming exclusive training." (Rubinger, 172)

Of course, Ôhide's decision to produce a commentary on the *Taketori Monogatari* would not have been an attempt to reclaim a text from elite ownership for popular appreciation, but rather constitutes an affirmation of a text as a Great Book perhaps for the first time. Although elite textual commentary probably did not exist for the *Taketori* before the end of the 18th century, it has been noted, however, that the tale was the subject of several *e-maki* picture scrolls and *nara e-hon* picture books throughout the Edo period. Ôhide was no doubt aware of these *Taketori* illustrations -- as well as those of the more elite classics -- and the value attached to them by the powerful daimyô classes, and his choice to treat this more "popular" work in an academic treatise would have served to legitimize those popular claims, expanding the definition of "literature" to represent and, further, to appeal to a larger, "national" audience. The format and overall tone of the *Taketori Monogatari Kai* commentary suggest that the author was keenly conscious of the fact that the tale had not been regarded as a canonical work by the aristocratic classes before his examination of it, and his efforts to legitimize his choice and elevate the reader's appreciation of the exemplary content as well as linguistic style of the *Taketori* are exhaustive.

The overall format of the *Kai* commentary, as it has been outlined in the introduction to the above translation, invokes immediate associations with such earlier works as Keichû's early *Ise* commentary, the *Seigo Okudan* of 1693, in which the noted *kokugaku* scholar begins with short discussions of the issues of the author of the text and its correct title which are then followed by a detailed analysis of the entire text divided into small paragraphs. By the 18th century, this structure had become widely accepted and put into practice as the standard approach for the examination of classical literary works and therefore the very decision to produce this style of commentary for the *Taketori Monogatari* necessarily associated the work directly with the

established Heian masterpieces which had by the 1810's already long been addressed in this fashion. Thus, before we even examine the content of the commentary itself, the author's attitude toward the text and his intentions of treating it as a classic work are already quite clear.

Before examining further how the *Taketori Monogatari Kai* succeeds in making a classic out of the *Taketori* tale, it is, perhaps necessary to consider briefly what is meant here by "canonization" and the "making of a classic." When speaking of the "canonical version" or the "official literary version" of the *Taketori Monogatari*, a distinction is first being made between the work which was formalized into a stable text sometime in the late 9th or early 10th century and the more fluid legendary version of the story of the bamboo cutter and the moon child. The title of "canonical work," however, resonates with implications of an appeal and an importance which have been enduring attributes since the time of the creation of the work -- or at least shortly thereafter -- and which have persisted undisputed until the present day. However, we have just seen, of course, that this was clearly not the case with the *Taketori Monogatari*. With this in mind, it is clear that, as Linda Chance observes in her discussion of the Tokugawa canonization of the *Tsurezuregusa* (Essays in Idleness),

we must reevaluate the canonicity of specific texts in order to determine what might have been obscured by the process that installed them in the pantheon. This is at least as important as, and may be a prerequisite for, producing any new readings of received masterworks. At its most basic, a canon represents nothing other than selection, and any selection procedure leaves things behind. It is only right that our curiosity be raised by the prospect of a (purposely) neglected tradition, or abandoned interpretations. One should also note that this reexamination may confirm the significance of items that have come to the forefront during the canon-making process, since questioning of interpretive strategies does not result only in loss. (40)

Canonization is not a natural phenomenon in which the empirically superior works rise unsummoned above the rest; it is the result of a deliberate and pointed selection process defining a cultural history which has the outward appearance of timelessness. It is this appearance of

timelessness, however, of which one must be wary. Not only is the canon not timeless, it is also not necessarily permanent. A work must be continuously recognized and constantly reaffirmed for its exceptional literary (or other) merit in order to sustain its status as canonical.

Therefore, it is to Tanaka Ôhide's deliberate selection of the *Taketori Monogatari* as a literary classic that our attention must turn. Initial work on the *Taketori Monogatari Kai* was begun in 1813 and the first draft completed in 1815, making the *Taketori* the subject of Tanaka Ôhide's first complete literary commentary. It was followed by commentaries on the *Ochikubo Monogatari* in 1821, the *Tosa Nikki* in 1829, and the *Kagerô Nikki* in 1831, among others. Considering Ôhide's training in the *kokugaku* school of thought, it is of interest to think about the possible reasons behind his initial choice to produce a study of the *Taketori Monogatari*, and, consequently, the effect the resulting commentary had on the attitudes of later Meiji nationalist scholars toward the text.

Throughout his commentary, Ôhide is relentless in his citation of passages from classical Japanese and also Chinese literature as well as philosophical and historical works which have even the slightest topical, thematic, or stylistic resonances with the *Taketori* text. The result is the intimate and undeniable association of the *Taketori* both with Japanese classics recognized and revered by the *kokugaku* scholars of his own day as well as a more broad-minded appreciation of its debt to Chinese antiquity which took Ôhide beyond the single-minded focus on the Heian courtly aesthetic and earlier Shinto ideology of the Ancient Way (*kodô*) which dominated this *kokugaku* thought. No doubt there were compelling reasons why it was necessary for Ôhide to defend his choice to produce a study of the *Taketori Monogatari* so persistently. To achieve some understanding of the forces involved in this process, it is necessary to examine summarily the intellectual climate within which this commentary was developed, namely the by this time firmly established ideology of the *kokugaku* movement and, most notably, the teachings of Ôhide's own master, Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801).

Norinaga was perhaps the most accomplished and most widely recognized scholar of the *kokugaku* movement, building on the foundational philosophies of Kada no Azumamaro (1669-

1736) and his disciple Kamo no Mabuchi (1697-1769) from the early 18th century whose primary intent was to promote the ancient classics. Through the close examination of ancient texts such as the *Man'yôshû*, the *kokugaku* scholars rejected the strong Neo-Confucian ideologies shaping the political thought of their time in favor of the study and promotion of “native” Japanese literary works. By the end of the 18th century, with Norinaga in particular, the movement had come to emphasize the superiority of Japanese tradition over that of China, and David Magarey Earl notes that, although the complete rejection of Chinese thought and Confucianism in particular was an extreme and politically volatile trend in such a thoroughly Confucianized environment as that of Tokugawa Japan, the *kokugaku* scholars were still widely respected for their work (217).

Norinaga placed particular value in the aesthetic of *mono no aware*, a sensitivity to things, which he considered central not only to the appreciation of literature, but also fundamental to the understanding of human nature. As the prime example of this aesthetic within the literary tradition, he upheld the *Genji Monogatari*, and his commentaries on this work focus on the appreciation of its exemplary use of the aesthetic of *mono no aware*.³ In the *Shibun Yôryô*, Norinaga criticizes earlier *Genji* commentaries saying: “The traditional commentaries, following the moralistic discussion in Confucian and Buddhist books, tend to wrench the novel into the shape of a piece of moral instruction. They comment on what the novel speaks of as good, as if it were evil, and explain passages of the novel as lessons to various ends. They have thus often misled readers and missed the author’s real intention.” (cited in Matsumoto, 46) Basically, in contrast to the earlier focus on moralistic and didactic concerns, *kokugaku* scholars valued style and particularly the use of *wabun* (Japanese writing), counting among their most respected works the earliest historical chronicles, the *Man'yôshû*, the first eight imperial anthologies (*chokusenshû*), tales, diaries, and essays of the Heian and early Kamakura periods.

Although the *Taketori* was an early Heian period tale, and one of the oldest works of Japanese prose fiction, it did not figure into the major *kokugaku* scholars’ canon of works to be promoted as a “national” literature. Taking into account the predominant interest in a native style

and aesthetic, it could be argued that the *Taketori Monogatari* may have been regarded by these scholars as much more closely associated with the Chinese tradition than other works which they valued much more highly. On the surface, subject matter such as the Mountain of Hôrai, the dragon's jewel, and the Fire-Rat's fur come directly from Chinese Taoist and popular legend, while Prince Ishitsukuri's task of retrieving the stone begging bowl is directly linked to the Buddhist tradition. On the other hand, this is, of course, to a certain extent purely conjecture. Although the Chinese content of the tale should be immediately evident, some early Meiji scholars chose to examine the work specifically for its value as a native text. In consideration of this, it is difficult to say definitively that the *kokugaku* scholars disregarded the *Taketori* due to its Chinese content, but the indebtedness to Buddhist and Taoist legend is undeniable. In terms of writing style, Mitani Eiichi has also noted instances throughout the text where he sees evidence of remnants of a Chinese writing style, and argues that some grammatical structures and the use of certain stylized phrasing would indicate that originally the tale had been written in some form of *kambun* (Chinese writing). Aesthetically, it is clear from the references to the *Taketori* in the *Genji Monogatari* that Murasaki Shikibu, the champion of *mono no aware*, viewed the tale as old-fashioned and considerably lacking in sensitivity or depth of emotion -- what was to be considered by the *kokugaku* scholars as native value -- even in her own time.

Nonetheless, in spite of these several counts against the tale from the perspective of *kokugaku* philosophy, Ôhide, himself trained in this thinking, chooses to devote considerable effort to the study of this work, and presents in his commentary a challenge to possible criticism of the integrity of the work in each of these areas. First, on the topic of Chinese sources of the subject matter, Ôhide cannot ignore the role of Chinese legend and Buddhist source material for the tasks assigned to the various suitors in the tale, however, he also is careful to make extensive reference to "native" Japanese sources -- particularly those such as the *Kojiki*, *Nihon Shoki*, and *Man'yôshû*, which were so highly praised by the *kokugaku* scholars -- to which the *Taketori* is indebted. On several occasions, he also cites passages from other Heian works such as the *Genji*, *Yamato*, and *Ochikubo Monogatari*, which he claims are themselves derived from the *Taketori* or

take certain sections from it as a model. As for the writing style, Ôhide is the only one of the early modern commentators to specifically comment on the charm and appeal of the tale, repeatedly using phrases such as *hanahada medetashi* (very praiseworthy, in Uesaka p. 128), *omoshiroshi* (charming, p. 141), *ito wokashi* (very amusing, p. 294), *ajihafu beshi* (deserving appreciation, p. 451), etc. Notable for this singular subjectivity, Ôhide's *Kai* draws attention to features such as details of the writing style which do not seem to have been appreciated before this commentary came into being. Similarly, Ôhide also is careful to address the aesthetic charms of the overarching themes of the tale. He points out the poignancy of the final scenes between the emperor and Kaguyahime, a feature which had already been noted by Norinaga before him; but he is also the first commentator (and only one during the early modern period) to emphasize the humanistic concerns and emotions of the character of the old bamboo cutter throughout the tale. Ôhide's commentary is singular in its sympathetic treatment of the old man, stressing his honest, naive and trusting nature and his good-hearted attitude toward each of the suitors in turn by expressly explaining what he is feeling and thinking on each occasion.

By addressing the particular concerns of the *kokugaku* school in his examination of the *Taketori Monogatari*, a non-standard subject, Ôhide clearly attempts to establish the text as a worthy companion to the other Heian narratives studied by his predecessors and contemporaries.

On the other hand, the task of legitimizing a work as a "canonical text" cannot often be accomplished by a single individual. A canon necessarily involves shared appreciation or recognition, either real or desired, of works, if not by the culture as a whole, at least by some self-appointed body claiming the role of defining and preserving certain values for a society. The values perceived in a literary work by any one commentator must be shared and reaffirmed by others for it to maintain any degree of visibility and consequently the public recognition necessary to define the work as canonical.

Therefore, if one is to speak of the canonization of the *Taketori Monogatari* by Tanaka Ôhide's commentary, it is necessary not only to see the work in the context of the tradition from which it arose and its departures from that tradition, but also to examine the way in which his

commentary was influential in the continued attentions of literary scholars to this text. Certainly, the choice of the *Taketori Monogatari* is one which was not made by earlier scholars and reflects a willingness to question and moreover depart from the accepted "canon" of *kokugaku* works to apply the ideas and values of that movement to new works and to find value in works which were only marginally recognized by the great scholars who preceded him.

Michael Brownstein addresses the period of transition from *kokugaku* of the later Tokugawa years to the Meiji nationalist *kokubungaku* (National Literature movement) of end of the 19th and early 20th centuries, and explains the criticisms voiced by this later group concerning the scholarship produced by the *kokugaku* movement. He states:

Haga Yaichi later enumerated what he considered the failings of Tokugawa period *kokugakusha*. Their dogmatic national chauvinism, he argued, prevented them from exploring the influence of Chinese culture on Japanese culture; their exclusive emphasis on the Nara and Heian periods showed a lack of historical perspective; and their philological investigations were unscientific. Furthermore, Haga pointed out, later *kokugakusha* only clung to the theories of the past rather than taking them as a point of critical departure, a procedure Haga felt should be the basis of a modern *kokugaku*.

(438)

It could be argued that, in the work of Tanaka Ōhide, there begins a movement away from this "clinging to the theories of the past" to understand the National Learning ideology in a broader sense, furthermore acknowledging to a certain degree the role of Chinese culture in the creation of a Japanese identity. It is not improbable that staunch *kokugaku* advocates would have seen the *Taketori Monogatari* as much too dominated by Chinese Buddhist, Taoist, and other legendary influences to have been appropriate to their nativist cause. However, Ōhide is able to see this work for the essentially "Japanese" aesthetic and literary merits of *aware* and humor of style which were so highly valued by his teacher Norinaga. In the essay "Waga oshiego ni imashime oku yō," Norinaga presents words of advice for his disciples, saying: "A man who would follow me and study with me should not stick to my view if he thinks out a better idea afterward. He should

explain the reason why I am wrong and spread his better idea" (cited in Matsumoto, 72). During Ôhide's years as a pupil of Norinaga, we see that he was highly praised as an exceptionally gifted thinker, (see p. 43) and the *Taketori Monogatari Kai* commentary demonstrates the kind of original thought Ôhide brought to his scholarship, signaling and perhaps even to a certain extent motivating new developments in the study of a "national literature." As commentator, he does not present his interpretation as the definitive word on many subjects, and directly states that he is offering his suggestions only for the consideration of others until a better idea is proposed. Nonetheless, he does take the initiative to make changes and provide a strongly individual interpretation where he believes it is warranted.⁴

Brownstein goes on to state that "the first generation of *kokubungakusha* tried to redefine the canon of classical literature, chiefly by adding to it writings in the 'mixed' Japanese-Chinese style (*wakan konkôbun* 和漢混交文) and popular works in the vernacular" (445). Although Brownstein defines this "first generation of *kokubungakusha*" as scholars such as Ochiai Naobumi, Ueda Kazutoshi, Haga Yaichi and others of the early Meiji period, specifically around the 1890's, it is possible to think of Tanaka Ôhide as having attempted the same kind of redefinition with his *Taketori* commentary. In a sense, he seems to occupy a kind of intermediary or transitional position between the *kokugaku* and *kokubungaku* scholars, paving the way for the young scholars of the end of the 19th century. One of these early and highly influential *kokubungaku* scholars, Ochiai Naobumi, produced a commentary entitled the *Taketori Monogatari Dokuhon* (A *Taketori Monogatari* Reader) in 1896. However, few of his comments on the tale have been provided in the notes to the present translation specifically for the reason that his interpretation varied almost insignificantly from Ôhide's, often reiterating word for word the comments made in the *Taketori Monogatari Kai*. Considering Ochiai's prominent role in the self-conscious efforts of the *kokubungaku* movement to create a codified and clearly defined canon of classical literature in the Meiji period through active participation in the compilation and editing of the *Nihon Bungaku Zensho* (Complete works of Japanese literature) anthology in 1890, his

indebtedness to Ôhide in his *Taketori* commentary is telling:

Even if [the Meiji nationalists] could not say what the distinctive elements of Japanese civilization were beyond such generalizations [as those made by the Tokugawa *kokugaku* scholars], they sought to strengthen *kokugaku* conservatism by broadening the literary canon and thereby point to what Japanese *kokutai* [national essence] shared in common with that of other nations . . . The emphasis here is on the longevity and continuity of a literary tradition, qualities of a part that, by implication, were shared by a larger whole. These same qualities, needless to say, when associated with the Imperial Household, also became the definitive element of *kokutai* (Brownstein, 459-60).

In many ways, Ôhide has already in his own small way broadened the literary canon and focused on elements of style and native sensitivity which the *kokugaku* scholars had associated directly with a true "Japaneseness" which would be developed into the concept of *kokutai*. Of course, it is crucial to realize here that with the Meiji nationalists the "longevity and continuity" of tradition effected by the recreation of a national literature is to a large extent an artificial construct of the new ideology.

Fujitani Takashi, in his examination of the concept of the Japanese nation-state,⁵ has argued that the Meiji period was marked by the conscious creation of a Japanese national history, and called particular attention to certain "mnemonic sites," which he defines as "material vehicles of meaning that helped construct a memory of either an emperor-centered national past that, ironically, had never been known or that served as symbolic markers for commemorations of present national accomplishments and the possibilities of the future" (89). When we see that scholarly commentaries centered on the *Taketori* do not survive from before the late 1700's, the falsity of the sense of permanence and authority created by its canonical status in the Meiji period is clearly revealed. Although the resulting elevation of the *Taketori Monogatari* to the rank of classic is readily apparent, the motivations behind the conscious placement of the work in that position are not as clear. However, whether or not in this case one can argue that the canonization of the

Taketori Monogatari in the Meiji period was effected for particular nationalistic and imperialistic motivations lies beyond the scope of this analysis, requiring closer examination of the values emphasized specifically by commentaries of the end of the 19th century and later.

In limiting the perspective of my translation and analysis of the *Taketori Monogatari* to a contextualized examination of Tanaka Ōhide's commentary, I have not attempted to reveal any empirical truths in the texts except for my conviction of the importance of the acknowledgement of the multiplicity of readings in the text and the value in recognizing the subjective vantage point of any one reading. The translation of a reading of the text in a particular historical context is necessarily and intentionally limiting, but as Linda Chance states, "It is simply the case that biased readings tell us more, in the long run, about the reader than about what has been read. Furthermore, these biases are useful for a discussion of the canonical status of a text, which is always accompanied by the specification of the arenas for which it is to be considered a classic" (41). The biases which can be traced in part to Ōhide's *kokugaku* background, his scholarly development in the final days of the movement, and the hint of the advent of a heightened nationalism in the *kokubungaku* scholars who followed him all serve to give us a sense of the role he played in the recognition of the *Taketori* as literature, and consequently in our broader understanding of the work today. To contextualize the translation of the work in this way, then, also serves to emphasize the forces at work behind its fluid and ever-changing nature and reminds us that "[t]he classic is rarely a work of clear, authoritative simplicity, no matter how fixed its meaning seems at any one moment." (Chance, 42)

Chapter IV: Tanaka Ôhide's *Taketori no Okina no Monogatari Kai*

Translator's Preface

Uesaka Nobuo, in the introduction to his collection of early modern *Taketori* commentaries, remarks upon the dominant presence of Tanaka Ôhide's *Taketori no Okina no Monogatari Kai* commentary within *Taketori* scholarship up to and through the Meiji period. It is also clear in examination of the contemporary work of scholars such as Katagiri Yôichi, Matsuo Satoshi, Mitani Eiichi, and Noguchi Motohiro that its influence has remained strong through to the present day.

Tanaka Ôhide (1777-1847), the author of the *Taketori no Okina no Monogatari Kai*, was a noted *kokugaku* (National Learning) scholar and pupil of Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801), the foremost *kokugaku* scholar of the 18th century. At the age of twenty-one, Ôhide went to Atsuta in Owari and studied *waka* poetry and *kokugaku* philosophy at Atsuta Shrine under the Shinto priest Awata Tomokane. In 1801, when he was twenty-five, he attended lectures by Norinaga and became his pupil, but shortly thereafter both Tomokane and Norinaga died in quick succession. In 1804, Ôhide went to Norinaga's home in Matsuzaka, where he stayed for two months copying out his master's posthumous works and studying them intently. He finished a draft of the *Taketori no Okina no Monogatari Kai* in 1812, then in 1815 took it to Suzuki Akira (1764-1837), who had been a prized pupil of Norinaga's since 1789. (This is the Suzuki whose work he often cites in the notes to his commentary.) At this time, he also asked Motoori Ôhira (1756-1833), Norinaga's adopted son and disciple since the age of thirteen, for his opinion of the draft. Incorporating the suggestions he received from these two senior scholars, Ôhide revised his draft and completed a final copy in 1820. It then took eleven more years before the writing-block copy appeared in printed form in 1831. Ôhide was an avid scholar and well-respected among his colleagues, and by the end of his life had many pupils in the Gifu and Fukui areas. His scholarship focused for the most part on medieval and classical *monogatari* tales and *nikki* diaries, including the *Ochikubo*

Monogatari, Kagerô Nikki, and Tosa Nikki.

The breadth of Ôhide's scholarship is fully evident in his *Taketori no Okina no Monogatari Kai* commentary, which is perhaps one of the most extensively researched critical works on the tale even to this day. The countless examples of topical, vocabulary, and historical references which he cites from other literary and historical sources to explain and reinforce his interpretation are invaluable and unparalleled in the study of the *Taketori Monogatari*.

The *Taketori no Okina no Monogatari Kai* grew out of Ôhide's dissatisfaction with Koyama Tadashi and Irie Masayoshi's 1784 commentary, the *Taketori Monogatari Shô*, the earliest surviving scholarly commentary on the *Taketori Monogatari*, and evidently the only complete preexisting commentary from which Ôhide himself worked. The *Kai* is introduced by a short preface by Motoori Ôhira, in which he describes his relationship to Ôhide as a "brother in learning" (*manabi no kyôdai*), emphatically praising his distinction and dedication in scholarly pursuits. He outlines Ôhide's academic background as summarized above, and also explains the evolution of the *Kai* commentary, remarking that Norinaga himself had praised his student as a "man of profound sentiment" (*kokorozashi fukaki hito kana*). Ôhide is also described as being skilled in many courtly arts such as poetry composition, prose writing, and playing the *koto* and flute.

The preface is followed by Ôhide's own introduction, in which he discusses several issues surrounding the nature of the text which have continued to be of primary interest to Japanese scholars through the 19th and 20th centuries. This introduction is divided into five sections which address: 1) how to read *monogatari* literature, 2) questions surrounding the title of the work, 3) the date of completion of the work, 4) the identity of the author, and 5) an appendix of foreign sources and texts of stories incorporating themes similar to those found in the *Taketori* tale. This introduction is followed by the main portion of the commentary, which involves a line-by-line discussion of grammatical, vocabulary, and source and background issues as they directly involve the text, explaining also any changes that Ôhide has made to the text in order that it make better

sense to his own understanding.

The following sections will present a summary translation of Tanaka Ôhide's introductory notes to his commentary and a translation of the *Taketori Monogatari* text itself according to his analysis. Ôhide's own comments have been included in the notes to the translation of the story, and where other scholars have provided additional comments of interest, they have been noted by the scholar's last name. Brief descriptions of most of the literary and historical sources referenced in the translation appear in Appendix 1.

TAKETORI NO OKINA NO MONOGATARI KAI¹

Introductory Notes to the *Tale of the Old Bamboo Cutter*

by Tanaka Ôhide

Introduction. There were no scholarly commentaries upon the work before Keichû's *Kawa Yashiro* (ca. 1695), which spoke of ancient matters of Tenjiku and Morokoshi [India and China, respectively]. Following this, Koyama Tadashi's *Taketori Monogatari Shô* (1784) broke the work down into sections, interpreting each in considerable detail. However, although the *Taketori* would at first glance appear to be relatively straightforward and easy to understand, if one attempts to read it over repeatedly and truly appreciate its greatness, there prove in fact to be many areas which are quite difficult and leave the reader very confused. This is because there is a large number of omissions in the text and many omissions and mistakes have accumulated over the centuries as the text has been passed on through numerous copyings. Having gone through the entire text, examining different versions of it and discussing these texts with other people, I have come up with a commentary which addresses the entire text line by line and desire to make my observations known more widely to the public who will be reading this narrative.

The Purpose of Reading *Monogatari* Literature. Norinaga, in his *Genji Monogatari*

commentary *Tama no Ogushi* (1796), discussed the subject of how one should read any *monogatari* work. Although anyone interested in reading *monogatari* seriously should read his treatise, I would like to point out a few of his observations here. First, when asked for what purpose we read *monogatari*, the master's response was that, for the most part, *monogatari* describe the good things, the bad things, the strange things, the amusing things, the humorous things, and the sad things of the world. By writing down these things and sometimes interspersing pictures among them, we are provided comfort in our idleness, and become able to recognize the events of the world, and the sadness of things. He also emphasized the sadness of things (*mono no aware*) in this particular tale, the *Taketori Monogatari*. The pathos of the five suitors, who desperately pursue the beautiful Kaguyahime and all fail miserably, demonstrates the concept of *mono no aware* quite fully. On the other hand, the princess's apparent coldness in regard to the five suitors would seem to indicate a lack of feeling, but when she is before the emperor, she is not without feeling and, even when she is just about to put on the heavenly robe of feathers, she writes emotional letters to her parents and the emperor. This detailed description contradicts the suggestion that she is a cold and heartless person. In this manner, the tale demonstrates its understanding of the appeal of the aesthetic of *mono no aware* and should be read and appreciated for this quality.

The Title of the Work. It is not incorrect for the title of this tale to be read the *Taketori no Okina no Monogatari* (*The Tale of the Old Man, the Bamboo Cutter*), or the *Taketori no Monogatari* (*The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter*) for short. Throughout the story, the old man is referred to simply as *taketori* (bamboo cutter) as he is referred to in the *Yamato Monogatari* as well.² Now, whether this should be pronounced *takatori* or *taketori* is also a point of argument. According to the judgement of Lord [Fujiwara no] Toshinari in the *Roppyakuban Utaawase*, the old bamboo cutter can be referred to as either *takatori* or *taketori*. The *Man'yōshū* commentaries also state that the word can be read either way. However, although it appears that the word could be read either *takatori* or *taketori*, the latter is the better reading. Compounds which convert the *e*

sound to *a* usually are words which, taken as two separate words rather than a compound one, would have a *no* inserted to form a short phrase. For example, *takamura*, bamboo village, could also be read *take no mura*, village of bamboo. In contrast, words which do not take *no*, such as *tori* (cutter), *haki* (wearer), and *mori* (protector), tend to retain the *e* pronunciation in the part which precedes them. Considering also that those who take the name of their profession from the work that they do retain the *e* in their names, such as *inekari* (rice-reaper), etc., it should be evident that the bamboo cutter's name should not be read *takatori*, but rather *taketori*. There are mentions of the word being read *takatori* in the *Kenshō Roppyakuban Utaawase*, which blamed the mistake on the printers, but in the *Yamato*, the reading "*takatori ga . . .*" is passable and thus it seems to be an issue not so strictly adhered to. Since, however, it has now become a common expression, it should be correctly read *taketori*. As a principle, the *Ochikubo* and *Genji Monogatari* get their titles from the names of the characters whose tale is being told, and, as can be seen in the "Yomogiu" chapter of the *Genji*, our tale is also known by the title *Kaguyahime no Monogatari*.³ Since the *Genji* also refers to this tale as the *Taketori no Okina no Monogatari* in its "E-awase" chapter, it is apparent that the tale was associated with both the princess and this male character of the bamboo cutter early on.⁴

The Date of Composition: According to Norinaga's *Tama no Ogushi*, although the date of composition of this work and the identity of the author are uncertain, it does not appear to be a terribly old work. It would seem to have been written since the Engi period (901-923). However, if we are to take the *Genji Monogatari* reference to a painted scroll by Kose no Ōmi and Ki no Tsurayuki⁵ (ca. 872-945) to be true, then the tale must have existed earlier than the Engi years. Although the *Genji* is a fictional romance, the author is very attentive to historical detail and, unlike works like the (*Wakan*) *Rōeishū*, it contains many reliable historic references. If we are to understand that the *Hōrōkakukyō* Sutra,⁶ which this tale is thought to take as a model, was brought over by Takano Daishi, then the tale must have been written after the Daidō years (806-809). Koyama says in the introduction to his *Shō* that the *Matsura Monogatari* afterword says that

the *Taketori* was written in Jôgan 3 (862) and this is why Murasaki Shikibu says that it is the “ancestor of all romances,” but it should be seen as older than Jôgan. Although it would have been written around this general time, this particular afterword is not entirely reliable.

The Author. It is impossible to know who wrote this tale. Of all the ancient romances, there are none for which we know the author’s name. The *Kakaishô* states that, according to an explanation passed down from the ancient people, the *Taketori* is the work of Minamoto no Shitagô (911-983), but this is not certain. If it is accepted that the tale could not have been written without actually going to China and India and being told the stories directly, there are people who say that the author must have been Shitagô. But this must be false. It is said in the *Kakaishô* that it is questionable whether the author of the *Utsuho Monogatari* is Shitagô, and this is the same sort of issue. I discuss the theory that Shitagô is probably the author of the *Taketori* and the *Utsuho* in my *Ochikubo* commentary because the *Ochikubo* is said to be written by him. Although the writing style of these three tales is quite different, it is clear that they are the work of the same person. According to Irie, it is said, also in the *Kakaishô*, that there is another interpretation which states that it there was a manuscript of the text in the hand of Kôse no Ômi. Although some say that this is the same person as Kôse no Kanaoka Ômi, Ômi was actually an earlier person and Kanaoka was a man of the time of Emperor Nimmyô and painted a picture of the palace in Jôwa 4 (838). In the *Kachô Yojô*, it says that Ômi was actually Kanaoka’s son. Kanaoka lived during the time of Kamyô (under Emperor Uda, 889-897), and his son would have lived around the same time as Tsurayuki. If Shitagô had written the *Taketori Monogatari*, then Ômi and Tsurayuki could not have made a copy of it. However, if it already was an old story by the Shôtai/Engi years (898-923), then they must really have copied it out, as it says in the introduction to Koyama’s *Shô*.

Sources: This tale gathers strange and unusual material from the chronicles of China and India for its creation. The theme of assigning suitors tasks involving obtaining difficult to get objects appears in many different writings, beginning with the *Hôrôkakukyô*, and Norinaga shows that the story of the Palace of the Moon is also said to be reminiscent of certain various sutras. He

says, "The account of Kaguyahime's life, as well as the stone begging bowl, the Fire-Rat's fur, the jeweled branch, etc., and the things from China and India, are said to come from those far-off documents, but, although this may be true, there are many references here and there in our own sources which mention very similar ancient events. In addition, the events of Kaguyahime's birth from a stalk of bamboo and her subsequent ascent to the heavens must have been passed down in the ancient records of the various provinces which have not survived down to the present time.⁷

The fact that they have not been passed down is very unfortunate. Of the few materials which survive today, the stories of the *Kojiki*, *Nihon Shoki*, *Man'yôshû*, and the story of the Kamo God from the *Yamashiro Fudoki* surely are similar in many parts. Since many of these references are too long to include in the notes section of the commentary, they have been copied down and discussed in a section of supplementary texts at the end of this introduction.

Remarks on the Commentary Itself: Since this narrative is called the ancestor of all romances,⁸ among the works which have been written down and copied in the actual language of our honourable country, it is a very, very old thing. Therefore, as it has been passed down over the years, many words have been miscopied, and characters left out. In her *Makura no Sôshi*, Sei Shônagon said,

Especially with *monogatari* tales, it is not even worth speaking them if they are poorly written, and I even feel sorry for the author. It is unfortunate when the comments 'corrected' or 'Teihon copy' appear in *monogatari* books.

monogatari koso ashiu kaki nado sureba, ihigahi naku, tsukuribito sahe itohoshikere.

*nahosu, teihon no mama, nado kaki-tsuketaru, hanahada kuchi-woshi*⁹

It was so even at that time [ca. 996] when it was not so long since *monogatari* had been conceived. How much more so now that so many hundreds of years have passed! I believe that, in the old documents of the past, there must have been many mistakes and omissions which were just left as they were, since it was not easy to change mistakes when writing scrolls and booklets (*sôshi*). Since scrolls are a long continuous piece of paper, from which you cannot just take out one or

insert another when you make a mistake, and since booklets were comprised of very thick paper, written on both sides, which, if torn out would appear uncomely, these mistakes were ignored, perhaps unhappily. Another idea is that, even now when trying to copy something, it is common to make many omissions, but there are not as many instances of adding something which was not there, so anything extra is likely to have been carefully thought out before being added.

(However, sometimes, unthinkingly, one can become caught up in the flow of the words and add a little something.) Since it has been so long since the writing of this work, it is impossible to limit oneself to a single, "correct" text, and therefore I have collected as many manuscripts as possible. Between printed versions (*hanpon*) and hand-written copies (*utsushi-hon*), I have found the printed ones more reliable and have used those. For those places which have seemed questionable in these, I have consulted others, and decided which is most appropriate. In those places where it has seemed that there has been some copying mistake or omission, I have gone by my own thoughts about it and filled in, left out, or changed what I thought necessary. Although this is a very irresponsible action, really, it is unavoidable. (Where I have made changes to the text, I have marked them clearly in the text itself and explained in my notes the sources I have used for making these changes. However, there are some changes I have made in particles which have been obvious mistakes, for which I do not provide explanation.) I am using Koyama's *Taketori Monogatari Shô* text, and several commonly circulating *hanpon* versions. My *shahon* text is the copied text which a man named Sano no Haruki put together in Kansei 2 (1781). This is a copy of an old text. The old print version obtained by Kentô in Etchû is also a very old copy and has many good points. The *Gunsho Ruijû*, after careful consideration, used a *shahon* text found in Namba in Bunsei 4 (1821) as its base text. In the following notes to my commentary, these abbreviations will be used to indicate the various texts:

shôhon = The text of Koyama's commentary. This is generally the same as the commonly circulating *hanpon* versions.

shahon = The text of Sano no Haruki's copied version.

kohon = Hayashi no Funanushi's text.

katsuhon = The movable type printed version.

ruihon = The *Gunsho Ruijû* text.

** Some of these texts are not titled, and some of them use elegant phrasing for the title as in a *monogatari* or diary. I am using the title *Taketori no Okina no Monogatari* from the *shahon* text.

** The *Kawa Yashiro* is a *zuihitsu* by the priest Keichû. It talks about this particular tale at the end of the first volume. The *Shô* is a work written by Koyama Tadashi of the Fujiwara of Naniwa. Irie Masayoshi explains in the introduction to the work that Koyama wrote it at the beginning of Temmei (1781-89) when he was very ill, and then died at age 25. Even at such a young age, he drew on many Chinese and Buddhist sources and was an exceptional person; it is unfortunate that we lost him (*oshiki hito narikashi*).

** Also, in deference to the original text of the master's [Norinaga's] interpretations, there are many places where I do not explain them in detail.

In order to look at this text, first I read it over several times, then I looked at the supplementary documents which were relevant to each section, studying their interpretations, and understanding the meaning of the words, then finally I was able to appreciate the interest of the text. Consequently, in order to better arrive at this goal more easily, I have temporarily divided the text up into nine sections, giving each of them a name.

Book I: Section 1 The Birth of Kaguyahime (*kaguyahime no ohitachi*)

Section 2 The Courtship (*tsumadohi*)

Book II: Section 3 The Stone Bowl of the Buddha (*hotoke no miishi no hachi*)

Section 4 The Jeweled Branch of Mt. Hôrai (*hôrai no tama no e*)

Book III: Section 5 The Fur Robe of the Fire-Rat (*hinezumi no kawagoromo*)

Section 6 The Jewel of the Dragon's Head (*tatsu no kubi no tama*)

Book IV: Section 7 The Safe-Birth Shell of the Swallow (*tsubame no koyasugahi*)

Section 8 The Imperial Hunting Party (*mikari no miyuki*)Book V: Section 9 The Heavenly Feathered Robe (*ama no hagoromo*)

I am doing this simply for ease of reading, and it probably was not divided up like this originally.¹⁰

[Modern scholars follow these same divisions, with the exception of Katagiri, who creates his own lengthy descriptive titles for each larger section and additionally uses sub-titles, further dividing the text into smaller segments.] However, for those writing the tale out in a graceful flowing hand, it would be desirable to write it out from beginning to end in one continuous passage, not begin at the top of another line if a certain section ended in the middle of a line. The notes in this commentary, however, necessarily break up the lines within the sections into even smaller pieces, and so the passages cannot flow smoothly.

Supplementary Texts

This section will present the supporting texts which show similarities to this narrative, as well as commentaries which should be drawn upon and discussions which are too long for the notes to the text.

Finding small people inside of bamboo:

The *Kôdai Hôrôkaku Zenjû Himitsu Darani Kyô* tells the story of the benevolence and virtue of the Nun of the Secret Abode of the Jeweled Pagoda:

On the mountain of Hôzan, the highest mountain, there lived three hermits. They spent their days in prayer to the Buddha and prayed that one day they would achieve enlightenment. Where they prayed and prayed, three stalks of bamboo grew, with the seven treasures for their roots and golden leaves and pearls on their branches. Their scent was particularly winning and they shone brightly. And inside of one of the bamboo was a young boy. His face was exceptionally pure. In time, three boys came out from the three bamboo and sat beneath them. On the seventh day, in the night, they all became

fully grown. Their bodies were golden and shone in an array of colors. Then of these three bamboo transformed and became the *kômyô* pagodas. . . .

The portion of this sutra which is quoted in the *Kawa Yashiro* tells of the later years of Kôbô Daishi [774-835, early Heian poet in Chinese and founder of Shingon Buddhism]. According to Keichû, "In the sutra, what was a boy is changed into a girl, and perhaps the *Taketori Monogatari* uses this as the basis." This must be so. Although this sutra is not read very much any more, in the work entitled *Wakuraba no Gohô* (わくらばの御法, Ceremony of the Dead Leaves), a record of the occasion of the commemoration of the thirty-third year after Tôji-in's death in the first year of Meitoku (1390), it is stated that the *Hôrôkakukyô* was used at the service, and therefore it appears that at the time it was a widely-read sutra.

The *Kayô Kokushi* (華陽國志) says:

Once, there was a man known as the Bamboo King. At the flowing water's edge, there was a girl washing. Three large bamboo flowed down the river and floated between her feet. Because of this, she could not leave. From inside one of the bamboo, she heard a voice crying. When she broke open the bamboo and looked inside, there was a boy inside. They took his name from the bamboo. They buried the broken bamboo in the dry field and soon a forest grew from it. This is the bamboo grove of the imperial shrine.

The *Kawa Yashiro* quotes the *Gokanjo* story of Yarô, which is very similar. This is surely just a variant of the same story describing the same individual.

In the *Shakushi Yôran*, it says:

Long ago, there was a King Tenrin (S. Cakravarti rāja), who was known as the highest of the Brahmanist gods (*daijizai*). His descendants became the four thousand kings of the eight directions. The last of these kings had no children in his old age. So he gave up his position as Grand Minister, shaved his own head and left the secular world. The people called him the sage king, but since he was very old, he was not able to care for himself well. All of his disciples came and, out of concern for him, placed him in a grass

basket, which they hung from a tree. This was because they feared that he would be harmed by wolves and tigers. A hunter came and, looking hopefully at the basket, thought that it was a white bird, and so the sage king was shot and died. His blood flowed into the dry earth. When his many disciples returned and saw the harm which had been done to their master, they together hid his remains. Where his blood had fallen, there later grew two stalks of sugar cane. Under the sun's rays they grew and opened up. From one, a small boy was born, and from the other a small girl. The lords heard of this and went to greet them and take them back to the capital. They were raised well and grew. Since they were of royal blood, they grew quickly and the boy became king.

This is similar to the story in the *Hôrôkakukyô*.

It says in the *Bussetsu Nanyo Giiki In'en Kyô*:

This is what I have heard. Once, there was a nun sitting in meditation. Her name was Lady of the Wild Apple Tree. When the Buddha came, she arose quickly from where she was sitting, arranged her robe and bowed to him. She joined her hands and said to the Buddha, 'Honorable Lord Master, I thought very deeply of the world to come when I became a woman of poverty and was born into another land. In this world, there is a buddha whose name is Kayô. At times, he surrounds himself with his people and addresses them on the teachings of the Law. I hoped to make offerings for the purpose of achieving the pleasure to be gotten from sitting in meditation and hearing the sutras. But I have not found that pleasure anywhere. In short, I am saddened to think that I am a person of wretched heart. I went to another garden searching for a particular fruit tree, and intended to give it to the Buddha. When I did this, there was a large wild apple tree which gave off a fragrant scent. I got a branch of a wild apple, put it in a bowl filled with water, and offered it to the Buddha Kayô and his disciples. The Buddha, realizing the exceptional depth of my understanding of things, granted my request. Scattering the water, he split the fruit and spread it everywhere. This place was blessed with much

happiness, and through good fortune I was born into Heaven. Having been born there, I came down to the earth, sure to achieve enlightenment. Then I planted these trees for the Lord Master and my eyes were opened to the true path.' The Lady of the Wild Apple Tree bowed and returned to sitting in meditation.

When the Buddha was alive in this world, a single wild apple tree grew up in the garden of the king of a certain land. Its leaves and branches grew thickly, and it was full of lush fruit. It was bright with the nine colors and its fragrance was exceptionally sweet. The king loved this tree as one of his treasures. In the land, there was a lay brahman who was wealthy beyond compare and there were no two like him in the realm. His wisdom and talent was also unequalled. The king was very fond of him and showered him with good graces, making him a minister. He offered the brahman food and drink. When he had finished eating, the brahman noticed that the fragrance of the fruit of the wild apple tree was unusually sweet. He asked the king about it and the king said, 'If you desire to have a bit of it, we can make an exchange.' And so the king gave the brahman a cutting from the tree. Taking this branch home, the brahman planted it and every morning and evening watered it with care. Each day it grew taller and the branches thicker and more lush. After three years, it bore fruit. The luster of the fruit was just as striking as the fruit of the king's garden. The brahman was thrilled and thought to himself, 'This should be counted among my household treasures, and is no less valuable than the king's tree.' And so he continued to water the ground around it and each day it grew larger and larger. Soon, it was no less fine than the king's tree, and, thinking to test it, he tasted its fruit, but it was bitter and harsh to the taste. The brahman was terribly saddened by the thought, and, thinking that it must surely be because there was not enough moisture to fertilize the soil, he took the milk from one hundred cows and watered the tree with it little by little. Then he took the milk from one cow and boiled it until it became sweet and poured it on the roots of the tree. The following year, the fruit

of the tree was as sweet as that of the king's garden. Soon, from the tree there sprouted a branch about the size of the palm of one's hand. Each day it grew more and more and the brahman began to worry that it would disturb the fruit and wondered if he should cut it off. But he feared to do harm to the tree. The next day, as he was still undecided about what to do about it, he saw that a branch had sprung from the middle of that lump and pointed straight upward toward the top of the tree seven meters from the ground. Soon, the branches grew up and around the rest of the tree coming out from the sides in the shape of an inverted lid of a jar. And the leaves and flowers were more splendid than those of the tree itself. The brahman was amazed at the sight and could not even tell where the tops of the branches were. He built a scaffold frame and climbed up to see. There, on top of the branches in that inverted lid, was a small pond. It was beautifully clear and fragrant and filled with flowers. The colors were brilliant and amid the blooming flowers, there was a small girl. The brahman took her home and raised her, and named her Nanyo, Maiden of the Wild Apple Tree. By the time she reached the age of fifteen, her beauty was unsurpassed in this world and became known in the far-off lands. The kings of the seven lands came together to the brahman's home and asked to have Nanyo as their wife. The brahman was confused and did not know to which one he should give her. In his garden he erected a tall pagoda and announced to the various kings, "This girl was not born to me. She came of her own accord out of the top of this tree and I do not know whether she is of the heavens, or a dragon or devil or divine being. She could be a charmed being." At this, the seven kings came to request her hand. The brahman said, "If I were to arrange things so that one of you would receive the girl, I would be fearful of the other six. The girl is now in the garden in the top of the pagoda. You kings can discuss this among yourselves and if there is still one who would have her above the rest, take her yourself and leave. I am not able to enforce this." And so the seven kings argued among themselves and, this being a complicated matter, were

not able to decide among themselves. Evening came and King Byôja hid himself in a hole and secretly climbed up into the pagoda and passed the night with the girl. The next morning he left, saying that if her child was a boy, she should return the child to him so that he could become a royal prince. If it was a girl, she could have her. He returned and spoke to his men, saying that he had won Nanyo and spent the night with her and there was nothing strange about her. She was like a normal woman and so he had not brought her back with him. The men all cheered that their king had obtained Nanyo, and when the other six kings heard this, they went home. After King Byôja left, the maiden conceived a child and she told the men guarding her door that, if anyone were to come asking for her, they should say that she was ill and could not see them. The next night, the moon was full and a boy was born to her. His face was strikingly handsome and in his hand he carried a medicine bag. The brahman said that this was a prince of the land, and named him Giiki.

The work which we call the *Nanyo Giba Kyô* (奈女嗜婆經) was translated into Chinese in the later Han period, but, aside from a few abridgements and slight changing of characters, does not differ in intention from the above account. It calls the son Giiki (嗜域) by the name Giba (*jîvaka*). In this sutra, there are many spots which resemble the *Taketori* story. 1) The section which says, "This girl was not born to me. She came of her own accord out of the top of this tree" is similar to the fact that Kaguyahime is a heavenly being but is born into this world. 2) "The colors were brilliant and amid the blooming flowers, there was a small girl. The brahman took her home and raised her, and named her Nanyo, Maiden of the Wild Apple Tree." This is similar to the old man finding a girl in the bamboo and taking her home to raise her. 3) "Her beauty was unsurpassed in this world and this became known in the far-off lands. The kings of the seven lands came together to the brahman's home and asked to have Nanyo as a wife." This is the same as the five men who come to seek out Kaguyahime. 4) When the brahman announced to the various kings, "This girl was not born to me," this is the same as the *Taketori*, "One day, these

men called the bamboo cutter out and knelt before him, [each] saying, 'Please, grant me your daughter's hand,' but, though they pleaded with him, he replied, 'Since she is not a child born of our own bodies, we cannot make her obey us.'" 5) "She came herself from the wild apple tree" is the same as the statement that Kaguyahime was not a child whom Miyatsukomaro had borne with his own hands, but rather a child whom he had found long ago in the mountains. 6) When it is asked, "Is she a thing of the heavens, a dragon, a devil or a goddess?" this means the same thing as when the old man says that Kaguyahime is a transformed being. 7) "The seven kings all came at the same time to obtain her hand." This is the same as the phrase, "there is no one better or worse than the others among them" in the *Taketori*. 8) When the brahman says, "If I were to arrange things so that one of you would receive the girl, I would be fearful of the other six," this is like the concern showed by the bamboo cutter when he says, "This way there should be no bad feelings among you."

Things Turning into Humans:

In the *Kojiki*, Book 2, Chapter 106, it says:

In ancient times, there was a son of the king of the land of Siragi, whose name was AMĒ-NŌ-PI-PŌKO. This man came [to Japan]. The reason why he came [was this]:

In the land of Siragi there was a swamp named AGU-NUMA. By this swamp a woman of lowly station was taking a noonday nap.

Then the rays of the sun shone upon her genitals like a rainbow.

There was also a man of lowly station, who thought this a strange matter; he constantly observed the behavior of this woman.

This woman became pregnant from the time of her noonday nap, and she gave birth to a red jewel.

Then the lowly man who had been watching her asked for and received this jewel, which he wrapped up and wore constantly about his waist.

Since this man had rice paddies in the mountain valleys, he loaded a cow with food and drink for the workers in the paddies and went into the mountain valleys.

[Then he] met the son of the king, AMĒ-NÖ-PI-PÖKO, who asked the man, saying:

“Why are you going into the mountain valleys with a cow laden with food and drink? You must surely be going to kill the cow and eat it!”

Then he arrested the man and was about to put him in prison, when the man answered, saying:

“I am not going to kill the cow. I am simply taking food to the workers in the paddies.”

But he still did not release him.

Then he untied the jewel from his waist and offered it to the king’s son.

Then he released the lowly man, took the jewel away, and placed it by his bed.

Immediately it was transformed into a beautiful maiden. He married her and made her his chief wife.

This maiden always prepared various kinds of delicious foods and presented them to her husband.

The king’s son became arrogant at heart and reviled his wife.

The woman said:

“I am not the kind of woman you deserve for a wife. I will go to my ancestral land.”

Then she secretly boarded a small boat and escaped [to Japan], arriving at NANIPA.

This is the deity called AKARU-PIME, enshrined at the shrine of PIME-GÖSÖ at NANIPA. (Philippi, 291-293)

In the Emperor Suinin section of the *Nihon Shoki*, the story of Tsunoga Arashito is a different transmission. It says, “This divine stone became changed into a beautiful maiden, . . .” (Aston, 168). In the [*Nihon*] *Ryōiki*, Volume 3, Tale 31, “On a Woman Who Gave Birth to Stones and Enshrined Them as Kami,” it says,

In the village of Kusumi, Mizuno, Katakata district, Mino province 美濃國方縣郡水野郷楠見村, there was a woman whose surname was Agata-no-uji 縣氏. She was over twenty but unmarried, and she became pregnant without any sexual intercourse. At the end of the second month in the spring of the tenth year of the boar, the first year of the Enryaku era, in the reign of Emperor Yamabe, she gave birth to two stones after a three-year pregnancy. They measured five inches in diameter. One was blue and white mixed together, while the other was pure blue. They grew year after year.

In Atsumi 敦見 district, next to Katakata district, there was a great kami, whose name was Inaba 伊奈婆. The deity took possession of a diviner and spoke through him, saying, "The two stones which were born are my own children." Therefore, they were enshrined at the girl's residence in a sacred place surrounded with a hedge.

We have never heard a story like this from ancient times until today. This is also a miraculous event in our country. (Nakamura, 266)

This is similar to the *Kojiki* story of the red jewel of Ama-no-hi-boko (Amë-nö-pi-pöko).

In the *Yamashiro Fudoki*, it says this:

Kamo no Taketsunomi no Mikoto stood before Kamu Yamato-ihare Hiko (Emperor Kammu) and showed him the entrance to the land of Yamato. They stayed at the peak of Yamato's Kazuraki Mountain and from there moved slowly until they reached Kamo in Okuda in Yamashiro province. They followed the Kizu River downstream to the North, and arrived at the spot where the Katsura River and the Kamo River join together. They gazed far off in the direction of the mouth of the Kamo River and said, 'This river is narrow and small, but it is a rocky and clear one.' And so they named it the Small River of the Rocky Shallows. Leaving that river, they found themselves at the foot of the northern mountains of Kuga. From then on, it became known as Kamo. Kamo no Taketsunomi no Mikoto took Kamui Kakoyahime of Kamino for his wife and called their

first child Tamayori Hiko and their second Tamayori Hime.

Tamayori Hime was playing along the Small River of the Rocky Shallows when a red painted arrow came floating down the river. She picked it up right away and placed it near her bed, and soon she became pregnant and gave birth to a boy. When he became an adult, his grandfather, Taketsunomi no Mikoto, built a large house and, closing up all the many doors and filling many jars with *sake*, gathered together all the many gods and for seven days and seven nights held a grand feast for them. At this sacred ceremony, Taketsunomi no Mikoto told the child, "Let us give this heavenly wine to those whom we think might be your father." And so, the Tamayori Hiko raised the *sake* cup to the heavens as if to offer it and the roof of the house split open and he ascended to the heavens. From this, he was named Kamowake Ikazuchi no Mikoto after his grandfather. Thus it was understood that the painted red arrow was the incarnation of the God of Fire and Thunder from the shrine of the village of Otokuni. (*Fudoki*, 380-382)

In the *Kojiki*, Book 2, Chapter 53:

... when he sought further for a maiden to become his chief empress, OPO-KUMĒ-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ said:

"There is here a maiden of whom it is said [that she is] the child of a deity. The reason why she is said to be the child of a deity is [this]:

"The daughter of MIZÖ-KUPI of MISIMA, whose name was SEYA-TATARA-PIME, was beautiful. [The deity] OPO-MÖNÖ-NUSI-NÖ-KAMĪ of MIWA saw her and admired her.

"When the maiden was defacating, he transformed himself into a red painted arrow and, floating down the ditch where she was defecating, struck the maiden's genitals. Then the maiden was alarmed, and ran away in great confusion.

"Then she took the arrow and placed it by her bed.

"Immediately it turned into a lovely young man, who took the maiden as wife, and there was born a child named POTÖ-TATARA-ISUSUKI-PIME-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ. Another name

was PIME-TATARA-ISUKĒ-YÖRI-PIME.

The name was later changed to this because of dislike for the word *potō* [genitals].

“For this reason she is said to be the child of a deity.” (Philippi, 178-179)

In both the *Kojiki* and the *Fudoki*, the fact that a red-painted arrow becomes a man is the same. In addition, the *Fudoki* tale also tells of an event similar to Kaguyahime’s ascent to the moon.

In the *Man’yōshū*, Book 3, there are three poems on the goddess of the mulberry branch:¹¹

Because hail-struck
Kishimi Mountain
is steep,
I let go of the grass I was picking
and take hold of my girl’s hand.

One source states that the above poem was given to the goddess of the mulberry branch by Umashine, a man of Yoshino. However, this poem does not appear in the legend of the mulberry branch.

If a mulberry branch
comes down the stream this evening,
how could I not set a trap,
how could I not try to catch it?

If, in that ancient time,
there had been no man
to set a trap,
it would still be here --
that mulberry branch!

The above poem is by Wakamiya Ayumaro. (Levy, 201-202)

In the *Kaifūsō*, in the section on Senior First Rank Prime Minister Lord Fujiwara Fuhito’s

two poems on playing in Yoshino:

Composing verse

amid the mountain waters,

with thoughts of sake,

we filled each other's cups beneath the mugwort vines.

Princess Nana changed into a swan

and ascended to the heavens,¹²

and although we were to meet Princess Tsumi,

it would be to no avail.¹³

The bright smoke is green on the tops of the rocks,

and the shadows of the sun fill the crags with a red glow.

From this, we know that we are close to the mountain dwelling,

and we face each other in enjoyment

as the wind blows in through the pines. (Sawada, 119-122)

The Dazaifu Senior Fourth Rank Lower Grade, Lord Ki no Ohito's poem on playing at the Yoshino River:

This high and towering rock,

rises up limitlessly as if it were carved out of the sky.

The high white waves split off

in opposite directions and flow away.

Thinking to look for a sign of the

sudden depths of the pond which had formed,

I came by chance upon the place

of Umashine and the mulberry branch

which floated toward him.

And so I remained there on that bank

where he picked it up. (Sawada, 204-206)

And the Junior Third Rank Middle Counselor Tajihi no Mahito Hironari's poem on playing at Yoshino Mountain:

I appreciate it when the light of the
 mountain waters remains,
 and the peaks and valleys of the rocks
 seem to be new sights each time I see them.
 In the morning, I see the
 birds which pass over the mountaintops,
 and in the evening I gaze lovingly
 at the fish dancing in the depths of the abyss.
 My heart is released,
 peaceful and with the deepest feeling,
 transcending the troubles of this world of suffering.
 As I approach the summit of Yoshino,
 I come upon the place where Umashine
 met the heavenly maiden.

and his poem on Yoshino:

The peaks of the tall mountains rise sharply
 in many unusual aspects.
 The long River Yoshino becomes wider and wider
 and twists and turns as it flows.
 The spectacular pond-filled abyss --
 how could it be an ordinary sight?
 It is most certainly an exceptional one.
 For it is near the bank where, long ago,

Umashine met the heavenly maiden,
a beautiful place full of fond memories.

(Sawada, 284-288)

This story of the heavenly maiden also appears in a poem from the fortieth birthday celebration of Emperor Nimmyô. It seems to be an imaginary story which has now been lost. In one *Man'yôshû* commentary, it says, "Long ago, there was a woman who became a goddess in Yoshino. In that place, a man named Umashine was fishing from a weir when this goddess became a mulberry branch and floated down and became caught in the weir. When the man took this branch out, it became a beautiful woman and he fell in love with her and they lived together." This is similar to the abovementioned story of Tamayori Hime, who placed the arrow next to her bed.

In the *Nihon Shoki* in the "Ryûryaku" section, it states:

22nd year, . . . Autumn, 7th month. A man of Tsutsukaha in the district of Yosa in the province of Tamba, the child of Urashima Midzunoye, went fishing in a boat. At length he caught a large tortoise, which straightway became changed into a woman. Hereupon Urashima's child fell in love with her, and made her his wife. They went down together into the sea and reached Hôrai San, where they saw the genii. The story is in another Book. (Aston, 369)

There is also mention in the *Shoku Nihon Kôki* of Urashima ascending to the heavens and living a long life.

In the *Tango Fûdoki*, it says:

In the area of Hioki in the county of Yosa, there is a village called Tsutsukawa. Among its inhabitants, there was a person named Tsutsukawa no Shimako, one of the forefathers of Kusakabe no Obito. By nature, his features were beautiful and there was no one comparable to him in elegance. This was that person known as Mizue no Urashimako. This story is no different from the record of the Iyobe stablemaster, so I

will tell generally of the content of the tale.

During the reign of Emperor Yûryaku, Urashima boarded a small boat alone and went fishing out in the open sea. But three days and three nights passed and he was not able to catch a single fish. Then, he caught a five-colored turtle. Thinking this very strange, he pulled the turtle into his boat and fell asleep. Suddenly, the turtle turned into a woman. Her features were striking and she was beautiful beyond compare. Urashima asked, 'Here in this open sea, far from the homes of men, there are no people. Who could this be who has so suddenly appeared?' The young maiden smiled and answered, 'I saw you, such an elegant man, floating out on the great ocean by yourself. Unable to bear the feeling that I wanted to approach and speak with you, I have ridden the wind and clouds to come to you.' Urashima asked again, 'Where did the wind and clouds come from?' and the maiden replied, 'They came from the home of the heavenly people. Please do not question me. Please speak with me and love me.'

At this, Urashima understood that this was a goddess, and was troubled by his cautious and fearful heart. The maiden told him, 'I want to be pledged to you in an eternity as long-lived as the earth, moon, and sun. But what about you? Please tell me right away whether you feel so or not.' Urashima responded, 'I do not have anything to say yet. I feel that something is missing.' The maiden said, 'You row the boat and take us to Mt. Hôrai.' Urashima heeded her words. The maiden instructed him to close his eyes. When he did this, all of a sudden they arrived at a great island in the middle of the sea. The ground was covered with jewels, the tall gates were covered up, and the great palace was glittering brilliantly. It was something that he had neither seen nor heard the likes of before. Urashima took the maiden's hand and advanced slowly until they arrived at the gate of a grand house.

The maiden said, 'Please wait here for a moment.' She opened the gate and went inside. At that moment, seven children came out talking among themselves, 'This is

Kamehime's husband!' Then eight more children came out talking among themselves, saying, 'This is Kamehime's husband!' From this, he knew that the maiden's name was Kamehime. Now, when the maiden came back, Urashima told her of the children. The maiden said, 'The seven children are the stars of the Pleiades, and the eight children are the stars of the Hyades. Please do not think distrustingly of them.' So saying, she led him into the house. The maiden's parents greeted them together, bowed, and sat down.

They explained to him the difference between the world of humans and the land of the gods, and spoke of the joy of such a chance meeting between man and goddess. Then they offered him many fragrant and delectable dishes; the brothers and sisters raised their wine cups to congratulate them, and even the children of the neighboring village played with rosy cheeks and joined in the festivities. The songs of the heavenly kingdom resounded clearly, and the dancing figures of the gods swayed and twisted. The celebration was ten thousand times more spectacular than such an event in the human world. Without their even knowing that the sun had set, it became twilight, and the heavenly people who had gathered there gradually departed, scattering, until only the maiden was left. She lay shoulder to shoulder with him, exchanging sleeves, and they were joined as a couple.

Now, Urashima had enjoyed himself in this heavenly realm for three years, forgetting about his home. Suddenly, he became nostalgic for his home and felt a longing to see his parents. The sadness rose up in his heart and his lamenting increased with each day. The maiden asked him, 'These days, when I see your face, it is not the same as usual. Please tell me what your intentions are.' Urashima answered, 'In the past, people said "Small people long for their homes; a dying fox even longs for his home," and I thought that this was a falsehood. But I think that it is really true.' The maiden asked, 'Do you want to return to your home?' and so Urashima answered, 'I have left all the people with whom I had close relations and come to this far-off land of heavenly people. Please, just

for a short time, allow me to return to my home to see my parents and pay homage to them.' The maiden lamented, wiping away the tears, 'We vowed that our love was as solid as the golden stones and that we would live together for eternity, yet how can you return to your home and suddenly discard me and forget me?' She took his hand and they walked about together, talking and weeping sadly. Finally, she let him go and they stood at the path on the border between the land of the gods and the human world.

Here, the maiden's parents and family earnestly lamented their separation from Urashima and saw him off. The maiden took a jeweled box and gave it to Urashima, saying, 'If you hope to remember me always and seek me out again, hold tightly to this box, but do not ever open it to look inside.' So they parted and Urashima boarded his boat. There she told him to close his eyes, and suddenly he arrived at his home in Tsutsukawa. But when he looked at the village, the people and the places seemed changed, and there was not a single thing which he recognized. So he asked someone from there, 'Where are the people of the home of Urashimako of Mizue?' The person answered, 'I don't know where you come from, but you ask of someone from long, long ago. From what I have heard, the old people have told the story, "In earlier days, there was a man named Urashimako of Mizue. He went out into the great sea and never returned. That was more than three hundred years ago." That's what I heard. Why do you ask such a thing now?' Hearing this, Urashima became distressed and wandered about the village, but did not see any familiar faces, and soon ten days passed.

At that time, fingering his jeweled box, he began to long intensely for the heavenly maiden. Forgetting his past promise to the maiden, Urashima quickly opened the box and straight away his body became fragrant and he became a heavenly being, rising up and up with the wind and clouds into the sky above. Urashima realized that he had ignored his promise and would never be able to see the maiden again, and, looking back at his home, he walked about with tears streaming down. Wiping away these tears, he

composed a poem:

<i>tokoyo he ni</i>	These clouds are passing
<i>kumo tachi-wataru</i>	toward the world of no death --
<i>midzu no e no</i>	these clouds
<i>urashima no ko ga</i>	carrying the words
<i>koto mochi-wataru</i>	of Urashima of Mizue.

The maiden sang down in her beautiful voice from the heavens:

<i>yamato he ni</i>	Though these clouds
<i>kaze fuki-agete</i>	are blown by the wind toward Yamato,
<i>kumo-banare</i>	and we are kept apart,
<i>soki-wori tomo yo</i>	even in such times
<i>wa wo wasurasu na</i>	do not forget me!

Urashima, again overwhelmed with his longing, composed:

<i>kora ni koki</i>	Longing for you,
<i>asato wo hiraki</i>	I open the doors in the morning
<i>wa ga woreba</i>	and stand alone,
<i>tokoyo no hama no</i>	hearing the sound of the waves
<i>nami no to kikoyu</i>	on the beaches of the eternal world.

People of later generations added these poems to the ones above

<i>midzu no e no</i>	If only
<i>urashima no ko ga</i>	Urashima of Mizunoe
<i>tamakushige</i>	had not opened
<i>akezu ariseba</i>	that jeweled box,
<i>matamo ahamashi wo</i>	they would surely have met again.

<i>tokoyo he ni</i>	The clouds fly
---------------------	----------------

kumo tachi-wataru

to that world of no death.

tayumaku mo

That in my weakness

hatsuka matohishi

I strayed for just a moment,

ware zo kanashiki

I am so unhappy. (*Fudoki*, 393-399)

There is mention of this story in many other sources as well. Some are slightly different, but most of them are the same overall. The *Shoku Urashimako Denki* (続浦島子伝記) states, "The old people have passed down the story that several hundred years had passed." In the *Nihon Kôki shahon* version, it states, "During the reign of Junna, the second year of Tenchô (826). This year, Urashima no ko returned to his home. Since the time he went out to sea during the years of Yûryaku (456-479), three hundred forty-seven years had passed." Also, in the *Man'yôshû*, Book 9, there is one poem from Urashima no ko of Mizunoe. It is very similar with a few minor differences.

An abridged translation of the *Kôhakubutsu Shi* (廣博物志) states:

In a place called Gikô in the land of Morokoshi [China], there was a man named Gokan. He was young and came to be in the service of the provincial lord. His home was near the river Geikei. One time, when he went to the banks of that river, he caught a spiral shellfish. He took it home with him and suddenly it became a beautiful maiden. This man was very pleased and made her his wife and lived with her. People named her the Shell Maiden. The ruler of the province heard this and, thinking of her, thought how he would like to have her, and called Gokan to him saying, "In this world there is something called a toad-lobster skin. Bring it to me, or if you do not, send your wife instead." Gokan returned home and despairingly told his wife what the lord had said, and she said, "That is a simple thing," and brought a great toad's skin and gave it to him. Delighting, he took it to the lord's place and presented it to him, and the lord said, "This time, bring me the elbow of an ogre." Gokan again told his wife of the task and, again saying that this was an easy task, she brought it to him straight away. Looking at this,

the lord saw that it was truly the elbow of a terrible ogre. Since he had brought such things which were unobtainable in this world, the lord thought desperately, and this time decided upon something which the man would not even have heard of before. Carefully choosing his words, he vaguely told Gokan to bring him a *tawato*. Again, the young man returned home and asked what he should do about this task. When he asked his wife what this thing was, she said, "It is a beast from a far-away land." So saying, she again brought it to him right away. When the lord saw this beast, he said, "This is no different from an everyday dog. How can you say that it is a *tawato*?" And so Gokan answered, "This beast eats fire and its excrement is also fire." Then the lord said, "Well, then," and fed it fire, which it ate accordingly, and shortly excreted fire as well. That fire began to burn and all of the buildings around there were burned completely so that the lord's entire household was killed in the fire. And so it was that the Shell Maiden came to be spoken of as a heavenly maiden.

The Shell Maiden's story is similar to that of Kamehime, the Turtle Maiden. Also, it is similar to our story because it deals with requests for things which are not to be found in this world.

In the story of Urashima, it is also the case that one hundred years feels like three years in another world, and there are several examples of such long periods of time seeming short in the heavenly kingdoms. Here I am also omitting examples from the *Ryôiki*, Volume One, Tale Three in which lightning which strikes the ground in front of a farmer in the village of Katawa in Owari becomes a child [Nakamura, 104-105], and the story from the same volume, Tale Two, in which a man from Ôno in the province of Mino takes for his wife a fox which turns into a woman [Nakamura, 105-108].

The Competition for the Princess's Hand:

In the *Kojiki*, Book 1, Chapter 21 and 22, it says:

This OPO-KUNI-NUSI-NÖ-KAMĪ had eighty brothers; but these eighty deities all ceded their lands to OPO-KUNI-NUSI-NÖ-KAMĪ. The reason for their doing so was [as follows]:

All of the eighty deities wished to marry YA-GAMI-PIME of INABA. When they went together to INABA, they had OPO-NAMUDI-NÖ-KAMĪ carry their bags and took him along as an attendant. . . . (Here I am omitting the section about the white hare.) At this time YA-GAMI-PIME replied to the eighty deities:

"I will not accept your offers. I will wed OPO-NAMUDI-NÖ-KAMĪ."

. . .

Hereupon the eighty deities were angered and plotted together to kill OPO-NAMUDI-NÖ-KAMĪ. . . . (Here I am omitting the section about the red boar and about the Nether-Distant-Land) YA-GAMI-PIME, in accordance with their previous betrothal, shared the conjugal bed. Although he brought YA-GAMI-PIME [to his palace], she feared the chief wife SUSERI-BIME and went back [to her home], leaving the child she had borne wedged in the fork of a tree. . . . (Philippi, 93-103)

In Book 2, Chapters 106 and 107 of the same work:

This AMĒ-NÖ-PI-POKÖ brought across with him these things: the so-called jewel-treasures, two strings of beads; as well as the wave-raising scarf, the wave-cutting scarf, the wind-raising scarf, the wind-cutting scarf; as well as the mirror of the offing and the mirror of the offing and the mirror of the shore; altogether there were eight articles.

These are the eight great deities of IDUSI.

. . .

These deities had a daughter whose name was IDUSI-WOTÖME-NÖ-KAMĪ.

Although the myriad deities desired to gain this IDUSI-WOTÖME, none of them was able to marry her.

At this time there were two deities; the elder brother was named AKI-YAMA-NÖ-SITABI-WOTÖKO; the younger brother was named PARU-YAMA-NÖ-KASUMI-WOTÖKO.

The elder brother said to the younger brother:

“Although I have pursued IDUSI-WOTÖME, I have been unable to marry her. Would you be able to win this maiden?”

He answered, saying:

“I can win her easily.”

Then the elder brother said:

“I will make a wager with you: if you ever win this maiden, I will give [you my] upper and lower garments; I will brew wine in vessels as tall as you are; and also I will provide and prepare all of the products of the mountains and rivers and give [them to you].

Then the younger brother told his mother everything, exactly as his elder brother had said.

His mother took wisteria vines and, in one night, wove them into stockings and shoes as well as a jacket and trousers. She also made a bow and arrows.

Dressing him in this jacket and trousers, she had him take the bow and arrows and go to the maiden's house.

Whereupon the clothes and the bow and arrows turned into wisteria blossoms.

At this time PARU-YAMA-NÖ-KASUMI-WOTÖKO hung up his bow and arrows in the maiden's privy.

Then IDUSI-WOTÖME, thinking these blossoms strange, took [them with her].

Then he followed the maiden into the house and immediately they had conjugal relations. A child was born.

Then he said to his elder brother:

“I have won IDUSI-WOTÖME.”

At this his elder brother, incensed that his younger brother had married, did not pay him the wager.

Then when he was disturbed by this and told his mother, his ancestor replied:

"In this world, our actions should conform to the divine pattern; but is it because he has conformed to the world of mortal men that he does not pay what he owes?"

She was bitter about her elder son.

Thus she took bamboo knots from an island in the IDUSI River and made a coarse basket with many openings; taking stones from the river and mixing them with salt, she wrapped them in the bamboo leaves and cursed him [with the] words:

"As these bamboo leaves are green,

"As these bamboo leaves wither,

"Be green and wither!

"Also, as this salt flows and ebbs,

"Flow and ebb!

"And as these stones sink,

"Sink down and lie!"

Thus she cursed him and put [the magic articles] above the hearth.

Because of this, the elder brother became dried up and withered and was ravaged with sickness for eight years.

Then when the elder brother wept in anguish and pleaded with his ancestor, she had the magic articles removed.

At this time his body became as before, and he was well and at ease.

(Philippi, 293-296)

Considering that the Maiden of Idzushi is the daughter of the Great Deity of Idzushi [Idusi], the fact that the eight "precious treasures" turned into the Eight Great Deities is similar to the type of story of the red-painted arrow or the jewel of Ame-no-hi-boko [Amë-no-pi-pokö].

In the same work, Book 3, Chapter 137, where Queen Ihi-toyo has two princes come up to the palace:

As he was about to rule the kingdom, the OMI SIBI, the ancestor of the OMI of PEGURI, was present at an UTA-GAKI and grasped the hand of the maiden whom WOKE-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ was going to marry.

The girl was the daughter of the OBITÖ of UDA and her name was OPUWO.

WOKE-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ was also present at the UTA-GAKI.

At this time the OMI SIBI sang this song:

The farther sides
of the great palace
Are falling in at the corners.

Thus singing, he asked for a completion of the song.

Then WOKE-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ sang this song:

Because the carpenter
Was unskillful,
It is falling in at the corners.

Then the OMI SIBI sang this song:

Because the heart
Of the great lord is slack,
He does not enter
The many-layered twig fence
Of the OMI lad.

Thereupon the prince again sang this song:

As I watch the breakers
In the briny rapids,
By the fin

Of the leisurely moving tuna fish

I see my spouse standing.

Then the OMI SIBI, more and more enraged, sang this song:

Our great lord

The prince's twig fence --

Though it be tied in eight sections,

Though it be tied clear round,

Is a twig fence which can be pierced,

Is a twig fence which can be burnt.

Then the prince again sang this song:

O fisherman harpooning

The great fish, the tuna fish:

If she gets away from you,

Then won't you miss her! --

O SIBI harpooning the tuna fish!

Thus singing, they contested until dawn and then each took his leave.

On the following morning, OKE-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ and WOKE-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ consulted together and said:

"All the court people come to the court in the morning and gather at SIBI's house in the afternoon. SIBI must surely be sleeping now, and there will be no one in his house. Therefore, if not now, it will be difficult to strike."

Then they raised an army, surrounded the house of the OMI SIBI, and killed him.

(Philippi, 373-375)

The Master [Norinaga], in his *Kojikiden*, warns that this particular poem exchange appears to be confused in its transmission both in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon Shoki*. Either there were mistakes by the authors, or there are mistakes in the ordering, or there are places in which

something is missing, but in any cases, it should be taken into careful consideration that these are not smooth.

In the *Man'yôshû*, Book One, there is the Poem of the three hills by Nakatsu Ôe:

Kagu Hill

loved Unebi's manliness,
and Miminashi, with jealousy,
rebuked her.

So it has been
since that age
of the gods.
So it was
in ancient times,
and in our day too
mortals struggle for their mates.

Envoys

This plain of Inami,
where the god, rising,
came to watch
when Kagu Hill
and Miminashi fought.

This night,
when I have watched the sun
plunge through the long, furled
banner of clouds
into the sea,

let the moon shine clear! (Levy, 44-45)

This poem was composed by Emperor Tenchi when he was a crown prince and went to a place called Kamuzume in Harima and heard of the ancient matters of that place. Those ancient matters are told of in the *Harima Fudoki*:

The Great Deity Abo of Idzumo, hearing that the three mountains Unebi, Kaguyama and Miminashi of Yamato were fighting among themselves, pointed his steps in the direction of Yamato and went there, thinking to admonish them and make them cease. When he arrived and heard that their battle had ended, the boat which he had ridden was turned over and he was enshrined upon it. This is why we call the place Kamioka.

(*Fudoki*, 342)

In the *Man'yōshū*, Book Nine, there is a song and a *tanka* about the girl of Katsushika no

Mama:

It is something which happened long ago,
in Azuma where the birds cry,
and which has been passed down to this day
unbroken.

The little daughter of Katsushika no Mama,
dressed in a robe of hemp,
with a blue collar and an embroidered train --
though she did not even take a comb to her hair
and walked about without sandals,
even a girl brought up tenderly
and wrapped in the finest silks and brocades
could not match her beauty.

Her face was as rich as the full moon
and when she stood smiling like a blossoming flower,

the men would flock toward her
 just as the summer moths fly to the fire,
 or the small boats row anxiously toward the harbor.
 How long has she not been alive,
 and why would she be thinking of me,
 as she lies in that burial place
 where the sound of the waves of the harbor
 crash loudly?
 It was a long time ago, and yet it seems
 that I saw her only yesterday.

Reply

<i>katsushika no</i>	Looking into the well
<i>mama no wi mireba</i>	of Katsushika no Mama
<i>tachinarashi</i>	I recall the beaten path
<i>midzu kumashikemu</i>	of the girl who
<i>tegonashi omohoyu</i>	gathered water there.

(*Man'yôshû* 3, 439-440)

This story is also told in the three *chôka* and *tanka* of Yamabe no Akahito in Book Three and also in two poems in Book Fourteen of the *Man'yôshû*.

At the beginning of Book Sixteen of this same collection:

Long ago, there was a girl whose nickname was Sakurako (Cherry Blossom Girl). At the time, there were two young men who both were asking for her hand in marriage, and would have given their lives in their pursuit of her, defying even death in their competition. At this, the girl sobbed, "From ancient times to this day, I have never heard or seen such as thing as a single woman being married to two men, but at this point, there is no way for me to appease the feelings of both men. There is no choice but for me to

die and put a decisive end to this matter.” Then she searched for a place to die in the forest and hung herself. The two young men could not bear such grief and soaked the collars of their robes with tears of blood. Each composed a poem on his feelings:

<i>haru saraba</i>	The cherry blossoms
<i>kazashi ni semu to</i>	I thought to place in her hair
<i>aga omohishi</i>	when spring came
<i>sakura no hana ha</i>	have all scattered and gone.
<i>chiri-yukeru ka mo</i>	

<i>imo ga na ni</i>	When the cherry blossoms
<i>kaketaru sakura</i>	for which she was named
<i>hana sakaba</i>	do bloom,
<i>tsune ni ya kohimu</i>	will I always yearn for her,
<i>iya toshi no ha ni</i>	with every passing year?

(*Man'yôshû* 5, 107-108)

And in the passage which follows:

Yet another person said that in the past there were three men who were courting the same woman. The young girl lamented, “A woman’s life is as impermanent as the dew and as easily disappears. The difficulty of appeasing the passions of these men is as hard as stone.” And so she wandered about the edge of a pond and threw herself into its depths and died. At this point, the young men were sad beyond measure and, unable to bear their grief, each composed a poem. (The girl was called Kazurako, “Gentle Child.”)

<i>miminashi no</i>	How rueful,
<i>ike shi urameshi</i>	the lake of Miminashi --
<i>wagimoko ga</i>	Oh, when my dearest
<i>kitsutsu kadzukaba</i>	came and drowned,

midzu ha karenamu

that the water could have dried up.

ashihiki no

Oh, Gentle girl

yamakadzura no ko

of the mountain of Ashihiki --

kefu yuku to

If you had told me

ware ni tsugeseba

that you were going to die today

kaheri-komashi wo

you would surely be coming back home.

ashihiki no

The Gentle girl

yamakadzura no ko

of the mountain of Ashihiki --

kefu no goto

As though it were just today,

idzure no kuma wo

at what corner was it

mitsutsu ki ni kemu

that I saw her as I came?

(*Man'yôshû* 5, 109)

The fact that the girl of Katsushika no Mama, Sakurako, and Kazurako have many suitors is similar to Kaguyahime's situation.

In the *Yamato Monogatari*, Episode 147:

Long ago, there was a young maiden who lived in the province of Settsu. Two young men courted her. One of them, who belonged to the Mubara clan, lived in Settsu province; the other was from the province of Izumi. His clan was called Chinu. These two youths were alike in age, looks, and social status. The maiden thought that she would marry the one whose love for her was the greater, but then even their love for her was of the same intensity. When darkness fell, the two young men came together to call on her. And even when they sent her presents, they sent the same articles. Since she had no way to determine which of the youths was the superior, she found herself in a terrible predicament. If their affection for her had been tepid, she could have turned them both

down. However, since the two men, for a long period of time, faithfully came and stood at her gate, demonstrating in countless ways how great was their love, she was at a loss what to do.

Although she refused the gifts brought to her by her admirers, they brought her still more, of every kind, and patiently stood outside with them. One day her mother said: "How sorry I feel for those men. You have made them both suffer in vain for so long. If you marry one of them, the other will surely abandon his suit." The girl replied: "That is the way I feel, but I find myself in such an awkward position. Their love for me seems about equal. Oh, what am I to do?"

The girl was living at this time in a pavilion which had been set up on a bank of the Ikuta River. Her mother summoned the two youths who were trying to win her daughter's hand and said: "It seems that both of you love my daughter equally well. She has therefore been sorely troubled as to which of you she should choose. I would like to settle the matter this very day. One of you has come from a distant place; the other lives in this province. Nonetheless, both of you have suffered greatly. Let me express my deepest sympathy for you two. When the men heard the girl's mother speak to them in this way, they felt extremely pleased. The mother continued: "What I would like you to do is to shoot that waterfowl floating on the river. I shall offer my daughter to the man who succeeds." "A splendid idea!" exclaimed the young men. But, alas! they both hit the target -- one of them managed to strike the bird's head, the other its tail. Since no one could, in all fairness, say which one had won, the girl was more perplexed than ever and composed this poem:

Sumiwabinu

How weary I am of life!

Waga mi nageten

Let me cast myself into the Ikuta --

Tsu no kuni no

The River of Living Fields --

Ikuta no kawa wa

Of Tsu province;

Na nomi narikeri

Then will Ikuta be but a name.

Because the pavilion was built over the river, the girl threw herself directly into the water. Greatly alarmed, her mother called for help, whereupon the two youths immediately threw themselves into the river where the girl had jumped in. One of the young men grasped the girl's feet and the other her hands. Thus, in this tragic manner, all three drowned. Terribly distraught, the mother retrieved the bodies. Soon afterward, overcome by years though she was, she made arrangements for the funeral service for the two youths and her daughter.

The fathers of the young men also attended the funeral. When they were about to bury the youths in the mounds raised for them alongside the maiden's grave-mound, the father of the young man from Settsu province objected, saying, "The young man from the same province as the girl has every right to be buried here, but is it fitting for his rival from another province to defile the earth of this province by being buried here too?" The father of the young man from Izumi province thereupon shipped in some earth from his province to the spot set aside for his son and buried him next to the maiden. Thus, even today, the maiden's grave, located in the middle, is flanked on the right and on the left by the gravemounds of her admirers.

Someone depicted this tragic tale of long ago in a detailed painting and presented it to the late Empress. Everyone present tried to imagine themselves in the place of one of the three tragic people and composed a number of poems. Lady Ise, expressing the feelings of one of the youths, composed this poem:

Kage to nomi

Our shadowy forms

Mizu no shita nite

Are now united

Aimiredo

At the river's bottom,

Tama naki kara wa

But of what use to me

Kai nakarikeri

Is your body

Without a soul?

Onna-ichi no Miko, pretending to be the maiden, recited this poem:

Kagiri naku	My soul,
Fukaku shizumeru	Which has sunk deep beneath
Waga tama wa	The river's surface,
Ukitaru hito ni	Will never be united
Mien mono ka wa	With a drifting, faithless lover.

Onna-ichi no Miko also recited:

Izuku ni ka	Not even knowing
Tama o motomen	Whether it is here or there
Watatsu umi no	In the vast stretches
Koko kashiko tomo	Of the sea,
Omôenaku ni	Where shall I search for her soul?

Hyôe no Myôbu then composed this poem:

Tsuka no ma mo	Though to others it may seem
Morotomo ni to zo	That we had never met,
Chigirikeru	We promised to stay together,
Au to wa hito ni	Even in our graves,
Mienu mono kara	Never parting for a moment.

The Head of the Sewing Department recited,

Kachimake mo	Though we vied
Nakute ya haten	To win your love,
Kimi ni yori	Must we die
Omoikurabu no	With neither of us
Yama wa koyutomo	Emerging victorious?

She went on to express what might have been the feelings of the maiden before she

died:

Au koto no	It grieves me so
Katami ni uuru	To hear that you
Nayotake no	Were forced to stand outside,
Tachiwazurau to	Finding it impossible
Kiku zo kanashiki	To come to me.

She also came up with this poem:

Mi o nagete	I do not recall promising
Awan to hito ni	I would be united with him
Chigiranedo	By throwing myself into the river,
Ukimo wa mizu ni	But now our bodies
Kage o narabetsu	Lie side by side in the water.

Picturing herself in the place of the rival, the Head of the Sewing Department composed the following poem:

Onaji e ni	It is my happy fate
Sumu wa ureshiki	To be able to dwell with you
Naka naredo	In the same bay,
Nado ware to nomi	But why did you not
Chigirazariken	Pledge yourself to me alone?

This is a return poem the maiden might have come up with:

Ukarikeru	I wish I had not promised you
Waga mi na soko o	That my wretched body
Ôkata wa	Would sink
Nakaru chigiri no	To the river's bottom.
Nakaramashikaba	

Imagining herself to be one of the youths, the Head of the Sewing Department

composed this poem:

Ware to nomi	Not only to me
Chigirazu nagara	Did you promise yourself,
Onaji e ni	But I feel content
Sumu wa ureshiki	Dwelling with you
Migiwa to zo omou	At the river's edge. (Tahara, 93-97)

In Book Nine of the *Man'yôshû*, which tells of this event, there is the verse and *tanka* poem on the subject of "When passing the grave of the maiden of Ashiya," and the poems on "Looking at the grave of the maiden Unahi." In Book Nineteen, there is also a verse and *tanka* on "The sixth day of the Fifth Month, Ôtomo Iemochi's poem on a girl's grave." It is a story which has been passed down for many generations, and it is said that the grave is still there. The beginning of one *chôka* in Book Nine reads, "When I stop to look at the grave of the maiden Unai of Ashiya whose suitors fought each other long ago . . . even I am sad to think of that past event which people have continued to remember and pass on with teary eyes and choked voices" (*Man'yôshû* 2, 436).

The events of this *Man'yôshû* story are similar to details from the *Taketori* such as are embodied in the phrases, "She was not even allowed out from behind her bedcurtains," [p. 102 below] "Men from all over the land, of high rank and of low, thought how they would like to have her, or even just be able to see her," [p. 103 below] "Among those noblemen, five men best-known for their amorous nature still continued to woo the princess" [p. 103 below]. In the *Yamato Monogatari* text, these details have been omitted. Likewise, in the *chôka*, the detail of the waterfowl being shot does not appear. This would seem to have been added afterwards for enjoyment. Also, the poem which the maiden composes before throwing herself into the water does not appear in the old sources so it, like Lady Ise's poem and the others, would appear to have been added at a later date by someone imagining to have been in her position.

In the verse in *Man'yôshû*, Book Nine about "The maiden Tamana, youngest daughter of

Kamitsufusa”:

Tamana was a beautiful girl of ample bosom and a thin waist, but aside from the appeal of her figure, her smile was like a blossoming flower and the people passing by would leave their own paths to come to her gate even though she did not call them. The master of the house next door separated from his wife, and, without even being asked, presented this girl with his key. Everyone was moved to do such illogical things and this girl became coquettish and behaved lewdly.

<i>kanato ni shi</i>	When men come
<i>hito no ki-tateba</i>	to stand at the gate,
<i>yonaka ni mo</i>	even in the middle of the night
<i>mihatana shirazu</i>	she goes out to meet them
<i>idete so ahikeru</i>	without thinking of how it looks.

(*Man'yôshû* 3, 406-407)

There are many other examples similar to these which I will not include here.

The Stone Bowl of the Buddha:

[Here, Ôhide cites the *Fuyôkyô*, Book Seven, which recounts events of the Buddha's life quite closely to as they are described in the works entitled the *Lalitavistara* and the *Mahâvastu*. The Bikkhu Telwatte Rahula's summary of the section of the *Mahavastu* relevant to this tale reads as follows:

The period of seven weeks elapsed [after his enlightenment], and the Buddha had not had any nourishment, hard or soft, up to the end of these forty-nine days. Now, having spent such a long period with transcendental rapture as the only sustenance, the Buddha was badly in need of a meal, and the ancient tradition gives the rare privilege of offering the first repast to the newly appeared Buddha to two simple merchants, Trapusa and Bhallika, from the northernmost part of India. They were coming from South India

(*daksinâ-patha*) with five hundred cart-loads of commodities. They were just passing by the grove where the Exalted One was waiting for someone to come thither. The caravan would have passed the locality without noticing the Buddha, had there not been the intervention of a supernatural power. . .

The two merchants approached the Buddha with *madhutar-pana*, a certain kind of delicious and nutritious preparation available beforehand among their own stocks. As the Buddha had no bowl to accept the offering, the Four Gods are called to bring a suitable receptacle. The legend prefers them to make their hasty appearance, each carrying a variety of costly bowls, so that they may provide the ground to display how the Buddha refused all those valuable receptacles, though it was at their bringing themselves to the ridiculous position of being ignorant as to the kind of bowl that would exactly suit the Buddha. The golden, silver, and bejewelled receptacles were refused by the Tathâgata for they were not approvable for the simple life of a monk, and this was what the texts were so keen to emphasize. Finally they brought four stone bowls. The Buddha accepted all four, . . . and our text records how he welded them into one bowl by the pressure of his thumb. It is further stated that the rims of the other three were also visible on it. (Rahula, 266-267)

He also cites a passage from the *Daibon Han'nya Kyô* and an explanation from the *Dai Chidoron* which make mention of the same event.]

Obtaining the Jewel of the Dragon:

There are references in the *Taihei Kôki* and other texts which describe such dragons and how others had obtained their jewels. So, according to these sources, it would seem that there was a particular method of obtaining the jewel from a dragon and this was not an impossible task.

The Southern Seas:

There was good reason for the Major Counselor Ôtomo to be terribly frightened when he thought that his boat had been blown to the shores of the Southern Seas. In the *Shoku Kôki*, Book 3, we see:

In the First Month of the first year of Jôwa under Emperor Nimmyô (834), there is a record of an emissary which was sent to China. It was headed by two lords, one Fujiwara, and one Ono, four officials of the court, and three record-keepers. The boats were built, and in the Fifth Month of the third year, four boats left from Naniwa, and on the second day of the Seventh Month they departed from Dazaifu, but drifted about aimlessly. The battered boats were repaired, and in the Seventh Month of the Fourth year, three of the boats which were sent out were struck by an opposing wind, and the first and fourth boats were blown to a certain island, while the second of the boats drifted to another island. In the Seventh Month of the Fifth year, it was reported that the second boat had been lost. However, again in the Eighth Month, it was reported that it reappeared and so it wasn't lost.

Details of the first and fourth boats have been lost from the record. Since the boats were sent off from Naniwa in the Fifth Month of the third year, they must surely have reached the shores of China at least by the middle of the fall of the fifth year. These difficult circumstances of sea travel should be remembered when reading of Prince Kuramochi's fabricated stories and Major Counselor Ôtomo's illness. In the summer of the seventh year, they returned to the capital. On their way, they had met with fearful storms.

It is unclear why this is different from the *Montokuki* which states, "They joined their strength and built a boat which was able to reach the other shore."

There are also descriptions of their battles when they drifted ashore on an island of the Southern Seas. At that time, there was also a description of how they received help from the gods.

That this kind of miracle had been passed on to the present day means that it must have been a horrible thing. It is said to have been recorded in the *Unkon Shi* (雲根志) by a man from

the village of Yamada in the province of Konoe, and some people still tell the story:

The monk Kyokuhô of the province of Izumi says, 'In the province of Dewa, there was a battle of the gods every year at the beach called Yashima near the forest of the gods. At the beginning of these battles, on the surface of the sea to the northwest, before the pines, three or four meters away, and fifteen or sixteen meters across, a white cloud, just like piles of cotton, billowed out from the sea, and did not move for five to seven days. This happened every year, and when someone saw these clouds, it would be reported to the official of Tsugaru, who would take ten mounted men and five hundred on foot and, dividing them into ten companies, string many arrows of green bamboo to the bows they already had. Saving them up, they arrived at this shore where, posting the ten companies as guard, they shot their arrows in the direction of that white cloud. At once, the thunder would roar and the ground quake; wind and rain would beat upon them and even within the shrines it shook. The sand of the beach was blown into the air and, being careful not to open their eyes or mouths, they continued ceaselessly to unleash their arrows, through day and night, and though it was more than seven *li* to the castle, the roar of the battle was heard even there. Thus, two or three days passed, and for five to seven days it still did not cease. Gradually, the rain and wind subsided, and the sky resumed its normal appearance and everyone left. Afterwards, the people gathered the fallen arrowheads to keep them as protective charms. For more than one *li* along this beach, there was a space which was almost three *li* wide with no trees or grasses and no small stones, but covered in a fine sand as white as rice powder.

This priest was a man of Dewa and knew this story well. Since it is such a miraculous story, I have included it here. Those who have passed the story down certainly felt that these Southern Seas were a terribly frightful place.

Women who Never Marry:

In the *Nihon Shoki*, Book 7, in the section on the Emperor Oho-tarashi-hiko-oshiro-wake, Emperor Keikô in the 4th year, Spring, 2nd month, 11th day:

The Emperor made a progress to Mino. His courtiers represented to him, saying: --
 "In this province there is a handsome woman named Oto-hime, of perfect beauty. She is the daughter of the Imperial Prince Yasaka Irihiko." The Emperor wished to obtain her to be his consort, and went to the house of Oto-hime. Oto-hime, hearing that the Emperor was coming in his carriage, straightway concealed herself in a bamboo-grove. Hereupon the Emperor provisionally caused Oto-hime to go and reside in the Kuguri Palace, and letting loose carp in a pond, amused himself by looking at them morning and evening. Now Oto-hime wished to see the carp sporting, so she came secretly and stood over the pond. The Emperor forthwith detained her, and had intercourse with her. Hereupon Oto-hime thought: -- "The way of a husband and wife is the prevailing rule both now and of old time. But for me it is not convenient." So she besought the Emperor, saying: --
 "Thy handmaiden's disposition is averse to the way of conjugal intercourse. Unable to withstand the awe of the Imperial commands, she has been placed for a while within the curtain. But it gives her no pleasure. Her face too is hideous, and she is unworthy of being added to the side courts. Thy handmaiden, however, has an elder sister, by name Yasaka Iri-hime, of a beautiful countenance, and also of a virtuous disposition. Let her be placed in the hinder palace." The Emperor assented. . . (Aston, 190)

The younger sister, although she is detained by the emperor once, defers to her older sister and does not meet with him again [i.e. she refuses to marry]. In the *Genji Monogatari*, the account of the daughters of the Uji lord imitates this and has the sisters exchange places.

In the *Yamato Monogatari*, Episode 142:

The elder sister of the late Empress was the eldest daughter in the family. She was a woman of experience, and her poetic talents far surpassed that of any of her younger sisters, including the Empress herself. When she was young, she lost her mother. There

were times when she could not always have her way, since she was brought up by her step-mother. On one occasion, she composed this poem:

Arihatenu	While waiting for
Inochi matsu ma no	The end of my life,
Hodo bakari	I hope that I shall know
Ukikoto shigeku	Little of sorrow.
Nagekazu mo gana	

Breaking off a flowering plum branch, she recited still another poem:

Kakaru ka no	If the fragrance
Aki mo kwarazu	Of the plum blossoms
Nioiseba	Were as sweet in the fall
Haru koishi chô	Would I long so much
Nagame semashi ya	For the perfumed spring?

The elder sister of the Empress was most elegant and beautiful. Many men courted her, but she refused even to answer any of their letters. Her father and step-mother complained to her, saying, "It would not do for a woman to remain unmarried. You really should answer a gentleman's letter now and then." Thus reproached by her parents, she sent her latest suitor this poem:

Omoedomo	Though I long for you,
Kai nakarubemi	I know that I love in vain;
Shinobureba	But since I conceal
Tsutenaki tomo ya	My true feelings,
Nito no mururan	How heartless I must seem!

She had nothing more to say apart from the poem. The reason why she had written the poem in the first place was that she had overheard her parents say: "We must find a husband for our daughter." Nevertheless, she kept insisting: "I shall never marry as

long as I live." Just as she had predicted, she died in her twenty-ninth year still single.

(Tahara, 88-89)

The Moon Capital:

According to the *Kisekyô*:

The Buddha told the priest, "The palace of the Heavenly Son of the Moon was forty-nine spans square. The wall which surrounded it on four sides was made of the seven treasured jewels. The palace of the Moon Capital blended in among the pure heavenly silver and the heavenly blue lapis. Half of it was of the purest heavenly silver, free of any impurities, and shone brilliantly. The other half was of heavenly blue lapis, which was also pure and shone on both the front and the back. The glow radiated far off into the distance. Also, at this palace of the Moon, there was a large palanquin, sixteen spans tall and eight wide and made of blue lapis. The Prince of this Moon Capital lived in this palanquin with a number of heavenly maidens. With the numerous benevolences of that heaven, they lived in harmony and attained bliss and went freely. The Prince of the Moon lived in good fortune for five hundred years.

[Here, Ôhide also cites a passage from the *Ryûjôroku* which tells of how the heavenly people danced joyfully in their feathered robes in the beautiful Moon Capital.]

The Heavenly Feathered Robe:

In the *Ise Daijingû Sankeiki* of the first year of Kôei (1342), Jûbutsu writes of the outer shrine at Ise and then composes a poem, after which he writes:

In the past, on the banks of a certain river in the province of Tamba, there were eight heavenly maidens who had come down and were bathing happily in the waters there. An old man saw them and took away the robe of one of these many heavenly maidens and hid it. The maidens were startled by this and all flew away. The maiden whose robe had

been hidden lamented and longed for her robe. The old man said, "I have no children and I desire that you remain in this country and become my child," and still would not return the robe. Powerless, the heavenly maiden became the old man's child. Seeing the poverty of her foster father's home, she began to make *sake* and sell it, and just one cup of this *sake* would cure a hundred illnesses. Because of this *sake*, many treasures were loaded into carts and sent to them, and soon the household became wealthy and prosperous. After this, the old man came to dislike the heavenly maiden and, the more she would ask him directly why that was, the more open the old man became with his words. So the heavenly maiden, coming to dislike this, tried to return to the heavens, but without her feathered robe, she had lost the ability to fly and was forced to live in this lower world, despised by the old man who had raised her and with no place to go. Although she always looked up at the blue sky above, she could not see the maidens who would take her away, and though she would throw herself down in tears on the bare floor, there were few to comfort her.

This heavenly maiden came from Tamba to this area (Ise) at the time of the transfer of the god of the shrine. We call the place where she wept the Capital of Tears.

This record does not show any familiarity with the ancient period, and is different from the old texts in many places. These events also do not appear in the record of the events of the ceremony of the outer shrine. It is unclear from where this story has come. In the *Sôjinki*, there is an account which is very similar to this.

In the *Sôjinki*:

Once, a man saw six or seven maidens in a field. They were all wearing robes of feathers and, not knowing that these were bird women, he crept up and took the feathered robe of one of the women and hid it. Soon, they all flew away to the various islands, but one bird was unable to fly away. The man took her and made her his wife. They had three daughters and the mother had them ask their father, and finding out that the robe

was beneath the rice bundles, found it, put it on and flew away. Later, she came to get her three daughters, and they flew off with her.

Ascending to the Heavens:

Nihon Ryōiki, Book One, Tale 13:

In a village of Nuribe, Uda district, Yamato province 大倭國宇太郡漆部里, there lived an extraordinary, who was married to Nuribe no Miyatsuko Maro 漆部造磨. Innately pure and straight-forward in upholding what was right, she gave birth to seven children, but she was too poor to feed them since she had no one to depend on. Since the children had no clothes, she wove vines into clothes for them. Every day she purified herself in a bath and clothed herself in rags. She would gather edible herbs in the fields, and devoted herself to staying at home and cleaning the house. When she cooked the herbs, she called her children, sat up straight, and ate the food, all the while smiling, talking cheerfully, and being grateful. This constant discipline in mind and body made her spirit resemble that of a guest from heaven.

In the fifth year of the Hakuchi era of the emperor who resided at the Palace of Nagara no Toyosaki in Naniwa, heavenly beings communicated with her, and she ate special herbs gathered in the field in springtime and flew about in the heavens.

Indeed, we know that her extraordinary qualities and her diet of special herbs are well recognized, even though she has not studied Buddhist teachings. The *Shōjin nyomon-kyō* 精進女問經 gives this relevant passage: “You will be able to achieve five kinds of merit by leading a lay life and sweeping the garden with an upright mind.”

(Nakamura, 124-125)

The *Man'yōshū* poem about Yoshino and Princess Nana turning into a swan [p. 62, above] is speaking of this occurrence. Here, in this transmission, there is no talk of a swan, but it is

possible in considering this verse that she could have rode to the heavens on the back of a swan. The Kamo Shrine also is reminiscent of these bird women.

This tale as it appears in the *Konjaku Monogatari* and variations in various other sources:

Konjaku Monogatarishû, Book 31, Number 33:

Now it is long ago, during the reign of Emperor ---,¹⁴ that there was an old man. He gathered bamboo and made baskets for people who wanted them, and in this way made his living. One day, when the old man had gone into the bamboo grove and was cutting bamboo in order to make baskets, one stalk shone brightly from the inside and inside the stalk of that bamboo, there was a person three inches high.

Seeing this, the old man rejoiced, saying, "I have gathered bamboo for many long years, but this is the first time I have found such a thing." He took this small child in one hand and gathered up the bamboo in the other hand and returned home. There, he said to the old woman, his wife, "I found this little girl in the bamboo grove!" They were overjoyed and first they placed her in a basket to care for her, but when they had raised her for just three months, she became the size of a normal person. As this child gradually grew, she came to be of a beauty unparalleled in this world, to the extent that she seemed to be a person not of this world. And so the old man and the old woman loved her and raised her with great care, and word of her spread throughout the land.

After that, the old man went out again to gather bamboo and this time found gold inside of the bamboo. The old man took it and returned home. From this, the old man quickly became quite wealthy. At that place, he built a great mansion and a tower to live in and countless treasures filled the storehouses. In addition to this, the number of people in his service grew. And, ever since he found this child, things went as he wanted them to. They cared about the child insurpassably and raised her with the utmost care.

After a time, the noblemen and courtiers of the day began to send letters of proposals of marriage, but she did not seem to have any intention of heeding them. Then, when all of the suitors desperately appealed with their entire hearts, she said to the first, "Bring to me the thunder which roars in the sky. Then I will do as you wish." To the next, she said, "It would seem that there is a flower called the Udonge flower. Bring that to me and I will do as you wish." To the last, she said, "There is a drum which sounds without being beaten. When you bring that and give it to me, then I shall answer you right away." And saying these things, she did not even attempt to see them. The suitors, entranced by the thought of this woman of unimaginable beauty, found it difficult to bear such words, but asked an old wise man how they might be able to obtain these objects. Some of them left home for the seaside and others discarded their worldly lives to go into the mountains, and thus there were some who lost their lives or never returned home from their quest for these objects.

After some time, the emperor heard of this woman and thought, "I hear that this woman is of a beauty unequalled in this world, but I will go myself to see her and if she really is so beautiful, I will soon make her my empress." And so he summoned one hundred courtiers of rank from ministers on down, and undertook a royal progress to the old man's house. When he arrived at the house and looked at it, its splendor rivalled even the imperial palace. And when he called for the girl, she came right out into his royal presence. When the emperor saw her, she truly was more beautiful than anything in this world, and he thought happily, "Surely this woman did not go near the other men so that she could become my empress!" But when he said, "I will take her straightaway back to the palace and make her my empress," the woman said, "Although it is an unfathomable pleasure for me that you would receive me as your empress, the truth is that I am not a human being.

The emperor then said, "Then what kind of a being are you? Are you a devil or are

you a deity?" When he had asked this, the woman replied, "I am neither a devil nor a deity. However, very soon people will be coming from the sky to meet me. Your Highness, please return to the palace straight away." The emperor heard this and thought, "What kind of a thing is this? Surely there will be no people coming from the sky to meet her right now. This must merely be an excuse to refuse my orders."

Shortly, a great many people came down from the sky carrying a palanquin and, placing the woman into it, ascended back up into the sky. Those people who came to meet her did not have the appearance of people from this world.

At that time, the emperor thought, "Certainly, this woman was not an ordinary human being," and returned to the palace. The emperor had himself seen that this woman was truly of such splendid fairness of features that she could not be thought of as of this world, and so even after that he was constantly remembering her and was overcome by unbearable feelings of fondness for her, but there was nothing which he could do.

In the end, it never became known what this woman really was. Nor was it understood for what reason she became the old man's child. The people all thought that none of these things made sense. Since it was such a strange happening, it has come to be passed down as a story in this fashion. (*Konjaku Monogatari Shû* 24, 632-635)

The reference to the thunder which roars in the sky comes from the *Nihon Ryôiki*, Book One, Tale One:

Chisakobe no Sugaru 小子部栖輕 was a favorite of Emperor Yûryaku 雄略天皇 (called Ôhatsuse-wakatake no sumeramikoto 大泊瀬稚武天皇) who reigned for twenty-three years at the Palace of Asakura in Hatsuse 泊瀬朝倉宮.

Once the emperor stayed at the Palace of Iware 磐余, and it happened that Sugaru stepped into the Ôyasumidono 大安殿 without knowing that the emperor lay with the empress there. The emperor, ashamed of his conduct, stopped making love, and it

thundered in the heavens. The emperor then said to Sugaru, "Won't you invite the rolling thunder to come here?" "Certainly," answered Sugaru, whereat the emperor commanded him, "Go, invite it here."

Leaving the palace, Sugaru hurried away on horseback, wearing a red headband on his forehead and carrying a halberd with a red banner. He passed the heights of Yamada in the village of Abe and Toyura-dera 豊浦寺 finally arriving at the crossroads of Karu no morokoshi. He cried out: "The emperor has invited the rolling thunder of heaven to his palace." While galloping back to the palace, he asked himself why, even if it were a thunder kami, would it not accept the emperor's invitation.

As he returned, it happened that the lightning struck between Toyura-dera and Ioka 飯岡. On seeing it, Sugaru sent for priests to place the thunder on the portable carriage, and he escorted it to the imperial palace, saying to the emperor, "I have brought the thunder kami." The thunder gave off such a dazzling light that the emperor was terrified. He made many offerings and then had it sent back to the original site, which is called "Hill of Thunder" 雷岡. (Nakamura, 102-103)

The Udonge flower is discussed in Section 4 of the translation on the jeweled branch. The drum which sounds without being beaten appears in the *Hokkekyô* (*Lotus Sutra*): "One hundred thousand heavenly instruments rang out without being drummed upon." Another reference appears in the *Kammuryôjukyô*.

According to the *Shirin Saiyôshô*:

According to an old transmission, at the foot of this mountain, there was an old man. He loved hawks and his daughter kept a dog as a pet. Later, he made bamboo baskets and made his living from it. He found a small girl between the segments of a stalk of bamboo. She was exceptionally beautiful and shone brilliantly. The time was during the Enryaku years (781-806) and Emperor Kammu made an imperial proclamation

throughout the many lands that a beautiful woman would be chosen. At this time, Sakanoue no Tamuramaro had become an envoy to the eastern provinces and spent the evening at the home of the old man living at the foot of the mountain. At the end of the night the light continued to be bright and, when he asked about it, he was told that the light came from the girl who was being raised there. Tamuramaro returned to the capital right away and reported on this happening. Because of this, the girl retreated into the mountain and hid herself in a cavern. The emperor came to the old man's home and the old man told him of what had happened. The emperor wept sadly and, removing his jeweled crown, remained there. Climbing to the peak of the mountain, he came to a golden cavern, from which the girl came out to meet him smiling and said, "I would like for you, my lord, to remain here." The emperor entered the cavern and stayed there. His jeweled crown turned to stone and is still there. The old man was the Gracious God of Who Loved Hawks, and the daughter was the Gracious Goddess of Dogs.

This is the story of this mountain, but the time period is very uncertain. Perhaps it was during the time of Emperor Tenji. It is said that the emperor died at the konoe palace, but that is not really true. His brought his horse out, but did not know where the girl was hidden. At the foot of Ujiyama, she had dropped a shoe, and taking this, he placed it in a basket before the imperial mausoleum. It is perhaps this emperor who entered the golden cavern of Fuji.

Kamo no Chômei's (1155-1216) *Junrekiki* says:

In the environs of this mountain, there was an old man called the bamboo gatherer. In the bamboo grove behind his house, he found the egg of a bush warbler. He cared for it as he would a child, and it became a young girl whose body lit up her surroundings. She was flattered in hundreds of ways. Those who saw her were deeply saddened, and those who heard her were moved deeply. After this, gold came out of the green bamboo, and the poor old man became rich. The emperor came to hear of this and, under the

pretext of going on a hunting trip, paid a visit to the bamboo residence of the princess. He vowed to be united with her, and pledged eternal love to her. When he had made his pledges to the bamboo princess the next day, the emperor went sadly home. The gods, hearing this, sent a flying chariot down and took her up into the heavens. The bush warbler princess, feeling awed by the emperor's vows, left an elixir of immortality with a poem which she had written. The poem reads:

<i>ima ha tote</i>	Thinking, 'Now is the time'
<i>ama no hagoromo</i>	as I don this
<i>kiru toki zo</i>	Heavenly Robe of Feathers --
<i>kimi wo ahare to</i>	I think sadly
<i>omohi-idenuru</i>	of you, my lord.

The emperor's poem in reply was:

<i>afu koto no</i>	Unable to see you,
<i>namida ni ukabu</i>	I drift aimlessly
<i>wagami ni ha</i>	on the waves of my tears.
<i>shinanu kusuri mo</i>	Of what use is it --
<i>nani ni kahasen</i>	the elixir of no death? ¹⁵

His envoy, surrounding himself with wise men, climbed to the peak of Mt. Fuji and burned the elixir there. It is from this that this mountain is called Fuji, "No Death," Mountain.

In my [Ôhide's] view, this story was not widely seen in writing, but was told from memory and passed on, and so developed many various versions. I can faintly remember when I was very young and an old man came out from deep in the mountains somewhere and told me stories of times now past. This old man was not versed in letters, and among the stories he had heard which he passed down was one from the *Uji Shûi* in which someone had a bump removed by demons.¹⁶ And there is another tale of raising a sparrow to attain merit, which can be heard

being told to young girls. Chômei did not see this book [the *Taketori Monogatari*] either, but probably only heard the story told.

In the Kokumei Fudoki:

In the province of Kai, at the foot of Mt. Fuji, there was of old an old man called the bamboo cutter, who planted bamboo and sold it. This old man found a bush warbler's egg in the bamboo grove which he had planted. He kept it warm. In time, when he looked at it, it had become a charming beautiful little princess. And so, he adopted her as his child. Later, when the old man was making his fields, he had no time and so he asked a nurse very pitifully, "Since this is a time when I have no spare time, could you please help me?" Since he asked so pitifully, the bush warbler princess was angered by this and went up to the top of Mount Fuji and kicked open the boulders so that hot water streamed out and burned all the places of the people who were making fields. Her abovementioned parents fled to the peak of Shirane, and, forgetting its master, the horse which had run familiarly in their fields fled to the peak of Koma in Shinshû. Because the horse had been kept (*kai*) there, the land came to be called the land of Kai.

Note that the details of most of this tale are irrelevant and of little use in understanding the origins of the name of the province of Kai. Perhaps the story came from the old transmission mentioned above.

Elixirs of Immortality

In the *Honzô Wamyô*, Book 16, it says that there are twenty-one different types of elixirs of immortality.

Chapter V: The Translation

THE TALE OF THE [OLD] BAMBOO CUTTER

[Book I

Section I: The Birth of Kaguyahime]¹

It is now in the past² that there was a man called the old bamboo cutter. Making his way through the fields and mountains, he gathered bamboo day after day and used it to make all kinds of things.³ His name was Sanugi⁴ no Miyatsukomaro.⁵ [One day,] among those bamboo, there was one stalk which glowed at its base. Finding this strange, he drew closer and saw that it was glowing from the inside.⁶ And when he looked, there was sitting in it a lovely girl who measured just three inches tall. The old man said, "I have come to know of you because you are in this bamboo which I see every morning and every evening. It seems that you must be meant to be my child,"⁷ and, so saying he put her in his hand and brought her back to his house. He left her to his old wife and had her raise the child.⁸ Her beauty was incomparable. Since she was so small,⁹ they placed her in a bamboo basket¹⁰ to care for her.

Gathering bamboo, this bamboo cutter, after he found this child, repeatedly discovered stalks with gold between each joint¹¹ when he went out to gather bamboo.¹² Thus, the old man gradually grew rich. Under his care, this child grew very quickly. By the time she reached just three months old, since she was a grown woman, it was agreed upon¹³ that she would go through the hair-tying and other rites;¹⁴ her hair was bound up,¹⁵ and she was dressed in a train.¹⁶ She was not even allowed out from behind her bedcurtains¹⁷ and was raised with the utmost care. The beauty¹⁸ of this child's features was unequalled in the world, and her radiance¹⁹ filled even the darkest corners of the house. When the old man was despondent or pained in any way, if he

looked at the child his pain would subside. And when he was angry, he would be calmed.²⁰

The old man gathered bamboo for a long time after this. He became a dauntingly powerful man.²¹ Since the child had become fully grown, he called Mimuroto no Inbe no Akita²² to give her an auspicious name.²³ Akita gave her the name Nayotake²⁴ no Kaguyahime:²⁵ "Shining Princess of the Pliant Bamboo." For three days²⁶ they celebrated with drinking and song. There was entertainment of all kinds.²⁷ They called together²⁸ men and women alike, without hesitation,²⁹ and they celebrated grandly.

[Section 2: The Courtship]

Men from all over the land, of high rank and of low, thought how they would like to have her, or even just be able to see her;¹ and when they heard talk of her beauty, they were lost in desire. Even those people at the hedge surrounding there, and those outside the house,² could not see anything very easily, and yet these men, unable to sleep at night, would come out in the dark of night³ and poke holes to peer in from all directions, all desperate to peek in through the fence at her.⁴ It was at this time that we came to use the phrase "nighttime calls."⁵

The men wandered distractedly into vacant places,⁶ but still this did not seem to have any effect. Wanting at least to speak even a few words with someone of her household, the suitors would approach to speak to them, but they would not answer.⁷ There were many noblemen who would not leave the area, and who passed every day and night there. The less devoted said to themselves, "There is no point in such useless creeping around,"⁸ and stopped coming.

Among those noblemen, five men⁹ best-known for their amorous nature¹⁰ still continued to woo the princess, coming day and night, and never ceasing to think of her. Of these men, one was named Prince Ishitsukuri,¹¹ one Prince Kuramochi,¹² one Minister of the Right Abe no Miushi,¹³

one Major Counselor Ôtomo no Miyuki, and one¹⁴ Middle Counselor Isonokami no Maro;¹⁵ only these men were left. When, even among the countless ladies of the realm, they heard of a woman of even slightly exceptional fineness of features, they were of the sort that desired to see her,¹⁶ and so naturally they desired to see Kaguyahime. Unable to eat, they pined for her¹⁷ constantly, going to her house, pacing about, but all to no avail. Although they wrote letters and sent them in to her, she sent no reply, and though they wrote poems of their troubled hearts, and sent them, she did not respond.¹⁸ Thinking their efforts were to no avail, they came nonetheless, oblivious to the freezing snow and sleet of the Eleventh and Twelfth Month,¹⁹ and heedless of the Sixth Month's²⁰ heat and thunder.

One day, these men called the bamboo cutter out and knelt before him, [each] saying, "Please, grant me your daughter's hand," but, though they pleaded with him, he replied, "Since she is not a child born of our own bodies, we cannot make her obey us,"²¹ and the days and months passed. So things remained, and so the men returned home, but although, deep in thought, they prayed and raised their pleas to the gods, wishing to forget about her,²² they could not. "But surely she will not be allowed to remain unmarried forever!" they thought, and placed hope in this, walking about making their feelings for the princess evident to all.²³

Discovering this, the old man said to Kaguyahime, "My dearest child,²⁴ I know that you are a transformed being,²⁵ but, nonetheless, you have grown so much under our care and I feel deeply for you. Will you not listen to what an old man has to say?"

Kaguyahime said, "What is there which you might say to which I would not listen? Not knowing that mine was the body of a transformed being, I have always thought of you as my parents."²⁶

"How happy those words make me," the old man said. "I am now over seventy years old²⁷

and I do not know what may happen today or tomorrow. In this world, men are united with women, and women are united with men.²⁸ After that, the family grows and is even more prosperous.²⁹ How can you not do this too?"

Kaguyahime replied, "But how could I do such a thing?"³⁰ and so the old man said, "Though you are a transformed being, you have the body of a woman. As long as I, an old man, am alive, you should be able to continue unmarried like this.³¹ But consider what these men have said when they have visited over the months and years, and marry one of them."

But Kaguyahime said, "I don't truly know the depths of their feelings for me. I am not even really beautiful, and all I can think is how I shall surely regret it if their affections should shift. Although they are well-respected men of the world, I think it is difficult to marry without knowing their true feelings."

The old man said, "You speak my thoughts exactly!"³² But how sincere must the man be whom you would think to marry? These certainly all seem to be men of uncommon devotion."

Kaguyahime responded, "How shall I uncover the true depths of their feelings? It is really a small task."³³

"Their feelings all seem to be the same. How can you know among them which is better and which is worse?"³⁴

"Please tell those men whom you say have come, that, of the man among the five of them who brings me the object I would like to see, I shall say, 'Your feelings are the deepest,' and will serve him [as his wife]."³⁵

The old man agreed, saying, "That is a good idea."³⁶

As dusk fell, they gathered as usual. The men either played the flute or sang songs, sang musical scores, whistled tunes or beat time with their fans,³⁷ and the old man came out. "I am most obliged that you have graced our humble and undeserving home with your visits over the years,"

he said. "When I said to my daughter, 'I do not know what will happen to me from one day to the next, so please consider well what these young noblemen have said and decide which one you will marry,' it was quite reasonable that she replied, 'But without knowing the true depth of their affections . . . [I cannot do so.]' She said, 'Since there is no one better or worse than the others among them, I should be able to see the true extent of the affections of the one who brings me the object I would like to see.'³⁸ I will decide which one to serve according to that means,' and I agreed that it was a good idea. This way there should be no bad feelings among you." The five men also said, "That is a good idea," and the old man went inside to tell Kaguyahime.

Kaguyahime told him, "For Prince Ishitsukuri, there is something in India known as the stone bowl of the Buddha."³⁹ He must get that for me." Then she told him, "For Prince Kuramochi, there is a mountain in the Eastern Sea called Mount Hôrai."⁴⁰ There, a tree grows with silver for its roots, gold for a trunk, and white jewels for fruit. He should break off a branch⁴¹ for me. The next man⁴² must bring me a robe of the pelt⁴³ of the Fire-Rat from China.⁴⁴ As for the Grand Counsellor Ôtomo, there is a jewel which shines in five colors⁴⁵ in a dragon's head.⁴⁶ He shall get that for me. And from the Middle Counsellor Isonokami, I should like him to get a swallow's Safe-Birth Shell⁴⁷ for me."⁴⁸

The old man said, "These seem to all be very difficult tasks. Some are not even things of this land. How can I tell them of such difficult things?"⁴⁹

Kaguyahime said, "What is so difficult?"

The old man said, "At any rate, I will tell them," and so saying, he went out. ". . . This is what she has said. Bring to her the things of which you have heard me speak." Hearing this, the princes and the nobles said, "You should rather just command us frankly not to hang about these premises at all," and, resignedly,⁵⁰ they all went home.

[Book II

Section 3: The Stone Bowl of the Buddha]

Nonetheless, they all felt that they could not go on living without obtaining her hand,¹ and thought, “Even if this is something from India, how could we not bring it back for her?”² But Prince Ishitsukuri,³ being a calculating⁴ man, thought, “Even if I were to travel the countless miles to India, how could I find this stone bowl which has no match in this world?” and so he left word for Kaguyahime saying, “Today, I take humble leave of you for India to find the stone bowl,” and three years passed.⁵ He found a bowl, pitch-black and covered with soot, in front of the kitchen god, Binzuru,⁶ at a certain mountain temple in a far-off town of Tôchi in the province of Yamato,⁷ and, placing it in a brocade bag, and adding a sprig of artificial flowers,⁸ he took it to Kaguyahime’s house and presented it to her. Looking suspiciously at it, she saw that there was a note inside the bowl. When she opened it, it said:

<i>umiyama no</i>	I have toiled endlessly
<i>michi ni kokoro wo</i>	along the ocean roads and mountain paths,
<i>tsukushi hate</i>	past the shores of Tsukushi.
<i>miishi no hachi no</i>	Tears of blood flowed
<i>namida nagare-ki</i>	for this precious stone bowl. ¹⁰

Kaguyahime looked to see whether the bowl shone, but there was not even the glow of a firefly in it.

<i>oku-tsuyu no</i>	I thought at least
<i>hikari wo dani zo</i>	the glisten of a dew-drop
<i>yado-samashi</i>	must reside within it. ¹¹
<i>wogura-yama nite</i>	Why have you brought this
<i>nani motome-kemu</i>	from the Mountain of Darkness? ¹²

And she sent the bowl back out to him.¹³ Tossing away the bowl at the gate, he wrote this poem back to her:

shira-yama ni

When met

*aheba hikari no*by the White Mountain,¹⁴*usuruka to*

its luster faded and went out.

hachi wo sutetemo

Though I now discard this shameful bowl,

*tanomaruru kana*I dare to hope still.¹⁵

He sent this poem in. But Kaguyahime did not even respond. When she would not even listen to him, he went home, muttering despairingly. From this shameless act of approaching her even after having thrown away the bowl, we get the expression, "tossing away one's shame."¹⁶

[Section 4: The Jeweled Branch of Mt. Hôrai]

Prince Kuramochi,¹ being a very cunning man,² announced to those at court, "I intend to take leave for a cure at the hot springs of Tsukushi,"³ then to Kaguyahime he sent word, "I take leave to find the jeweled branch," and so all those who would normally accompany him saw him off as far as Naniwa.⁴ The prince said, "Let us go very discreetly," and, not taking a large number of attendants⁵ and only keeping those who served him the most closely, he set off. The others who had accompanied them saw them off and returned home. Giving the people the impression that he had departed, the prince rowed back three days later.⁶

As he had already previously arranged, he called for Uchimaro and five other artisans,⁷ the foremost⁸ in the trade, and erected a triple-walled structure, enclosing them inside.⁹ Hiding there himself as well, he notified the lords of his sixteen manors to empty the coffers,¹⁰ in order to have a jeweled branch made. It was exactly as Kaguyahime had described when it was completed. Very slyly, he secretly took it away to Naniwa.

He sent word to the palace that he was returning by boat, and pretended to be in great pain.¹¹ Many people came to greet him upon his return. Placing the branch in a long chest, and covering it,¹² he brought it home. The people could be heard everywhere saying, "Prince

Kuramochi has returned with the Udonge¹³ flower!"

Hearing this uproar, Kaguyahime thought with despair, "I surely have been defeated by the prince."¹⁴ At that moment, there was a knocking at the gate.

It was announced: "His Highness Prince Kuramochi has arrived. He has come straight from his journey," and so the old man went out to meet him.¹⁵

The prince said, "With no regard for my own life, I have brought this jeweled branch. Please present it to Princess Kaguya." And so the old man took it inside. There was a note attached to the jeweled branch:

<i>itadzura ni</i>	Though I might throw away my life
<i>mi hanashitsu tomo</i>	and lose it completely,
<i>tama no e wo</i>	I would not return in vain
<i>te-worade tada ni</i>	not having with my own hand
<i>kahezaramashi</i>	broken off the jeweled branch.

Finding this deeply moving as well,¹⁶ Kaguyahime sat looking at the branch. Anxious for a response,¹⁷ the old bamboo cutter ran inside saying, "Just as you asked him to, this prince has brought a jeweled branch from Hôrai, and not a detail is missing. How can you find fault with it? He has come straight from his journey, without even stopping at his own home first. Please accept this prince's proposal and agree to serve each other¹⁸ straight away." At this, Kaguyahime said nothing, and, holding her head in her hands, she pondered mournfully.

The prince thought, "There is no need to argue one thing or the other now," and slowly made to step up to the veranda outside her room, thinking it a matter of course.¹⁹

The old man said things like, "It is a jeweled branch the likes of which cannot be seen in this land. How can you deny him this time? And he is such a handsome fellow, too."

Kaguyahime's response was, "It was so as not to deny a parent's request that I said that I wished to have these objects which are so difficult to obtain. I find it quite hateful that he should have so unexpectedly brought it back" she said,²⁰ but the old man arranged the nuptial chamber.

The old man said to the prince, "In what kind of place did this tree grow? What an unusually fine and splendid branch."²¹

The prince replied, "Three years ago,²² around the twentieth day of the second month, I took a boat from Naniwa and went out into the ocean. I did not know which way I should go, but, knowing that unless my wishes were realized there would be no reason for me to live in this world, I let the boat be led by the aimless winds. If I were to die, what would it matter? As long as I was alive, might I not encounter this mountain called Hôrai? And so, rowing where the waves would take me, I floated about and passed beyond the borders of our land, one time caught in the stormy waves and thinking that I would be tossed to the bottom of the sea, and another time following the way of the winds and being brought to unknown shores where a devil-like creature appeared and I tried to kill it.²³ Once, not knowing where I was going or whence I had come, I became lost in the ocean. Another time, I ran out of food and had to eat the roots of the plants I found. Yet another time, an indescribably frightful monster²⁴ appeared and tried to eat me. At times, I even took the shells from the sea for sustenance."²⁵

"On this journey, in a place where there was no one to help me, I fell prey to many sicknesses and, not even knowing the direction in which I advanced, I left my boat to drift aimlessly upon the waters, when in the hour of the dragon on the morning of the five-hundredth day,²⁶ I faintly saw a mountain upon the sea. Even from inside the boat we watched it attentively. Drifting on top of the ocean,²⁷ it was an immense mountain. The appearance of that mountain²⁸ was splendid. I thought that this was surely the mountain for which I had been searching, since it appeared appropriately daunting, and, rowing our way around and around the mountain, we watched it from a distance for two or three days until a woman dressed in a celestial costume²⁹ came out from the mountain carrying a silver bowl in which she had drawn water.³⁰ Seeing this, I left the boat and asked her, 'What do you call this mountain?' And the woman answered, 'This is the mountain of Hôrai.' When I heard this, my joy knew no bounds. I asked of the woman, 'And

who is it who graces me with such words?"³¹ She said, 'My name is Hôkanruri,'³² and suddenly disappeared into the mountain.

"When I looked at this mountain, there did not appear to be any way to climb it; and when I circled around the steep sides of this mountain, there were flowering trees which were not of this world. Gold, silver, and lapis³³ colored streams flowed out from the mountain, and across them lay bridges of all sorts of jewels.³⁴ Near them stood flowering trees [of gold, silver, and pearls]³⁵ which sparkled brightly. From among those, this, which I have humbly brought to you, is of poor quality, but, thinking that I could not bring something which was in any way different from what you requested, I broke off these flowers and have brought them to you. The mountain was fascinating to no end. It was not to be compared with anything in this world, but I had broken off this branch, and so, becoming even more anxious [to return to you now that I had what I had come for],³⁶ I returned to the boat and, as there was a tailwind blowing, was able to return in four hundred odd days. It must have been by the power of my prayers that I finally arrived in the capital yesterday³⁷ from Naniwa. I came here without even changing the salt-soaked clothes I wore."

Having listened to all this, the old man sighed and recited this poem:

<i>kure-take no</i>	Gathering the black bamboo
<i>yoyo no take toru</i> ³⁸	year after year
<i>noyama ni mo</i>	in the mountain fields --
<i>sa ya ha wabishiki</i>	Have I? No, never have I seen
<i>fushi</i> ³⁹ <i>wo nomi mishi</i>	such trying circumstances.

When the prince heard this, he said, "My heart, which has for so many days been grieved, has finally this day been appeased,"⁴⁰ and he returned this poem:

<i>waga-tamoto</i>	Because today
<i>kefu kahakereba</i>	my sleeves will be dried,

wabishisa no

I will surely be able to forget

chigusa no kazu mo

the countless trials

wasurarenu beshi

I have undergone.

As the two were speaking thus, six men had lined up and entered the courtyard. One of the men held a message stick⁴¹ with a letter in it and spoke. "I am Ayabe no Uchimaro,⁴² a worker from the imperial atelier⁴³ where I have devoted my heart and soul⁴⁴ and exhausted my energy for more than one thousand days to make a jeweled branch. Yet I have not yet received any reward. Please grant me this so that I can divide it⁴⁵ to compensate my workers." Saying this, he presented his letter. The old bamboo cutter cocked his head to one side in confusion wondering, "What is it that this craftsman is saying?" The prince, looking beside himself, sat dumbfounded.

Hearing this, Kaguyahime said, "Take that note which he has presented!" and, looking at it, saw that it said something to this effect:

His Highness the Prince, for one thousand odd days⁴⁶ hid himself along with the lowly craftsmen in the same place, forcefully having us make a jeweled branch, and saying that he would grant us some official post. Now we realize that this was certainly what Princess Kaguyahime had desired, and as she is to become a member of His Highness' court,⁴⁷ we have come to this palace⁴⁸ thinking that surely we can receive our reward from her,

it said. When she [saw]⁴⁹ the words, "Surely we can receive our reward . . ." Kaguyahime, who had been overcome by despair that her first night with the prince was approaching,⁵⁰ broke out in smiles, calling out for the old man. "I did indeed think that this was from a tree of Mount Hôrai. But as it is such a contemptible fabrication, send it back⁵¹ immediately!"

The old man replied, "Having heard that it is indeed a fabrication, it is quite easy to send it back," as he nodded in agreement.⁵² Kaguyahime, very relieved, sent this poem in response to the first:

makoto ka to

Hearing that it was

kikite mitsureba

the real thing, I looked --

koto no ha wo

Only to find that

kazareru tama no

it was a jeweled branch

eda ni zo arikeru

adorned with leaves of false words.

and returned the branch with it. The old bamboo cutter, having conversed so intimately with the prince, felt quite sorry for him,⁵³ and sat with his eyes closed. The prince, uncomfortable standing, yet ill at ease being seated, sat there, and as dusk fell he slipped away.

As for the workers who had come to voice their complaints, Kaguyahime called them before her saying, "You have made me very happy," and made them take all manner of treasures as their reward. The workers were overcome with joy, saying, "This is just as we expected," and went home. On the road, Prince Kuramochi had them punished⁵⁴ until they bled. Their reward was to no avail either, because it was all taken from them and thrown away and they all fled.

Thus, this prince thought, "In my entire life, there is nothing which could surpass this shame. Not only did I not win her, but how humiliating the thoughts of all the people of the land must be when they look at me," and so he retreated all alone deep into the mountains. Those in charge of his court affairs and his closest retainers all divided up to search for him, but -- "Was it perhaps because he was dead?" they wondered -- they were unable to find him.⁵⁵ The prince, wanting to hide himself even from his attendants,⁵⁶ had remained out of sight over the years after that. This is where we get the term *tama-sakaru*, "lost jewels/lost soul."⁵⁷

[Book III

Section 5: The Fur Robe of the Fire-Rat]

The Minister of the Right, Abe no Miushi was a man of great fortune and a large family. He wrote a letter to the man named Ô Kei,¹ who had come that year on a boat from China,² saying, "Buy for me that thing which is called the coat of the Fire-Rat and send it to me." Choosing a

reliable individual from among his attendants, he entrusted the letter to one Ono no Fusamori and sent him away. Arriving in Hakata³ with the letter, he presented it to Ô Kei with a sum of gold. Ô Kei, opening the letter and reading it, wrote a response:

The fur of the Fire-Rat cannot be found in my country.⁴ Although I have heard of it, I have not yet seen it. If such a thing does exist, I will certainly bring it to this country. This is a very difficult business. However, if by some chance it has been taken over to the land of Tenjiku,⁵ I shall visit the great lords there and obtain it from them. If it does not exist, I will at least send the money back with your attendant.⁶

The boat arrived back from China to Hakata.⁷ Ono no Fusamori returned, and the Minister, hearing that he was making his way toward the capital, sent someone on a fast-paced horse out to meet him, so that it took only seven days⁸ for him to reach the capital by horse from Tsukushi. Ô Kei's letter said:

I have with difficulty managed to obtain the robe of the Fire-Rat's fur for you. It seems that these days and even in the olden days this fur was not an easy thing to come by. I finally heard that the fur robe, which long ago had been brought to this country⁹ by a wise sage of India, was in a mountain temple to the west of here,¹⁰ and I called upon the resources of the court and with much difficulty was able to purchase it. The provincial officer told my messenger that the gold he had for payment was too little, so he added some of my own money and bought it. Now I am in need of fifty more pieces of gold. Please send it back with this ship when it returns. If you will not grant me the gold, please return the fur robe in its stead.

Reading this, the Minister thought, "What is he saying? At this point, such gold seems like such a little thing. Gladly I will have it sent to him," and he bowed in the direction of China.

When he looked at the box which held the fur robe, it was adorned with all kinds of beautiful jewels.¹¹ The fur robe was a deep sky blue color. The tips of the hair glittered with a golden luster.¹² It was a treasure the fineness of which was unequalled. More striking than its

resistance to fire¹³ was its unrivalled magnificence. [The Minister of the Right said,] "Ah! Certainly this will be to Kaguyahime's liking. Oh, how lovely!"¹⁴ he said, and placing it in the box, he attached to it some kind of branch and made himself up¹⁵ carefully thinking, "Surely I will be staying the night," and composed a poem which he brought along with the robe. The poem read like this:

<i>kagiri naki</i>	This fur robe
<i>omohi ni yakenu</i>	has withstood the ceaseless
<i>kaha-goromo</i>	fire of my passion ¹⁶ --
<i>tamoto kahakite</i>	It dries my longing-soaked sleeves
<i>kefu koso ha mime</i> ¹⁷	to know that today I will see you at last.

He brought the robe to the gates of the house and stood waiting. The bamboo cutter came out and took it in to show to Kaguyahime. Looking at the fur robe, Kaguyahime said, "It appears to be a beautiful fur. But we do not know if it is the true fur."

The bamboo cutter answered, "In any case, let us first invite him in. It looks like a fur robe such as cannot be found in this world, so you must believe that it is the real thing. You must not say anything to trouble him,"¹⁸ and the old man called the lord in and had him be seated.¹⁹

When the old man had called the Minister in to be seated like this,²⁰ the old woman also thought²¹ in her heart, "Surely this time she will be joined in marriage." The old man fretted that Kaguyahime was to remain forever unmarried, and pondered over the thought, "How I would like to marry her to a good man." But if she were really against it, she would refuse no matter how much he insisted.²²

Kaguyahime said to the old man, "Surely I will believe that this is the true fur robe if, when I try to burn it in fire, it does not burn. Then I will heed what he has to say."²³ You say, 'Since it is something not of this world, you must not doubt that it is real.' So let us try burning it and see."

"It is as you say," [the old man said,] and to the Minister of the Left, "This is what she has

said. . .”

The Minister answered, “This robe was not even to be found in China and only with much effort was I able to search it out and procure it. I have no doubts about it.”

[When the old man said,] “I have told her so. Burn it now and see,” the lord had it thrown into the fire²⁴ and it lit up in flames.

“Well, it is certain that this was the wrong fur,” the old man said.²⁵ Seeing this, the lord sat there, his face the color of blades of grass.²⁶

Kaguyahime sat, very pleased, saying, “Oh, how glad I am!” In response to the poem he had written, she placed this in the box and returned it to him:

<i>nagori naku</i>	If I had known that
<i>moyu to shiri seba</i>	this robe of fur would burn without a trace
<i>kaha-goromo</i>	so unexpectedly --
<i>omohi no hoka ni</i>	I should have kept it from the fire,
<i>okite mimashi wo</i>	if only just to look at it. ²⁷

And so, he went home.

The people all asked, “I hear that Lord Abe brought the fur robe of the Fire-Rat and was to live with²⁸ Kaguyahime. Is he here?” Those who had been there said, “When the fur was placed in the fire, it burned brightly and so he was not married to Kaguyahime.” It is from hearing such things that such ineffectiveness has taken Abe’s name and come to be called *ahē[abe]-nashi*, “hopeless, or pathetic.”²⁹

[Section 6: The Jewel of the Dragon’s Head]

Ôtomo no Miyuki, the Major Counselor, called all the members of his household together¹ and said to them, “It is said that there is a jewel with the luster of the five colors in a dragon’s head. To the man who can get that for me, I will grant any wish.”

The men, receiving this command, all answered him, “With all due respect for the master’s

orders, it is quite impossible to obtain any type of jewel² with ease, and, furthermore, how are we to obtain such a jewel from the head of a dragon?"

The Major Counselor said, "Those who would serve their lord³ should even disregard their own lives to fulfill the orders of their master! This is not something from India or China which does not exist in our country. Dragons come down from the mountains and up from the oceans of this land.⁴ What are you thinking, that you say that this is a difficult task?"

The men said, "In that case, very well then. Though it may be a difficult task, we will obey your orders and go out to search for it."

Hearing this, the Major Counselor laughed and said,⁵ "You men are known far and wide as the attendants of a great lord. How could you go against the wishes of your lord? Go find the jewel of the dragon's head!" and sent them out.⁶ To feed them⁷ on their travels, he brought out all the fine silks and coins in his possession for them to take and sent them away.

"Until you people come back, I will remain at home in prayer.⁸ Do not return without having procured the jewel," he said. Having received their master's orders, they all took their leave. Since he had said, "Do not return without having procured the jewel of the dragon's head,"⁹ they went in whichever direction their feet took them.¹⁰ "Such pleasure seeking!" they complained. They took what they had been given and divided it among themselves. Some went to shut themselves up in their own homes, and some went to places where they wanted to go. Although he was their master, he had ordered such an impractical task,¹¹ and, since they were making no progress, they blamed the Major Counselor among themselves.

"If I am to bring Kaguyahime to live here, it cannot be just an ordinary residence,"¹² the Middle Counselor said, and built a beautiful mansion, covering it with lacquer and decorating it with colored lacquer designs,¹³ with dyed silk threads of all colors to thatch the roof.¹⁴ Inside, there were indescribably beautiful fabrics with designs woven into pictures hanging in the divisions between each room.¹⁵ He drove all his other women away [back to their homes]¹⁶ and

with the utmost confidence prepared himself for the arrival of Kaguyahime as his wife, spending his days and nights alone.

He waited, day and night, for the return of the men he had sent away, but there was still no news from them by the end of the year. His heart filled with impatience, he very stealthily took only two close attendants to serve him, and stole off unaccompanied¹⁷ toward Naniwa where he had an attendant inquire, "How about the attendants of the lord Major Counselor Ôtomo -- have you heard about them going out on a ship to kill a dragon and bring back the jewel from its head?"

The boat people answered, "How outrageous!" and laughed. "There is no boat which has done such a thing," they answered.¹⁸

"How weak-willed these boatpeople are. They speak without knowing!"¹⁹ he thought.²⁰ "The power of my bow will shoot the dragon right down, and I will take the jewel from its head myself."²¹ I won't wait for those laggards,"²² he said, and boarded a boat, making his way through the many seas until he arrived at the distant sea near Tsukushi.

There, for some reason, the wind began to blow fiercely, the world became dark, and the boat was tossed about by the wind. Not even knowing in which direction, they were blown far and about²³ as if their boat would be swallowed up by the sea; the waves beat on the boat, surrounding it, and thunderbolts flashed as if they would strike it.²⁴ At this, the Major Counselor was at a loss and said, "I have never encountered such hardship. What will happen to us?"

The captain replied, "I have sailed on ships for many years and I have never experienced such tribulations. If this ship of yours does not sink to the bottom of the ocean, it will surely be struck by thunderbolts. Even if we are fortunate enough to receive the help of the gods [and escape], we will probably be blown toward those frightful Southern Seas."²⁵ I have served a suspicious master²⁶ and now it seems that I will die a senseless death," the captain wailed.²⁷

When the Major Counselor heard this, he said, "When on a ship, one must have faith in the words of the captain as in a tall mountain. Why do you speak such undependable words?" he said, vomiting crudely.

The captain answered him, "I am not a god, so what can I possibly do? That the wind is blowing and the waves crashing, with even thunderbolts²⁸ descending upon us -- this is all because you are seeking to kill a dragon! The winds of the storm too are being blown by the dragon.²⁹ Please pray to the gods at once!"

"Very well," he said. "Oh, God of the Boat Captains,³⁰ please hear my prayer. Out of foolishness and childish naïveté,³¹ I thought to kill a dragon. From this time on, I will not disturb even the tip of a single hair on it!" He offered up his words of prayer,³² then rose and knelt repeatedly, calling out tearfully over and over again, until, after almost one thousand times, the thunder slowly ceased to crash. The sky cleared somewhat,³³ but the wind still blew forcefully.

The captain said, "This is certainly the doing of the dragon. This wind is a good wind, not a bad wind. It is blowing us in a favorable direction." But the Major Counselor would not believe him.³⁴ For three or four days it blew, and blew them back upon the shore. When they saw the beach, it was the beach at Akashi in Harima.³⁵ But the Major Counselor thought, "Surely we have been blown onto a beach of the Southern Isles,"³⁶ and collapsed with a heavy sigh.

The men on the ship went to the provincial administrative office,³⁷ but, although the head official came straight away to pay a visit to him, the Major Counselor was unable even to rise and lay in the bottom of the boat.³⁸ They moved him to his straw mat which they spread in a field of pine trees. Only then did he realize, "This is not the Southern Seas!" He arose only with much difficulty, and looked severely ill [like someone with a serious ailment];³⁹ his gut was very swollen and it was as if he had plums for eyes.⁴⁰ When he saw this, the provincial official smiled.

Calling upon the provincial official, the Major Counselor had a palanquin made, and grunted and groaned as he was carried home. Somehow they must have heard about this,⁴¹ and so his attendants came to him and said, "We were not able to get the jewel from the dragon's head, and so we could not return to the palace. Since you must know now how difficult the jewel is to obtain, we returned, thinking that you would not reprimand⁴² us."

The Major Counselor sat up and said, "It is good that you did not bring it."⁴³ The dragon is related to the thunder god.⁴⁴ When I tried to get the jewel from it, I almost had many people killed. Moreover, if you had caught it, I most certainly would have been killed. It is a good thing that you were not able to catch it.⁴⁵ That swindling Kaguyahime is trying to get us killed!⁴⁶ I won't even go near her house. Don't you men walk near there either!"⁴⁷ And, so saying, he gave what little he had left to the men who hadn't gotten the dragon's jewel.⁴⁸

Hearing about this, the women who had left his household split their sides in laughter.⁴⁹ The roof he had thatched with silk threads was soon carried off by the kites and crows for their nests.⁵⁰ When the people asked, "Did the Major Counselor Ôtomo get the jewel from the dragon's head?" his retainers answered,⁵¹ "No, he didn't. The only jewels he returned with were his two eyes like plums!" Then the others, "Oh, but how unbearably funny!"⁵² and it is from this that we get the expression, "Unbearable!"⁵³ for a situation which does not turn out as expected.⁵⁴

[Book IV

Section 7: The Safe-Birth Shell of the Swallow]

The Middle Counselor Isonokami no Maro¹ said to the men at service in his household,² "Tell me when the swallows build their nests."³ Accordingly, the men asked, "For what purpose?" The Middle Counselor answered, "It is because I want to get the Safe-Birth Shell⁴ which the swallows have." The men answered, "Even if you were to kill many swallows, you would find nothing inside of them. But when they are about to give birth, it would seem that somehow they release such a thing."⁵ It is said that when the bird we call the swallow⁶ sees a human being, it dies."⁷ Another man said, "The swallows have made nests in all the holes under the eaves⁸ of the palace kitchens.⁹ If you send some trusted attendants there and bind together a scaffold¹⁰ so that they can peep in, among the many swallows there could not be none which are giving birth. Then they can take the shell." The Middle Counselor rejoiced, saying, "How wonderful! Of course! I

had no idea. I am very interested in what you have told me." So saying, he order twenty or so trusty men to build a tall scaffold to sit upon.

The lord sent a messenger straight away to ask, "Have you gotten the Safe-Birth Shell?" -- "The swallows, surprised all of a sudden by the numbers of people climbing up and sitting there, didn't even go up to their nests." When he heard his messenger reply to this effect, the Middle Counselor was deeply troubled, and thought, "What can I do?" At this, an old man named Kuratsumaro,¹¹ an official at the storehouse, came before the Middle Counselor and said, "If, my lord, you would like to get the Safe-Birth Shell, let me tell you my idea," and the Middle Counselor leaned toward him to hear. Kuratsumaro said, "You have used a faulty approach to get this Safe-Birth Shell of the swallow. In such ways, you will never get one. You had twenty people climbing noisily on the scaffold, so the birds stayed away and would not come back. What you must do is take down this scaffold, have everyone stand back, seat one trusty man in a coarse basket, prepare it with a rope, and, right when the bird is giving birth, have him hoisted up by the rope so that he can quickly grab the Safe-Birth Shell. That should work." The Middle Counselor said, "That is a very good plan," and they took down the scaffold and he sent everyone away.¹²

The Middle Counselor said to Kuratsumaro, "When will we know that the swallow is going to give birth, that we can hoist someone up?" Kuratsumaro said, "It seems that when the swallow is about to give birth, it raises its tail, turns around seven times and then gives birth. So, when it starts to turn around seven times, then hoist him up and right then have him take the Safe-Birth Shell." The Middle Counselor was overjoyed, and, without telling anyone else, came secretly to the storehouse,¹³ mingled with the attendants, and worked through the night as if it were day¹⁴ to have them obtain the Safe-Birth Shell. He was ecstatic about what Kuratsumaro had told him.¹⁵ "I am so happy that you have answered my prayers even though you are not even in my service."¹⁶ He took off his outer robe and put it on¹⁷ the man as a gift. "Come again to this storehouse when night comes,"¹⁸ he said, and sent him home.¹⁹

When the Middle Counselor went to the storehouse after the sun went down,²⁰ sure enough

the swallows were making their nests.²¹ As Kuratsumaro had instructed, when they lifted their tails and turned around, he placed someone in a coarse basket and raised him up, but when he stuck his hand in the nest and felt around, he said, "There is nothing." So the Middle Counselor became annoyed and said, "That is because you are not searching hard enough. There is no one who can do the job right²² so I will go up and look for myself." He got into the basket and was hoisted up to peek, and just when the swallow was raising its tail and swiftly turning around, he reached up and felt around and, feeling something flat, said, "I have it in my hand! Let me down now. I did it, old man!"²³ They gathered around saying, "Hurry and let him down!" The men pulled too hard, the rope snapped,²⁴ and the Middle Counselor fell on his back²⁵ on top of the Yashima stewpot.²⁶

The people were alarmed and went over to pick him up. He was lying unconscious, only the whites of his eyes showing.²⁷ The people spooned water into his mouth,²⁸ and at last he began to breathe again.²⁹ They had taken his arms and legs and lifted him down from atop the stewpot.³⁰ At last, they asked him, "How do you feel?" and, in a faint voice, he said, "Although I am aware of what is going on around me, I cannot move my back. Nonetheless, if I am holding the Safe-Birth Shell I will be very happy. First, light a taper³¹ and bring it here. Let us see the face of this shell." So he lifted up his head, and opened up his hand, but he was holding some old swallows' droppings. Seeing this, he said, "Ah, no shell, how senseless!"³² and so it is from this that we say that there is "no shell" when something goes contrary to plan.

When he saw that it was not a shell, his mood changed [abruptly], and he could not place anything in the Chinese box he had prepared; his back was broken.³³ The Middle Counselor tried to keep people from hearing that he had been injured in a childish³⁴ act, but that worry itself made him ill and he became very weak. Day after day he worried more that people would hear of him and laugh than that he had not been able to obtain the shell, and he felt more embarrassed by what people would hear of him than if he were to die simply of his injury. Kaguyahime heard of this

and sent this poem of condolence:

<i>toshi wo hete</i>	Is it true what I hear,
<i>nami tachi-yoranu</i>	that as the years pass
<i>suminoe no</i>	I pine for the shell in vain ³⁵
<i>matsu kahi-nashi to</i>	just as the waves never reach
<i>kiku ha makoto ka</i>	the pines at Suminoe? ³⁶

which someone read to him.

Very weakly, he lifted his head and, having someone hold the paper for him, he wrote this with much pain and much difficulty:

<i>kahi ha kaku</i>	Though my efforts
<i>arikeru mono wo</i>	have not been in vain, ³⁷
<i>wabi-hatete</i>	it will not be enough
<i>shinuru inochi wo</i>	to save this dying life of mine
<i>sukui ya ha senu</i>	spent with hopeless longing.

When he finished writing this, he expired. Hearing about this, Kaguyahime thought, "That is somewhat sad." And so, from this, we now say, "Charming,"³⁸ of pleasant things.³⁹

[Section 8: The Imperial Hunting Party]

Well then, the emperor, having heard that Kaguyahime's beauty was unequalled, said to a lady-in-waiting,¹ Nakatomi no Fusako,² "Go and look to see what kind of woman this Kaguyahime is, she who has not married, and caused so many men to die in vain."³ So Fusako obeyed his orders and went.

She was respectfully invited into the bamboo cutter's home and gained an audience. The lady-in-waiting said to the old woman,⁴ "It has been said that Kaguyahime is very graceful,⁵ and I have come for the very reason that I was instructed that I must come to look closely at her." At

this, the old woman said, "All right then, I will inform⁶ her," and went inside.

When she said to Kaguyahime, "You must receive this imperial messenger straight away!" Kaguyahime said, "But I am not so attractive; how can I be seen by her?" At this, the old woman said, "How troubling, what you speak of.⁷ How can I disregard the emperor's messenger?" to which Kaguyahime replied, "I do not feel that I have to be humbled by the words of the emperor."⁸ And so there was even less chance of anyone seeing her.⁹ Although Kaguyahime was like a child she had borne herself, her words were so unnerving that the old woman felt uneasy and could not press her own wishes upon her.¹⁰ The old woman returned to the lady-in-waiting and said, "I regret to say that the child says that she feels very strongly about this and will not see you." [The lady-in-waiting said,]¹¹ "I was ordered to see her without fail; how am I to return without having seen her? Is there anyone in the world who would not heed the orders of the ruler of the land? Do not say such an unspeakable¹² thing!" She spoke as if to shame them, but, hearing this, Kaguyahime was even less inclined to listen.¹³ "If I have turned my back on the orders of the emperor, then you can kill me straight away!"¹⁴

The lady-in-waiting returned and reported what had happened. The emperor heard this and said, "This is the kind of heart which has killed many people," and he did not inquire after her any more.¹⁵ But he began to think of her again, and thought, "I cannot lose to this woman¹⁶ so easily."¹⁷ So he summoned the old bamboo cutter¹⁸ and ordered, "Give your Kaguyahime to me. I heard¹⁹ that she was very beautiful, and I sent a messenger, but she met with no success; she was unable to see the girl. Should [your daughter] be allowed to be so disrespectful?"²⁰ With much respect, the old man humbly replied, "This young girl has no intention of entering the court service, and we are at a loss as to what to do."²¹ Nonetheless, I will go and convey your orders to her."²² Hearing this, the emperor commanded, "Why won't a child whom you, old man, have raised with your own hands, heed your wishes?²³ If there is a means by which this woman might enter into my service, why should I not grant you an official rank?"²⁴

The old man, overjoyed, returned home and eagerly told²⁵ Kaguyahime. "... So the emperor says. Now won't you enter his service?"²⁶ But Kaguyahime answered, "If you force me to go even though I have absolutely no intention of serving at the court, I will disappear."²⁷ Serving him only for your rank and office, I would simply die." The old man returned these words, "Don't do that. Of what use are rank and office both if I am unable to see my own child? But still, why do you not wish to serve at court? Why should you die from it?"²⁸

"If you think these are empty words, send me to serve at court and see if I do not die."²⁹ The intentions of many men of no insignificant affections have already been wasted; if then yesterday or today I were to bow to the orders of the emperor, I would be ashamed were people to hear about it."³⁰ And so the old man answered, "If there is some great danger to your life, then I will go to tell the emperor that you do not intend to serve him, whatever might happen [to my station] here in this land."³¹ So he went to tell the emperor. "In accordance with your most respected command, I tried to arrange for this child to come here, but she said, 'If you send me to serve at court, I will surely die.' She is not a child I, Miyatsukomaro,³² bore myself. Long ago, I found her in the mountains. And, therefore, her way of thinking is unlike that of someone of this world," he humbly announced.³³

The emperor had an intermediary say, "Miyatsukomaro, your house must be near the foot of the mountain."³⁴ How would it be if I were to pretend to go hunting³⁵ and try to see her?" Miyatsukomaro said, "That is a good idea. If you come by chance at a time when she is unaware, you will surely be able to see her." The emperor promptly set a date and left to go hunting. When he entered Kaguyahime's house and looked, a woman radiant in beauty was sitting there. "This is surely she," he thought, and moved closer to her,³⁶ but she escaped inside. When he took her sleeve, she hid her face with it, but first he saw her clearly and thought that her beauty unrivalled. "I absolutely will not allow you to go," he said, and tried to lead her away, but Kaguyahime replied, "If this body of mine had been born in this land, I would surely serve you."³⁷ However, it

will no doubt be difficult for you to take me away." The emperor said, "Why should that be? I want to take you away right now," but when he brought his palanquin near, Kaguyahime suddenly vanished.³⁸ Frustrated at being left empty-handed,³⁹ he thought, "Indeed, she truly is not an ordinary person."⁴⁰ [And he said to her,] "Since that is the case, I will not take you back to the palace,⁴¹ so please take your previous form again. At least I will see that and return home." When he said this, Kaguyahime returned to her original form.

The emperor could not restrain his feelings of admiration for her superior beauty,⁴² and he was very pleased with Miyatsukomaro⁴³ for having let him see her in this way. Now, a great feast was hosted⁴⁴ in honor of the many officials⁴⁵ who attended the emperor.⁴⁶

Although he continued to regret leaving Kaguyahime and returning home, the emperor departed, feeling as though he were leaving his heart behind.⁴⁷ When he had gotten into the imperial palanquin, he composed this poem for Kaguyahime:

<i>kaheru sa no</i>	It is because you,
<i>miyuki mono-uku</i>	Kaguyahime, stand turned from me,
<i>omohoete</i>	that the way home
<i>somukite tomaru</i>	from this outing
<i>kaguyahime yuwe</i>	brings such painful thoughts. ⁴⁸

She replied,

<i>mugura hafu</i>	I have passed the years
<i>shita ni mo toshi ha</i>	in a vine-covered home.
<i>henuru mi no</i>	How could I even
<i>nani ka ha tama no</i>	think of seeing
<i>utena wo mo mimu</i>	such a jewelled palace? ⁴⁹

Seeing this, the emperor could see even less clearly how he was to return home.⁵⁰ But although his heart felt even less inclined to leave than ever, he could not pass the night in such a way,⁵¹ and so

he returned home.

When he saw the women who had always served him,⁵² they could not even come close to Kaguyahime in comparison. Those women who were thought to be more beautiful than others did not even seem to be average to him and Kaguyahime was the only one in his heart as he lived by himself.⁵³ He did not go needlessly to see other women either,⁵⁴ and wrote letters only to Kaguyahime and had them taken to her home.⁵⁵ Surprisingly, the replies she sent were not cold and spiteful, and they exchanged poems. The emperor also composed poems which he sent attached to delightful branches and flowers.⁵⁶

[Section 9: The Heavenly Feathered Robe]

And so they comforted each other¹ thus for three full years, when, starting at the beginning of spring, Kaguyahime, watching the alluring moon, seemed to grow more pensive than she had been before.² Although those around her had forbidden, "Gazing at the face of the moon³ should be avoided," she gazed at the moon and wept miserably when they were not looking. On the nights of the waxing moon of the Seventh Month,⁴ she went out to sit on the veranda and appeared to be particularly troubled about something. Her close attendants informed the old bamboo cutter, saying, "Although Kaguyahime has always felt deeply about the moon, recently it seems to trouble her more than usual. There must be something which worries her greatly. Please observe her very, very closely." Hearing this, he said to Kaguyahime, "What feelings do you have that cause you to look upon the moon and seem to mourn so even though it is such a splendid world?"⁵ Kaguyahime said, "When I look at the moon,⁶ the world is just so lonely. What thing in particular should I lament?"⁷ [Later,] when he went to Kaguyahime and saw her, she seemed to be even more pensive.⁸ Seeing this, he said, "My dearest, of what are you thinking? What is it that you seem to be pondering so?"⁹ and she said, "I am not thinking of anything. Things just feel lonely." Then the old man said, "Don't look at the moon."¹⁰ When you look at it, you seem to be troubled."

And she said, "How can I not look at the moon?" and still, when the moon came out,¹¹ she continued to go out and sit pondering it. As the evenings became darker¹² she did not seem to be troubled. But when the moon began to appear earlier,¹³ again she would sometimes sigh and weep. Of this her ladies-in-waiting would whisper, "There must still be something which troubles her," but even her parents¹⁴ did not know what it was.

Toward the middle of the Eighth Month, Kaguyahime went out to sit and look at the moon and wept bitterly.¹⁵ Now she wept¹⁶ openly without avoiding the gaze of others. Seeing this, her parents also¹⁷ asked anxiously, "What is the matter?" Weeping tearfully, Kaguyahime said, "I thought to tell you long ago,¹⁸ but, thinking that you would certainly be grieved,¹⁹ I have passed the days until now. Since I cannot continue like this,²⁰ I will reveal it to you. I am not a person of this land; I am a person of the Moon Capital.²¹ Because of a previous obligation,²² I humbly came to this world. Since I must now return, on the Fifteenth of this month,²³ people are going to come from my original land for me. Because it is unavoidable that I must go, I have thought mournfully of this sad and certainly lamentable state of things since the spring." When she had said this, weeping miserably, the old man said, "What are you saying? I found you inside of a bamboo stalk, but I raised you unmistakably as my own child from when you were the size of a rapeseed²⁴ until you were equal to my own stature. Who is it that would take you away? I absolutely will not allow it!" So saying, he said, "I myself will die first,"²⁵ and his loud weeping was irrepressible. Kaguyahime said, "I have a father and mother among the people of the Moon Capital.²⁶ Although I came from that country for only a short time, in this way I have come to pass many years in this country.²⁷ Not thinking of my father and mother in that land, I have enjoyed a long stay here,²⁸ and have come to feel at home here. It does not make me happy, but only brings me sadness.²⁹ However, in spite of my own feelings, I must go back."³⁰ And they wept bitterly together. The women who served her also had become close to her over the years, and felt it unbearable to part with her. And since they had become accustomed to her elegant and charming nature, they thought

of how unendurable it would be and how they would miss her when she was gone.³¹ They could not even drink their hot water,³² and lamented with the same feelings [as the old man and woman].

Hearing about this, the emperor sent a messenger to the bamboo cutter's house. The bamboo cutter went out to meet the messenger and wept incessantly. He lamented the situation, and his hair³³ was white, his back hunched, and his eyes sore [from weeping]. Although the old man should have been just fifty this year,³⁴ with these worries, he appeared to have become quite an old man in just a short time. The messenger, saying that he brought word from the emperor, said to the old man, "Is it true, what I hear, that you are suffering from such misfortune?"³⁵ Crying and crying, the old man said, "It seems that on the Fifteenth³⁶ of this very month, they will come from the Moon Capital to retrieve Kaguyahime. How gracious of you to inquire."³⁷ On the Fifteenth, please send some men and have them capture the people of the Moon Capital when they come." The messenger returned to the palace, related how the old man was, and relayed what he had said to the emperor. Hearing this, the emperor said, "Although I was only able to catch one glimpse of her, I have been unable to forget her, so how can they think to let go so easily this Kaguyahime whom they have grown accustomed to seeing day and night?"³⁸

On the day of the Fifteenth, commanding the various offices,³⁹ the emperor designated the man named Middle Captain of the Bodyguards Takano no Ôkuni,⁴⁰ as the Imperial Envoy, and sent a total of two thousand men from the offices of the Six Guards Headquarters⁴¹ to the bamboo cutter's house. They went to the house, and put one thousand men on the top of the earthen wall,⁴² and one thousand men on the roof, and, together with the many members of the household they⁴³ protected the place leaving no space unoccupied. The servants⁴⁴ also carried bows and arrows, and inside the main house,⁴⁵ the women were placed around the princess to protect her. The old woman sat holding Kaguyahime in her arms inside the storage room,⁴⁶ and the old man locked the door of the storeroom and sat outside the doorway.⁴⁷ The old man said, "How could we be

defeated, even by heavenly people, in a place so well-protected?"⁴⁸ And, to the people sitting on the roof, he said, "If something moves even slightly in the sky, shoot and kill it straight away." The guards said, "This place is so well-protected that if there is even a single bat,⁴⁹ we will shoot it dead first off, and show it as an example to the others." Hearing this, the old man felt reassured. When Kaguyahime heard this, she said, "Even though you shut me away⁵⁰ and make preparations to fight like this, you will not be able to fight with the people of that land. You will not be able to shoot them with your bows and arrows.⁵¹ Although you hide me away like this, when the people from that land come, everything will surely open up.⁵² Though you intend to fight with them, when the people from that land come, no one will be of a courageous heart." The old man said, "These people who will come to take you away -- I will gouge their eyes out with my long fingernails.⁵³ I will grab their hair⁵⁴ and beat them down. I will expose their backsides⁵⁵ to these official people,⁵⁶ and shame them." He said this angrily. Kaguyahime said, "Do not say this so loudly. If the people on the roof hear you, it will not be good.⁵⁷ It is unfortunate that I must go now, appearing to have no consideration for the cherished love which you have shown me all this time. I am saddened by the thought that because it was not a long bond we had [in a previous life], I must leave very soon. Because I will be unable to look after my parents at all, this path which I take to return will surely not be an easy one.⁵⁸ Especially on these days of the waxing moon,⁵⁹ I have gone out to sit and ask to have even just the rest of this year here, but since they refused again, I feel this sadness now. That I will grieve my parents so in going away makes me unbearably sad. The people of that Capital are very beautiful, and they do not grow old. They do not have any worries.⁶⁰ Although I am going to such a place, I do not feel happy. I will surely regret⁶¹ that I will not be able to look after you as you grow older," she said, weeping.⁶² The old man said, "Do not say⁶³ such heartrending things. We will not harm these beautiful messengers,"⁶⁴ he said bitterly.

Presently, evening had passed and at midnight the area surrounding the house was flooded

by a light surpassing even the brightness of noon.⁶⁵ It was the brightness of ten full moons put together, so that one could see the very pores⁶⁶ of the people there. From the sky, people came down riding on clouds, and stood in a row five feet above the ground.⁶⁷ Seeing this,⁶⁸ everyone, inside and out,⁶⁹ lost the desire to attack,⁷⁰ as if they had been threatened by something.⁷¹

Although, with much effort, the men raised their arrows to their bows, the strength left their hands, and they slumped limply. The more stout-hearted among them strained to shoot, but their arrows flew astray and, unable to put up a good fight, they only felt foolish and all looked at each other helplessly.⁷²

The people outside⁷³ were dressed in garments, the beauty of which was unequalled. They had brought a flying carriage⁷⁴ with a fine silken parasol raised overhead. Among them, the one who appeared to be the king⁷⁵ sent word into the house: "Miyatsukomaro, come out here!"⁷⁶ and even the enraged Miyatsukomaro felt intoxicated and bowed down⁷⁷ humbly. He said, "You simple man!"⁷⁸ Because of a trivial good deed which you performed, we sent her down to help you just for a short time, but many years have passed, and much gold⁷⁹ has been given to you and you have become like a different man. Kaguyahime, because she committed a transgression,⁸⁰ was sent to your lowly company⁸¹ for a short time. The term for her crime has come to an end, old man, and your weeping and lamenting that we have come to take her back are useless.⁸² Return her to us at once!" The old man humbly replied, "I have cared for Kaguyahime for over twenty years⁸³ now. I find it strange that you should call this a short time.⁸⁴ Perhaps yours is some other Kaguyahime."⁸⁵ He said, "The Kaguyahime who is here is seriously ill and is unable to come out." When he said this, there was no response, and, drawing the carriage which floated above the roof closer,⁸⁶ the voice said, "Come, Kaguyahime, why have you remained in this impure place for so long?" The doors which had been secured around her stood open instantly. Even the latticed partitions opened up, although no one was there. Kaguyahime, whom the old woman held in her

arms,⁸⁷ went outside. Though she tried to stop the girl, the old woman could only sit there looking up and weeping.⁸⁸

When the bamboo cutter, overcome with distress, collapsed in tears, Kaguyahime said, "I do not wish to go either, but I must, so please see me off, at least." But, weeping, he threw himself down before her and said, "Why must I see you off so sadly? What am I to do now that you desert me to make your ascent? Please take me with you." -- "You are confused."⁸⁹ I shall leave a letter, then. Whenever you long for me, take it out and read it." Saying this, she wept uncontrollably and wrote these words:

Had I been born in this world, I should have served you so as to never cause you such grief, but the fact that my time here has ended and I must now move on⁹⁰ is in no way my own desire. Look at this robe, which I take off now, as a keepsake. On nights when the moon appears, look up at it. That I leave you behind now is so painful that I feel that I might fall from the sky.

The heavenly people were carrying a box among them. It contained a heavenly robe of feathers.⁹¹ Yet another contained an elixir of immortality.⁹² One of the heavenly people said, "Please drink the elixir in this bottle."⁹³ You must feel ill since you have partaken of the tainted food and drink of this place," and brought it over to her, so she tasted just a small amount, and tried to wrap a little of it in the robe she thought to leave as a keepsake, but the heavenly person standing there would not let her wrap it up.⁹⁴ Taking out the heavenly robe, they tried to put it on her. At this point Kaguyahime said, "Wait a moment. They say that those who are dressed in this robe become transformed."⁹⁵ There is something I need to say first,"⁹⁶ and she wrote something down. The heavenly envoy said, "It is late,"⁹⁷ and became impatient. Kaguyahime said, "Do not say such heartless things,"⁹⁸ and very calmly sent a letter to the emperor. She seemed to be very composed.

Although you have sent so many people to keep me here, an unyielding⁹⁹ escort has come to take me to a higher place, and since I must go, I am remorseful and unhappy.

The fact that I did not serve at the court was also because I was not free to do so,¹⁰⁰ and so although you must think me heartless,¹⁰¹ I am troubled that you have thought my stout refusal to serve you disrespectful.

So saying, she wrote:

<i>ima ha tote</i>	Thinking, 'Now is the time'
<i>ama no hagoromo</i>	as I don this
<i>kiru ori zo</i>	Heavenly Feathered Robe --
<i>kimi wo ahare to</i>	My sads thoughts go out
<i>omohi idekeru</i>	to you, my lord.

and, enclosing the elixir from the jar, she summoned the Middle Captain of the Bodyguards¹⁰² and gave it to him. The heavenly people took it from her and gave it to the Middle Captain. When the Middle Captain received it, she quickly put on the heavenly feathered robe and all her feelings of regret and unbearable sadness about the old man disappeared.¹⁰³ Since anyone who dons this robe forgets all troubles, she got into the carriage and rose up to the heavens with the one hundred heavenly people.

After that, the old man and the old woman wept tears of blood¹⁰⁴ in their distress, but it was to no avail. Even though the letter which she had written was read to them,¹⁰⁵ they thought, "What are we to do? Life is surely unbearable. For whom should we live? [This letter] is of no use." So saying, the old man did not partake of the elixir, and, unable to rise, lay prostrate with illness.¹⁰⁶ The Middle Captain took his men with him and returned and reported in detail how they were not able to fight to detain Kaguyahime. He brought the jar of elixir with its attached letter. Opening it up to read it, the emperor felt deeply saddened and would not eat anything,¹⁰⁷ nor would he allow any entertainment.¹⁰⁸ Calling his Ministers and the senior nobles, he asked them, "Which mountain is the closest to the heavens?" One of them responded "The mountain which is said to be in Suruga Province, is close to the capital¹⁰⁹ and is also close to the heavens." When he heard this, he

composed:

afu koto mo

Unable to see you,

namida ni ukabu

I drift aimlessly

waga mi ni ha

on the waves of my tears.

shinanu kusuri mo

Of what use is it --

nani ni ka ha semu

the elixir of no death?¹¹⁰

And so he also attached a letter to the vessel of elixir of immortality and gave it to a retainer. As Imperial Envoy, he called a man named Tsuki no Iwagasa¹¹¹ and ordered him to take this to the top of the mountain in Suruga Province, instructing him as to what he was supposed to do at the peak. He was to place the letter and the vessel with the elixir of immortality next to each other, set fire to them and burn them. Because, having received these instructions, the envoy took a group of many soldiers¹¹² with him and climbed the mountain, they called this mountain Fuji -- Mountain of Immortality.¹¹³ It is said that the smoke¹¹⁴ still rises into the clouds.¹¹⁵

NOTES

Notes to Introduction, pp. 1 - 6

¹ "Canonizing Elegance: The Modern Construction of the *Ise Monogatari*," 1997, and *Pictures of the Heart: The Hyakunin Isshu in Word and Image*, 1996.

² University of Hawaii Press, 1996.

³ These articles are discussed in Chapter III of this study.

⁴ See Hirata Yoshinobu's *manga* version of the *Taketori Monogatari*, 1991.

Notes to Chapter I, pp. 7 - 22

¹ Upon a visit to Philadelphia to see an *ikebana* exhibit featuring a floral arrangement based on the theme of the *Taketori Monogatari*, I was explaining the story to an American woman with whom I happened to strike up a conversation, when suddenly she exclaimed, "But that's the story of Princess Moonbeam!" She proceeded to explain to me that this story had been a bedtime favorite of hers when she was a young girl, 25-years ago. I have seen numerous English versions of the story bearing titles such as *The Moon Princess* (McCarthy, 1993), *The Bamboo-Cutter and the Moon-Child* (in *Japanese Fairy Book*, Ozaki, 1903), *The Bamboo Cutter's Daughter* (in *Japanese Fairy Tales*, T.P. Williston, 1911), *The Tale of Princess Kaguya* (in *Japanese Tales and Legends*, McAlpine & McAlpine, 1958), etc.

² For a more detailed discussion of the origins of the *Taketori Monogatari* and a look at the separate folk tale "motifs," see Mitani (*Kanshō*), pp. 8-13 and 59, 60-1, 70-6, 141-44, 166-7, 172-4, 187, 215-6, 225-7, and Matsuo, pp. 236-243.

³ *Manga Nihon Mukashi-banashi*, v. 16 (Tokyo: Futami Shobō, 1976).

⁴ in "*Onna no Monogatari*" *no nagare: kodai kōki shōsetsushi ron* (Tokyo: Katō Chūdōkan, 1984) 166-183.

⁵ New York: S. G. Phillips, 1971.

⁶ Edward G. Seidensticker, trans. *The Tale of Genji* (New York: Knopf, 1991) 311, and *Genji Monogatari* 2 (Tokyo: Shôgakukan, 1972) 370.

⁷ From among the numerous *Genji* commentaries, the *Nihon Koten Bungaku Daijiten* lists and describes representative works from every century since the Heian period. Frits Vos and Richard Bowring also discuss the wealth of critical analyses of the *Ise Monogatari*, attesting to the continuous attention paid it over the centuries. For a brief overview of the issue of scholarly commentary and the historical treatment of the *Genji*, *Ise*, and *Taketori* as canonical works, see the conclusions in Chapter III.

⁸ Katagiri Yôichi, "Taketori monogatari sakuhin kanshō" in *Zusetsu nihon no koten* 5 (Tokyo: Shûeisha, 1978) 79.

⁹ *Taketori monogatari. Nara e-hon e-maki shû* 1 (Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1987) discussion, p. 3.

¹⁰ *Taketori monogatari zenhyôshaku: kochûshaku-hen.* (Tokyo: Yûbun Shoin, 1990).

¹¹ Uesaka Nobuo, in the introduction to his collection of *Taketori* commentaries, suggests that Ôhide's is certainly the dominant one, but that his alterations to the text, though unavoidable, have also left problems for his successors. The *Nihon koten bungaku daijiten* also states that Ôhide's commentary is the primary early modern source, however also expresses the fear that he has perhaps changed too much of the text with the intent to make it easier to understand.

¹² Issues of the reception of the *Taketori* during the first half of the 20th century are quite fascinating as well, particularly in regards to the interpretation of Kaguyahime's relationship with the emperor. A thorough examination of this period in the history of *Taketori Monogatari* studies is, however, beyond the scope of this thesis and must await further consideration at a later date.

¹³ *Kan'yaku Nihon no Koten* series, (Tokyo: Shôgakukan, 1983).

¹⁴ *Taketori Monogatari Zenshaku*, (Tokyo: Musashino Shoin, 1983).

¹⁵ *Nihon Koten Bungaku Kanshō* series, (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1977).

¹⁶ *Shinchō Nihon Koten Shûsei* series, (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1979).

¹⁷ Tokyo: Yûseidô, 1988.

¹⁸ *Classical Japanese Literature* (Kokusai Bunka Shinkôkai, 1948) 31.

Notes to Chapter III, pp. 30 - 41

¹ According to Frits Vos, *Ise Monogatari* studies had already begun by the end of the Heian period, and references to it appear in Fujiwara no Kiyosuke's *Fukuro no Sôshi* commentary as well as Kenshō's *Kokinshū Chū*, *Shūchū Shō*, and others. A few commentaries, such as the *Ise Monogatari Zuinō* and the *Ise Monogatari Chikenshū*, have been attributed to the Heian period, although Vos follows Japanese specialists in dating them to the Kamakura period. For a discussion of the history of *Ise Monogatari* studies and summaries of the various *Ise* commentaries, see Frits Vos, *A Study of the Ise-Monogatari*, ('s-Gravenhage, Mouton, 1957) v.1 Chapter V and Richard Bowring "Ise Monogatari: A Short Cultural History." *Genji Monogatari* studies also appear as early as the late Heian period and are marked by the appearance of the *Genji Shaku* commentary, written by Fujiwara Koreyuki (-1175). The *Genji Shaku* ignites discussion of the secrets of the *Genji Monogatari* and the tradition of analysis and commentary grows throughout the Kamakura period and on. For a summary of the *Genji* commentary tradition, see the *Nihon Koten Bungaku Daijiten*, v.2 (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1983) pp. 434-437.

² in "The Tale of Genji in the eighteenth century: Keichū, Mabuchi and Norinaga," in *18th Century Japan*, ed. C. Andrew Gerstle, pp. 106-124.

³ Norinaga composed several works on the importance of the aesthetic of *mono no aware* to the appreciation of Japanese literature and human nature. Among these are the *Shibun yōryō* (The Essence of *The Tale of Genji*, 1763), *Isonokami sasamegoto* (My personal view of poetry, 1763), and his definitive work on the subject, the *Genji monogatari tama no ogushi* (The Jeweled Comb, a Study of the *Genji Monogatari*, 1796), to which Ōhide refers his reader in the introduction to his own commentary. Matsumoto Shigeru discusses Norinaga's understanding of the aesthetic of *mono no aware* and its relation to Confucianism, Buddhism, and Shinto in his

biography of the scholar, *Motoori Norinaga* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1970) pp. 30-67. Peter Nosco analyzes Norinaga's application of the concept historically in terms relative to the teachings of his predecessor Kamo no Mabuchi in *Remembering Paradise: Nativism and Nostalgia in Eighteenth-Century Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1990) pp. 178-181.

⁴ Most notable of these personal interpretations because of the fact that it is not taken up by other scholars later is the previously mentioned tendency to explore the thoughts of the old man -- his feelings toward other characters, and the reasoning behind his statements and actions.

⁵ "Inventing, Forgetting, Remembering: Toward a Historical Ethnography of the Nation-State" in *Cultural Nationalism in East Asia: Representation and Identity*, ed. Harumi Befu (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, Univ. of CA, 1993) 77-106.

NOTES TO THE TRANSLATION

Notes to Chapter IV, pp. 30-90

¹ The title of this work is sometimes abbreviated to *Taketori Monogatari Kai*. The base text for the introduction of the *Taketori no Okina no Monogatari Kai* commentary is taken from *Taketori no Okina no Monogatari Kai*, *Nihon bungaku kochû taisei* series (Tokyo: Kokubun Meicho Kankokai, 1934).

² In the *Yamato Monogatari*, Episode 77 (See Appendix 2):

<i>Taketori no</i>	Like Princess Kaguya
<i>Yoyo ni nakitsutsu</i>	Whom the Bamboo-Cutter
<i>Todomoken</i>	Tried to detain by weeping piteously,
<i>Kimi wa kimi ni to</i>	You leave me tonight
<i>Koyoi shimo yuku</i>	To go to His Majesty. (Tahara, 44)

³ "She might have beguiled the loneliness of her days with old songs and poems, but she really did not have much feeling for such things. It is usual for young ladies who, though not

remarkably subtle, have time on their hands to find amusement through the passing seasons in exchanging little notes and poems with kindred spirits; but, faithful to the principles by which her father had reared her, she did not welcome familiarity, and remained aloof even from people who might have enjoyed an occasional illustrated copy of *The Bat*, *The Lady Recluse*, or *The [Tale of Kaguyahime]* (*kaguyahime no monogatari*).” Seidensticker, 292.

⁴ Fujii Sadakazu proposes another analysis for the existence of multiple titles for the same work. Using first the example of the *Murasaki Shikibu Nikki*, he suggests that this has been taken by later readers to refer both to the fact that this is an account about Murasaki Shikibu, but also one told by her. This can be said of any of a number of classical *monogatari* as well. In this sense, the two titles *Taketori no Okina no Monogatari* and *Kaguyahime no Monogatari* can be understood to mean “The Story (Told) by the Old Bamboo Cutter” and “The Story About Kaguyahime,” respectively. (*Monogatari Bungaku*, p. 737)

⁵ See Ch. I, p. 14 above.

⁶ The *Sutra of the Jeweled Pagoda*. See Appendix 1 for the full title, Sanskrit title, and a brief description.

⁷ This would seem to be referring to the *fudoki*, or accounts of the ancient provinces ordered by Empress Gemmei in 713.

⁸ In the *Genji Monogatari*. See Chapter I, p. 12-14.

⁹ Section 262, p. 414 in the *Nihon Koten Bungaku Zenshû* edition.

¹⁰ Modern scholars follow these same divisions, with the exception of Katagiri, who creates his own lengthy descriptive titles for each larger section and additionally uses sub-titles, further dividing the text into smaller segments.

¹¹ “In the legend, a mulberry branch floating down the Yoshino River is caught in a trap. A man named Umashine picks it from the trap, whereupon it turns into a woman. He takes her for his wife, but eventually she flies back to heaven.” Levy, 201n.

¹² Nanahime (Princess Nana) was one of the seven saintly princesses of emperor Kammu’s era,

with hair as black as lacquer. Her story appears in the *Kojiki*.

¹³ Tsumihime is the princess of the mulberry branch. See Note 11 above and the *Manyôshû* poems.

¹⁴ This is a conscious suppression of an exact time period for the story. (*Konjaku* 24, 632)

¹⁵ These poems differ almost insignificantly from those appearing in the final scenes of the *Taketori Monogatari* version of the tale. See Section 9 of the translation, pp. 133-134.

¹⁶ See Mills, p. 137 for this account from the *Uji Shûi*.

Notes to the Story

In the following notes to the *Tale of the [Old] Bamboo Cutter* translation, all references to early modern commentaries are from Uesaka Nobuo's *Taketori Monogatari Zenhyôshaku*. All references to modern studies are from the translations and editions of the tale listed below:

F. V. Dickins	<i>Primitive and Mediaeval Japanese Texts</i> , 1906
Katagiri Yôichi	<i>Kan'yaku Nihon no Koten</i> series, 1983
Donald Keene	"The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter" in Rimer, 1978.
Matsuo Satoshi	<i>Taketori Monogatari Zenshaku</i> , 1983.
Mitani Eiichi	<i>Kanshō Nihon Koten Bungaku</i> series, 1977.
Noguchi Motohiro	<i>Shinchō Nihon Koten Shûsei</i> series, 1979.
René Sieffert	<i>Le Conte du Coupeur de Bambous</i> , 1952.

Notes to Section 1, pp. 102 - 103

¹ In the introduction to his commentary (p. 50 above), Tanaka Ôhide divides his commentary into eight sections for convenience. Notes to this translation will be divided according to these same divisions for easy reference.

² *ima ha mukashi*: Modern commentators agree that this is a common convention for the introduction to a folk tale (*setsuwa*) or early narrative (*monogatari*). Ôhide's *Taketori Monogatari Kai* (1831), is the earliest existing full-length commentary to discuss this subject. Ôhide defines the word *mukashi* as "anything regarding things which have passed, whether recently or long ago" (*mukashi to ha tohoku mo chikaku mo sugishi saki wo ifu koto nari*). He gives examples from the *Ankan-ki* (安閑紀) and *Kogo Shûi* of different ways that the word *mukashi* has been written in *kanji* and explains the various nuances in their meaning, from "the ancient past" to "just yesterday." Interestingly, he does not attempt to attribute any one character to the term as it is used here. In his *Taketori Monogatari Ura Kai* (1892), Igarashi Masao states that, although earlier commentators are correct in their claims that the use of *ima ha mukashi* here is comparable to the imprecise introductory phrases of *sono wono-wono mukashi* and *itsure no ohontoki ni ya ariken* used in the *Ise Monogatari* and *Genji Monogatari* respectively, it should further be noted that this is a calculated imprecision. Because people of old did not take *monogatari* lightly, but believed that they told of things which were said to have really happened, the author consciously avoided speaking of a specific period (*sono ohomeku ni ha kanarazu iwayuru aru koto nite. mukashi hito ha monogatari tote itadzura ni kakeru mono narazu, kanarazu omoфу koto arite kakeru mono yuwe, sono yo ni habakarite mukashi to ha kakidaseru nari*). This comment becomes interesting later in the modern discussion of the political significance of the historical figures on whom the characters were based. It is in the modern commentaries that the discussion of the introductory phrase, *ima ha mukashi*, comes to be seen in the context of the evolution of narrative fiction. Mitani Eiichi refers to the *Man'yôshû* Book 16, known for its poems relating folk tales, in which the tales, one of which deals with a bamboo cutter, also start with *mukashi mono* or *mukashi*. He also quotes the opening phrases of the *Ise*, *Heichû*, *Utsuho*, and *Ochikubo Monogatari*, noting the gradual movement away from the exactness of these phrases in later narrative works. Matsuo Satoshi suggests that the use of *mukashi* might be the result of transcribing stories which had originally begun this way within an oral tradition. The *Genji Monogatari*, although it shows the same

indefiniteness, uses a completely different phrasing from the “*mukashi . . .*” and, with the later *Sagoromo Monogatari* (mid- to late 11th century) and *Yoha no Nezame* (late 12th century), this type of introduction completely disappears, implying a growing desire to move away from established folk traditions toward a further development of the *monogatari* tradition. The early writing style is not lost, however, and works like the *Konjaku Monogatari* in the late Heian period bring back this phrasing with the retelling of *ima ha mukashi* (an alternate reading for *konjaku*) tales. Matsuo adds also that the fairy tales of the Muromachi period have a strong oral nature to them and go back to the very traditional *mukashi . . . arikeri* but also tend to show a greater specificity within the framework of “the past,” as can be seen by the use of terms such as *naka koro* and *naka mukashi* (in the middle past). For a linguistic analysis of the term *mukashi*, see Fujii Sadakazu, *Monogatari Bungaku Seiritsushi* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1987) 80-109.

³ At this point, most commentators refer the reader to the *Konjaku Monogatari* version of the tale (Supplementary Texts, pp. 95-97 above) which states more specifically that the old man makes baskets out of the bamboo which he collects, saying that this is what is really meant by *yorodzu no koto* (“all kind of things”). Ôhide comments, however, that countless things can be made from bamboo and since the *Konjaku* story is not a thorough account, but rather a shortened version of the story, our interpretation here should not be limited solely to baskets.

⁴ Ôhide claims that the name should be read “Sanugi,” although the earlier commentaries read it “Saruki,” in accordance with the existing texts. While the earlier Koyama commentary is only able to propose one example of a possible source for the name Saruki, Saru-onna-kimi, from the *Kojiki* and *Shoku Nihongi*, Ôhide finds a reference in the *Seishiroku* (姓氏録, *Record of Family Names*) to the title “Lord of Sanugi” in reference to a prince after Emperor Keikô (legendary 70-130 AD). He also cites parts of the *Shoku Nihon Kôki* and *Sandai Jitsuroku* which mention of this name being granted to courtiers. Although Igarashi later claims that the name Saruki (Monkey Prince) is similar to the Inuki (Dog Prince) who appears in the *Genji Monogatari*, at around the same time,

Imaizumi Sadasuke reinvokes Ôhide's interpretation, stressing that the name Saruki does not appear in any historical records (*Taketori Monogatari Kôgi*, 1893). Modern commentators agree that the name must be read Sanuki/gi, in spite of the fact that only one surviving copy of the text is written Sanuki and the rest use Saruki or Sakaki. Mitani explains that although faulty copying can easily account for a corruption of "ru" to "ka" or vice versa, the connection with "nu" is much less clear. He proposes that Saruki is actually an incorrect pronunciation of the character for the place name, Sanuki, a tendency noted by Tsukahara Tetsuo in his discussion of the *Wamyôshô* (ca. 934). Sanuki could refer to an area of Yamato province.

⁵ Although the extant texts all use Miyatsuko as the bamboo cutter's name here, Ôhide adds the "-maro" to the end to keep it consistent with the name as it appears later in the tale. Mitani also agrees with this choice, although most other modern commentators choose to leave out the "maro" here, remaining true to the name as it appears in the existing texts. Literally, *miyatsuko* has several meanings, including 1) clan leader, either within the palace or in the provinces, 2) slave or subject in the service of an official, and 3) head priest at a shrine. However, it can also be used as a personal name. Most commentators use the character for the first of these meanings, but the associations invoked by these other layers of meaning cannot be ignored.

⁶ Ôhide emphasizes the point that it is really the child who is glowing. Although this is not directly stated here, it becomes evident later when she is said to light up every corner of the bamboo cutter's house.

⁷ Ôhide explains the logic behind the old man's statement. The word for "child," *ko*, is homophonous with the word for "basket," and so just as this bamboo which belonged to him became his *ko* (籠, baskets), so she too should become his *ko* (子, child). Note again the reference to the basket-making which was stated to be the old man's profession in the *Konjaku* version of the story (Supplementary Texts, pp. 83-86 above).

⁸ Igarashi remarks that the phrasing here implies that the depth of the old man's love for the child brings him to regard the child as his alone, not belonging equally to him and his wife.

Commentators differ on their opinion of the importance of the old man's wife in this tale. When there is any ambiguity as to whether the text refers only to the old man, or to both of the girl's parents, Ôhide tends to interpret it as meaning both parents. However, here, the old man's association of the child with the bamboo baskets would indicate that he is suggesting that the girl belongs to him personally.

⁹*wosanashi*: Ôhide explains that this literally means "not of long [life]" (*wosawosashi-karanu*), or inexperienced, immature (*kashikakaranu*), however, in this case it means physically small in size (*katachi no chihisaki yoshi nari*).

¹⁰*ko*: Some variant versions use the word *hako* (box) here, but commentators agree that *hako* implies something made of wood and therefore *ko*, a basket made of bamboo, would be more appropriate in the context of this story. Once again, this is especially interesting considering the specific mention in the *Konjaku* version of the story to baskets as one of the "all kinds of things" which the old man made out of the bamboo he collected.

¹¹ Ôhide points out several examples, mentioned in Keichû's *Kawa Yashiro*, of similar tales of treasures being found inside the bellies of fish, inside bamboo, and inside the brains of snakes. He has also quoted several similar examples in the introductory discussion to his commentary (see Chapter IV, pp. 51-57). This simple observation of similarities to other old folk tales has escalated today into an involved discussion concerning the folk origins of the *Taketori Monogatari*, a discussion which attempts to define the story as a combination of several different "story types," one of which is this motif of a "treasure discovered inside of something." For more on the issue of the folk origins of this tale, see Mitani, pp. 8-13 "*Taketori Monogatari* no denshōsei."

¹²*take wo toru koto . . . take wo toru ni . . .*: Most texts read "*take wo toru ni . . . take wo toru ni . . .*" and appear to be unnecessarily repetitive. Although early modern commentators find considerable grammatical problems with this sort of issue and attempt to provide some sort of alternative, Mitani, Noguchi, and Matsuo seem to agree that we need not be overly concerned about "correcting" this structure because it is typical of this particular narrative and is evidence to

support the idea that the tale originated in an oral tradition. Matsuo also mentions that the *kohon* text reads “*take wo toru ni . . . toru take ni. . .*” (“When he gathered the bamboo . . . In the bamboo he gathered . . .”). Although this reading would appear to make much more sense, Matsuo says that, on the contrary, it really seems too clear and surely provides evidence which rather supports those who argue that the *kohon* text is a late revision and not the oldest surviving form of the text. The earlier early modern commentators were not able to simply accept the ungrammatical nature of this phrasing, however, and Ôhide changes the first *take wo toru ni* to *take wo toru koto* (the act of gathering bamboo), which has been translated here “gathering bamboo.” He says that this follows the *shahon* text. Later early modern commentators struggle with the original as well as Ôhide’s explanation of it. Sasaki specifically states that Ôhide’s corrected version still does not read smoothly, and argues instead that one of the *take wo toru ni* phrases is simply extraneous and can be deleted. Suzuki drops the first *take wo toru ni*, but mentions Ôhide’s interpretation as well. Torii places the first occurrence of the phrase in brackets, and Imaizumi can’t come up with an acceptable solution either, saying that Ôhide’s *take wo toru koto* is better than the texts they have to work with, but is still difficult to understand. Still later, Inoue and Ochiai ignore the issue completely. This is one of the few instances in which Ôhide’s interpretation is not accepted by Sasaki and Suzuki, but is still the first mention of the issue, and remains central to the discussion surrounding it at least until Imaizumi’s time.

¹³ *kamiage nado sadashite*: Most modern commentators read this as *saushite*, “to make all kinds of preparations.” This follows the early Koyama/Irie interpretation. However, Ôhide proposes that the *u* is really a *ta*, making the word *sadashite*, “to agree upon or approve,” and the early modern commentators after him all follow this interpretation. In this case, it means deciding or agreeing upon whether the child is of a suitable age to undergo this ceremony.

¹⁴ Koma Moronari (*Taketori Monogatari Isasamegoto*, 1793) notes that only those of a certain social position have the right to undergo the *kamiage* ceremony. Although the bamboo cutter would not appear to be a man of high position, he has risen to respectability through his new-

found wealth, and so is in the position to have the ceremony performed for his daughter.

¹⁵ **kamiage**: A coming-of-age ceremony for young girls, which shows that Kaguyahime is now of marriageable age. Ōhide explains that when girls were very young, their hair was cut in the front so that it came down just to their eyes (Figure 1). Later, these bangs were grown out and the hair cut at one length at the shoulder. When they reached the age of eight years, the hair was grown out and no longer cut. This hair hung down freely (Figure 2) until the girls reached the age of about fourteen or fifteen when they were betrothed, at which point it was bound up on top and the rest hung down behind (Figure 3). According to Mitani, after the mid-Heian period the style changed in favor of leaving the hair hanging freely. Since there is such an emphasis placed on this ceremony here, it can be understood that this is an early Heian work.

(Figures from *Kokugo no Jōshiki*, p. 23)

Figure 1: *furiwakegami*



Figure 2: *taregami*



Figure 3: *kamiage*



¹⁶ Mitani: "Equivalent of the boys' *genpuku* ceremony. Another coming-of-age rite, this involves donning the *mo*, a pleated train, for the first time. This usually occurs at the same time as the hair-tying ceremony, when the girl is twelve to fourteen years old, qualifying her to be married."

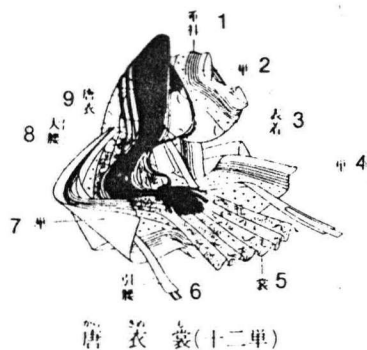


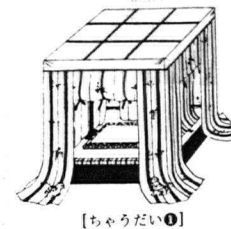
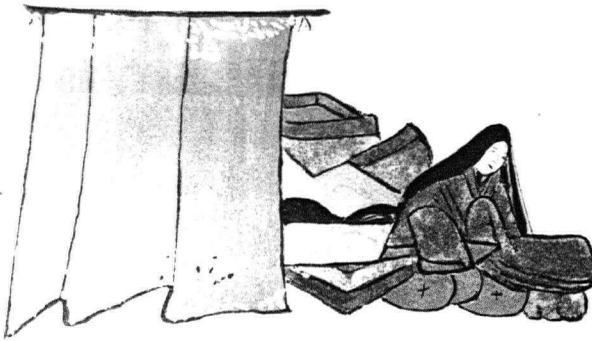
Figure 4: The *mo* is the item marked Number 5 in the following diagram from the *Princeton Companion to Classical Japanese Literature*.

¹⁷ *chiyau*: Although modern commentators take this to mean simply behind curtains (*kichiyau*, Figure 5), Ôhide cites the *Ruijû Zatsuyôshô* picture and definition of a *chiyau* as a confined, curtained space the size of three tatami mats for sleeping (as in Figure 6). Although this type of sleeping area is often referred to as a *chiyau dai* (a curtained platform), Ôhide's cites passages from the *Saibara* and *Ochikubo Monogatari* to uphold his claim of this more restricted definition of *chiyau* as a woman's sleeping quarters.

Below:

Fig. 5 (left): *kichiyau*. E-maki "Yonjû-ni no mono-arasohi" in *Nara e-hon e-maki shû* 12, p. 290.

Figure 6 (right): *chiyau dai*. In the *Shinmeikai Kogo Jiten*.



¹⁸ The *Teihon* (底本) text says *kesou*, and Katagiri Yôichi goes along with this reading, explaining that it means bright or vivid in appearance. Matsuo, however, argues that the adjective *kesounaru* (striking, outstanding) may not be entirely appropriate when speaking of a person's appearance, and proposes that *keura*, which appears in the *Kohon* versions, might be more suitable in this context, providing as support an explanation of the *hentai-gana* which demonstrate that the characters may have been miscopied in the *Teihon* version. Mitani and Noguchi both follow this interpretation as well, taking the lead of Ôhide's explanation of the common usage of *keura*, a variant of *kiyora*, in works such as the *Ochikubo Monogatari*, and *Genji Monogatari*, as well as on one occasion later in the *Taketori*. Tanaka Miyuki (*Taketori Monogatari Shô Hochû*, 1840) later provides several examples of *kesou* being used in such works as the *Ôkagami*, and *Sarashina Nikki*, but in none of these cases does it refer to physical appearance. An English translation might

be hard-pressed to draw a clear distinction between these two, but it should be noted that the term “radiance” used in this translation is used specifically in reference to Kaguyahime’s striking physical beauty.

¹⁹ There are many examples in Japanese literature and folklore of exceptional beauty being described as exhibiting a glowing or shining quality. The best known, of course, is Hikaru Genji, the “Shining Prince” of the *Genji Monogatari*.

²⁰ This quality of being able to make people forget their troubles, worries, or pains is characteristic of particularly beautiful or special children. Again, Ôhide and others cite numerous examples of similar powers demonstrated by Prince Genji.

²¹ This implies monetary power as well as physical power or influence.

²² In all texts, *mimuroto/do inbe no akita*. A *no* has been added between *mimuroto* and *inbe* in this translation in accordance with Ôhide’s interpretation of *mimuroto* as the name of a geographical location. In this context, the name means “Inbe of Mimuroto.” He gives examples of the appearance of a place called Mimuro in the *Man'yôshû*, and a Mimuroto in another poem, but explains that if this is to be taken as a place name, either the *to* of *Mimuroto* is a miscopying of the particle *no*, or a *no* has been left out, because when used as part of a person’s name, a place name should always be followed by *no*. Inbe would then be his family name and Akita his personal name. Imaizumi offers the place name Mimuro in the province of Bichû as a possible alternative. The early modern commentaries do not, however, attempt to attach any significance to the meaning of this name. More recent commentaries, however, find meaning in each of these names. Mitani defines Mimurodo simply as a place in Uji-city in present-day Kyoto prefecture. Noguchi gives further significance to this name in stating that the word *mimurodo* itself means a “place where the gods are worshipped.” Matsuo elaborates further, explaining that although *mimuro* or *mimoro* means a “place where a god is enshrined,” *mimurodo* means “a place where there is a shrine.” So even if *mimurodo no inbe* is meant as a proper noun, as the early modern commentaries indicate, surely it is also meant to suggest the meaning of a priest serving the gods. Katagiri says simply

that this is not a place name but means "near the gods." For some reason, Igarashi is the only one to offer a completely different reading, with *fumuhito*, the official records-keeper for the court, instead of *mimuroto*, explaining only that the attention to a considerable degree of detail and ceremony with which this coming-of-age event is treated shows how much the old man loves the girl. All four modern commentaries also mention that the name Inbe is historically the name of a family in charge of festivals to the gods, and Noguchi characterizes Akita ("autumn field") as a celebratory name signifying bounty, or plenty. This is not insignificant, considering the calculated appropriateness of the names of most other characters in the tale, especially the five suitors.

²³ *na woba . . . tsukesasu*: Mitani: "This custom also appears to be a type of coming-of-age ceremony, providing a further indication that Kaguyahime is now a woman of marriageable age. In a very limited space, her status as an eligible young woman has been strongly emphasized, to prepare the reader for the entrance of her suitors in the next section."

²⁴ *nayotake*: Supple, pliant bamboo. Ôhide: "Since this girl came from inside the bamboo, the name appropriately likens the graceful delicacy of the girl (*wonna no teyowaka naru*) to the soft pliancy of the slender bamboo."

²⁵ *kaguyahime*: "Shining Princess." Ôhide suggests that she was given this name not just because she was beautiful, but because her whole body literally radiated with light. He also cites the *Kojiki* as the source for this name. Some research suggests that the name should perhaps be read *Kakuyahime* instead, but the meaning remains essentially the same either way, and since the *Kojiki* reference to the daughter of Emperor Suinin is meant to be read Kaguyahime, this is the commonly accepted reading. Ôhide also mentions anecdotally that in the section of the *Kojiki* in which the reference to Kaguyahime appears, there is also mention of a king named Sanuki Tarine no Ô. The appearance of the names Sanuki and Kaguyahime together reaffirms his belief that the bamboo cutter's name should be read "Sanuki" not "Saruki" or "Sakaki." (See Note 4 above.)

²⁶ Modern commentators point out the repetitive use of the number three in this introduction. It appears to be a sacred and mystical number, and is common to the folktale tradition. Mitani goes

on to state, however, that its use does not remain consistent throughout the remainder of the story, and appears instead to be a remnant of an oral version of the tale. This standard folktale pattern is quite prominent in the introductory section but becomes far less important later. Mitani claims that this tendency supports his argument that the *Taketori Monogatari* has been created in a conscious attempt at narrative fiction by an individual author, not just an impersonal cutting and pasting of various folk legends.

²⁷ *yorodzu no asobi wo zo shikeru*: Ôhide: "It is said that activities such as singing, dancing, playing the flute, and plucking the *koto* are all considered *asobi* (entertainment). Here, the entertainment is in honor of the celebratory event of the name-giving ceremony."

²⁸ *yobi-tsudohete*: Although variant versions read *yo-hi hodo hete* (through the day and night), all commentaries except Koyama/Irie's, the earliest, agree with Ôhide's interpretation. Ôhide argues that it is not necessary to explain that they celebrated day and night because earlier it already said, "For three days they celebrated . . ." Rather, the point here is to stress how many people had come and seen how beautiful Kaguyahime was, because it was through these people that word of her extraordinary beauty then spread throughout the land (*kaguyahime no yo ni taguhi-naki kaho yoki wotome naru wo mite sono yoshi ihi-furashitsuru ga ama no shita ni hiroku kikoe*). It is not clear what Ôhide means here by his statement that the people "see" Kaguyahime. It is generally understood that in the Heian period, women did not show their faces to men, and it has already been stated that she was not let out even from behind her bedcurtains (p. 102), let alone allowed to be seen by the public. This issue of being "seen" is discussed further in Notes 1 and 16 of Section 2 below.

²⁹ Although the various texts say *wotoko ha uke-kirahazu* ("they did not hesitate to welcome in any man"), Ôhide cites and follows Motoori's interpretation that this should read *wotoko wouna kirahazu*. *Wotoko*, "man," is a term which originally corresponded with *wotome*, "maiden" or "young girl," in other words, it meant a *young* man. However, from this time on it came to mean any man, young or old. *Wouna* is a shortened form of *womina*, and simply means woman, but

should not be confused with *omina*, which specifically denotes an old woman. It is interesting to note, however, that none of the modern commentaries examined here even mention the possibility of this kind of a reading. They all use the phrase *wotoko ha uke-kirahazu*, which is how the existing texts read.

Notes to Section 2, pp. 103 - 106

¹ Although it is not an issue in early modern commentaries, Noguchi and Katagiri emphasize the fact that in Heian times women did not show their faces to men other than their husbands. Therefore, the act of a man “seeing” a woman, or a woman “being seen” by a man, meant marriage or physical union.

² *ihe no to*: Ôhide uses the character *soto* (outside) for *to*. However, he does not even comment upon it, apparently presuming it to be self-explanatory. Later early modern commentators, such as Inoue Yoribumi, clarify the definition of *to* similarly as “outside,” without any suggestion that it might be read any other way, although Ochiai Naobumi’s *Taketori Monogatari Dokuhon* (1896) is more specific in defining this *to* as “before the gate of the house” (*monzen*). Modern commentators, however, do not accept this interpretation and use instead the character for “gate,” which Mitani presents according to its Japanese reading, *kado*, which could also be written *ihe no to* “door of the house.”

³ Noguchi comments that this means not simply a dark night, but more specifically a moonless night.

⁴ Mitani remarks that here the author is also alluding to the origin of the term *kaimami* “peeking in,” which would have come from an elision of *kaki* “fence,” and *mamiyu* or *mami* “to see or look between.”

⁵ *yobahi*: This is a pun on the word *yobu*, “to call,” and *yo-bafu*, “to creep around at night.”

Ôhide states: “There is a commentary which states that in the *Man’yôshû* the word *yobahi* is written with the characters for marriage (*kekkon*). The literal meaning of the word is to call to

someone to come out. In the *Ise* and *Yamato Monogatari*, this same word appears often, and it is interesting that the *Taketori* implies that it means to creep around at night, a meaning which it was not said to have in these other works (*yoru ni kakurete hahiwataru to ifu i ni ha aranu wo, koko ha sono i nari to ihinaseru ga kyou nari*). However, explicit references in the 'Tamakazura' section of the *Genji Monogatari* and in the *Shinsarugakuki* show that these works were aware of the secondary meaning, 'creeping around at night.' Therefore, although the original meaning is to call on someone, it is evident that even in this early period we must see in the term *yobahi* this other meaning, 'to creep around at night.'" Modern commentators emphasize the humorous nature of such punning. As Mitani notes, this type of etymological discussion of the origins of words or place names is not unusual in literature, especially in folk tales, however to use them as a source for humor is a characteristic particular to the *Taketori*.

⁶ *mono shi mo senu*: The texts read *mono to mo senu*, an expression meaning "places of no concern to people," and which Ochiai further specifies as referring to "places of no concern to Kaguyahime" in particular. Ôhide, however, seems dissatisfied with this expression and says that there must be an incorrect character in the phrase. He proposes *mono shi mo senu* instead, explaining that this might mean "places where there were no people," further implying that the suitors were acting hopelessly.

⁷ Although the text reads *koto to mo sezu* here, and modern commentators are completely satisfied with taking this to mean something like "not having anything to do with them," Ôhide is uncomfortable with this interpretation, just as he was for the *mono to mo senu* phrase discussed above (Note 6). He changes the phrase here also, stating that he prefers an interpretation which he cites from Yoshida Chitaru of Owari, which says that this must be a mistake and instead is meant to read *kotahe mo sezu* (not answering). Igarashi specifically rejects Ôhide's correction, while Imaizumi accepts his changes in both this phrase and the *mono to mo senu* phrase. Later, Ochiai is the first to specifically point out the parallel between the two expressions.

⁸ *yau naki ariki*: Literally, the word *ariku* means to walk about, however Ôhide explains that it

is appropriate to use the word here to mean more specifically “to secretly visit a woman.” Ôhide: “The word *ariku* as it appears in narrative tales may sound like a courtly expression (*miyabi-goto*) but it only took on that property later.” *Yau naki* means “useless,” or “fruitless” and Katagiri defines the phrase as “wanderings not recognized by their object of interest” (*aite ni mitomerarenai kôdô*).

⁹ Recall Mitani’s suggestion that the main body of the story moves away from the strict conventions of folk tale narration and sacred numbers (in Section 1, Note 26 above). He argues that here the conscious decision to compose a tale of five suitors, instead of the conventional three, which we see in other versions like the *Konjaku Taketori*, is evidence of the intervention of an author who actively created this particular version of the tale.

¹⁰ *irogonomi*: Literally, love of color. In the Heian period, stories of the *irogonomi* figure of the courtly gentleman involved almost exclusively in amorous pursuits were a popular subject of romances. Among the most notable of such characters are the Narihira figure of the *Ise Monogatari* and Hikaru Genji of the *Genji Monogatari*.

¹¹ Ôhide is the first to undertake an analysis of the names of the suitors, examining their documented historical origins and explaining how each is at least symbolically appropriate to his personality or the task which he is later assigned. He has found that the *Seishiroku* states that the names of princes often were taken from their wet nurses, and mentions princes named Ishitsukuri and Kuramochi for this reason. According to this *Seishiroku*, the name Ishitsukuri came from a later sibling of the lord Takematoshine during the reign of Emperor Suinin (r. 29 BC-70 AD). Since he made a stone casket for a certain princess, he was given the name Lord Ishitsukuri (“Stone Maker”). Then in the *Shoku Nihon Kôki*, which relates the events of Emperor Nimmyô’s reign (833-50), there is another reference to a great lord named Ishitsukuri. Since Ôhide, more specific theories have been presented regarding the identity of the particular historical figure upon whom this Prince Ishitsukuri is modeled. Kanô Morohira (*Taketori Monogatari Kô*, 18??) specifies that a certain Lord Tajihi no Mahito was raised by the Ishitsukuri family and was known

by the name Prince Ishitsukuri. His name is also mentioned in conjunction with the other suitors from this tale in the *Nihon Shoki* in the description of the events of the Tenth Year of Jitô's reign (696):

Winter, 10th month, . . . 22nd day. One hundred and twenty retainers were granted to the Minister of the Right, Tajihi no Mabito, of the Third Rank; eighty each to the Dainagon [Major Counsellor] Abe no Ason Miushi, and to Ôtomo no Sukune Miyuki, both of the Fourth Rank; and fifty each to Isonokami no Ason Maro of the First Rank and to Fujiwara no Ason Fuhito of the Second Rank [thought to be Prince Kuramochi, see Note 12]. (Marra, 29)

For more on the significance of the literal meaning of Prince Ishitsukuri's name to his particular task, see Section 3, Note 3.

¹² According to Ôhide, the *Seishiroku* indicates that the name Kuramochi ("Wheel-bearer") originated during the reign of Emperor Yûryaku (456-479) when it was given to the younger brother of Lord Sasano, who was an exceptional palanquin bearer. He says that in later eras, this name appears frequently among courtiers. Mitani and others argue that this Prince Kuramochi is based upon the historical figure Fujiwara no Fuhito, mentioned in Note 11 above. Since his mother was a member of the Kuramochi family, it is thought that he was also known by that name. Marra develops the argument for the political significance of using such a powerful and highly connected member of the Fujiwara family as a model, and explains that, through this indirect reference to the powerful regent family, the text "underscor[es] the failures of Fujiwara policies in both political and moral terms." (Marra, 32) Some scholars, such as Matsuo, attempt to depoliticize this aspect of the tale, arguing instead that the five suitors are based on historical figures merely because they are of an appropriate time period to bring a realistic feel to this mythical tale.

¹³ The various texts have *sadaijin* (Minister of the Left) here, but Ôhide and the others go with the *shahon* version which reads *udaijin* (Minister of the Right). Ôhide gives no further reason but that the *shahon* text reads this way, but Imaizumi points out that in the *Shoku Nihongi* there is a

passage which reads, “In the third month of the first year of Daihō [701], Lord Abe no Miushi attained the rank of Minister of the Right,” remarking that the Lord Abe of the *Taketori Monogatari* must be modeled after this individual. It is not uncommon in later copyings and later editions of classical works to confuse the characters for “left” (左) and “right” (右). Because it is rarely the case that a Minister of the Left is demoted in rank to the office of Minister of the Right, however, these changes do not appear to be merely accidental miscopyings, but may well be attributable instead to a tendency in copies of a great number of classical literary and poetic works to elevate upper-level officials in rank.

¹⁴ According to Ōhide, in the *ruibon* and *shahon* versions of this section, the text reads: “Their names were Prince Ishitsukuri, Prince Kuramochi . . .” etc., listing their five names in succession. He says that this would be perfectly acceptable, however this tale very often places emphasis on each word, and the use of the phrasing, “One was named . . ., one . . .,” etc. is consistent with this style. Therefore, the Koyama/Irie *Shō* text has been followed.

¹⁵ *maro*: Variant texts read Morotari or Marotari, but Ōhide claims that these are incorrect. He cites the abovementioned passage from the *Nihon Shoki* where the name of Isonokami reads simply Maro. What appears in the *Taketori* text as *marotaka* should correctly read “*Isonokami no Maro, tada . . .*” The *maro* is his name, and the *tada*, meaning “only,” should be understood to be the beginning of the next phrase. Modern commentators, however, do not even recognize this point and presume Marotari to be the Counselor’s full name. They cite the same passage from the *Nihon Shoki* which Ōhide uses to support his statement, but presume that Marotari is just an adaptation of the Maro which appears there. Ōhide proposes instead that the author borrows the names of Abe, Ōtomo, and Isonokami directly from this source, and this is why Isonokami’s name should be read Maro, not Marotari or Marotada.

¹⁶ *mi-mahoshiiu suru*: The *kōhon* text reads *e-mahoshiiu* (desired to *have* her) but the variant texts use *mi-mahoshiiu* (literally, desired to *see* her). Essentially, the two refer to the same thing. Ōhide uses *mi-mahoshiiu*, and although all commentators use this phrase, they further define it as

meaning “desired to be united with her.” Ôhide states: “*Mi-mahoshuu* is not simply to see her with one’s eyes; *uru* (to have -- i.e. the *e-* of *e-mahoshuu*) and *afu* (to meet/marry) all mean the same thing” (*mi-mahoshi to ifu mo, tada ni me ni miru koto ni ha arade, uru to ifu mo, afu to ifu mo doui nite, tagafu koto nashi*). This would further seem to call into question his earlier statement that the festivities held on the occasion of Kaguyahime’s coming-of-age served the purpose of showing her off to the public so that word would get out about her (Section 1, Note 28).

¹⁷ *omohi-tsutsu*: Literally, this means “thinking about her constantly,” but Ôhide defines this *omofu* as actually meaning *omohi-wabu* “thinking sadly of her.”

¹⁸ Most versions read “*wabi-uta nado kakite-yaredomo kahinashi to omohedo . . .*” (They wrote and sent in sad poems and other things, but although they thought it to no avail . . .) The consensus is, however, that there is something missing between the *yaredomo* and the *kahinashi*. Ôhide fills in *kaheshi mo sezu* (she did not reply), but Mitani, Noguchi, and Katagiri agree with Igarashi’s proposition that it should read: *wabi-uta nado kakite yaredomo kahinashi / kahinashi to omohedo. . .* (Although they wrote sad poems and sent them to her, it was to no avail. Thinking it was to no avail, . . .) Copyists must have thought that the second *kahinashi* was mistakenly repeated and incorrectly eliminated it.

¹⁹ December and January of the solar calendar, i.e. the coldest months.

²⁰ July and August, i.e. the hottest season.

²¹ Ôhide gives two possible readings for this passage which he considers equally acceptable: *kokoro ni mo shitagahezu* (we cannot make her obey our desires) and *kokoro ni mo shitagahazu*, which he takes to mean “she will not obey our desires.” Both of these take Kaguyahime as the one obeying. Mitani, however, interprets this last phrase as “circumstances do not obey my desires” i.e. “things are not going according to my wishes.” He argues that the phrase does not imply that Kaguyahime is intentionally acting contrarily to the old man’s wishes. This translation uses the plural “we/our” subject following Mitani’s interpretation of *ono-ga nasanu ko* as “a child which we as a couple bore.” Although he does not remark on this point here, Ôhide also indicates in a later

case that *oya* (parent[s]) should be understood in the plural. (See note 26 below.)

²² *guwan wo tate omohi yamubeku mo arazu*: “They raised their prayers to the gods. Their feelings did not subside.” Ôhide follows Motoori Ôhira’s suggestion to add the phrase *omohi-yamemu to suredomo* (although they tried to stop thinking of her . . .) between these two sentences, in order to indicate more clearly the object of their prayers. Similarly, Igarashi proposes that it read *omohaji to inori wo shi guwan wo tatsuredo* (although they prayed *not to think of her* and raised their pleas to the gods. . .). Although this revision differs grammatically from Ôhide’s, the intention seems to be the same. Perhaps the text as it is seems too abrupt without a concessive of any sort, and commentators felt the need to add something. Noguchi also provides a note of clarification that they are praying to relieve the suffering of their unrequited love, but modern editions of the text do not change it to incorporate any kind of concessive statement.

²³ *kokoro-zashi wo mie-ariku*: Ôhide: *Mie* here means *mirareru* (to be seen). They try to make the depth of their feelings visible to the people of the princess’s household so that it might become known to her.

²⁴ *waga-ko no hotoke*: Literally, “my saintly child,” this is an expression of great familiarity.

²⁵ *henguwe no mono*: Mitani notes that the three instances in this conversation are the only places in the text where this word *henguwe* appears. It is a Buddhist term connoting something inhuman or heavenly, or something which has temporarily taken on human form. Because Kaguyahime is a godly figure transformed into a human, she is considered to be different from and superior to ordinary people. At the same time, her nobility, within the context of the human world, is emphasized, and consequently her story can also be interpreted as a kind of *kishu ryûri tan* (貴種流離譚), defined in the *Kôjien* dictionary as a tale of a noble person who must leave home upon a journey through hardship and difficult tasks, such as Genji’s Suma adventure, or the trials of Odysseus. In this case, the noble Kaguyahime is sent away to the earth where she must undergo many hardships before she is able to be reborn into the heavenly realm.

²⁶ *oya*: Although this term can mean either parent or parents, Ôhide specifically uses the term *fubo* (father and mother).

²⁷ Although Ôhide makes no mention of it here, later commentators concern themselves with the inconsistency of the old man's age with another reference toward the end of the story when he states that he is fifty years old. Mitani proposes that at this point the emphasis is rather on impressing upon Kaguyahime the fact that he does not know what might happen from one day to the next and so the number seventy could simply be a generic term meaning only "I am an old man."

²⁸ Ôhide points out that in the Koyama/Irie text, the phrase *wouna ha wotoko ni afu koto wo su* (women are united with men) does not appear in the body of the text, but appears as a variant (*ihon*) reading in smaller characters. He says that although this would seem repetitive after the preceding phrase, it should be added. All commentaries after him have added this phrase accordingly.

²⁹ *kado hiroku mo nari*: Literally, "the gate of the home becomes wider." Igarashi takes this to mean that the family becomes larger (*shinzoku no ôkunaru koto nari*). Ôhide says rather that all relatives and descendants of the family become prosperous (*ikka ichimon no shison hanjô*). Most modern commentators agree with Ôhide, but Matsuo gives examples from the *Utsuho* and *Genji Monogatari* in support of Igarashi's interpretation.

³⁰ As Ôhide has discussed in his introduction (pp. 89-92 above), Mitani also explains that this theme of refusing to marry (*kekkon kyohi*) is a common theme in classical literature. The most notable examples, perhaps, are Asagao and the Uji lady Oigimi of the *Genji Monogatari*. Of the two major thematic types of *kekkon kyohi* stories, 1) the story of a girl raised by foster parents who doesn't want to leave them, and 2) that of two sisters who avoid marriage together, the *Taketori Monogatari* typifies the first group. He cites other examples of tales belonging to this group, including the story of Kuhade no Kugahime of Emperor Nintoku's reign as it is told in the *Nihon Shoki*, (Appendix 3) and that of Asagao in the *Genji*. Asagao is the High Priestess at Kamo

and her position there dictates an abstinence which fuels her unyielding rejection of Genji over the years. Similarly, Kaguyahime's status as a "transformed being" gives her similar attributes to "servants of the gods" such as the virgin priestesses. Such stories do not consist merely of a woman's refusal of a man's advances, however. Mitani argues that, in the case of the *Taketori Monogatari*, Kaguyahime is voicing the sorrow and criticism felt by a woman over the custom of her day of marrying a man in a polygynous social context without truly knowing him, and claims that this examination of the history of women's sorrow is taken up and pursued further in the *Genji* episodes.

³¹ *imazukari namu kashi*: Ôhide elaborates, "This means: A woman should not be alone. As long as the old man is around she can be like this, but when the old man dies and she is left alone, she cannot be like this. This is why he is telling her to decide on one of the men."

³² *okina ihaku omohi no gotoku mo notamafu*: Ôhide explains that the old man affirms the princess's words with delight (*ubenahi yorokobu sama nari*). Inoue similarly uses the words: "He is delighted to be of the same opinion as the princess" (*hime no kotoba ni dôshi shite yorokobu sama*). Both take this to mean, then, that the old man agrees with the princess's conclusion. Noguchi, however, interprets this slightly differently as: "You speak just as I thought [you would]" i.e. "I thought you would say that." Although what follows would imply that the old man is not really pleased with her decision and wishes her to reconsider, most other commentators still accept Ôhide's interpretation.

³³ Ôhide explains that Kaguyahime has already thought about this issue but still asks how to determine the men's sincerity. It is therefore a rhetorical question, and since it is a rhetorical question, the following phrases must be the questions of the old man. The distinction Ôhide draws between Kaguyahime's words and the words of the old man is not readily evident from the text, however. The modern commentators read this slightly differently, attributing the entire passage to Kaguyahime: "I am not saying that we can determine the varying depths of their affections. It is a very small difference. The love of these men is equal. There is certainly no way to determine the

best and the worst [. . . and so instead we should assign them tasks and in that manner determine which one I should marry.]” This interpretation follows the use of the quotative particle *to* in the text more closely.

³⁴ early modern commentators follow Ôhide’s claims that these are the old man’s words.

³⁵ Ôhide: “Since they are unable to distinguish among the men by virtue of the degree of their passion, which is equal, they will decide upon one according to who can bring the object asked of him.”

³⁶ Mitani notes that a special characteristic of this work is the considerable amount of direct speech which can be found in it. This particular segment reveals a pattern in the phrasing before and after each quotation: *kaguyahime no ifu yau* “. . .” *to iheba*; *kaguyahime no ihaku* “. . .” *to iheba*; *kaguyahime no ihaku* “. . .” *to ifu*. This is the same structure as is found in the *Kojiki* and is reminiscent of a Chinese writing style. He proposes, and Noguchi agrees, that this could be another detail supporting the hypothesis that the original version of this story may have been written in *kambun*, although this would not be sufficient evidence in itself.

³⁷ Mitani remarks that playing instruments, whistling, and singing were all activities for calling down the gods (*kami-oroshi no tame*). Later, they came to be used to appeal to the human heart, and finally were used in *yobahi* (night calls) such as this. During the Nara period, the art of singing musical scores (*shauga*) was only practiced by professionals and was not a part of the aristocratic repertoire. This is an indication that the story is set during the period when this traditional music, *gagaku*, had become popular even to the point of being used when courting a lady at night, i.e. from about the time of Emperor Nimmyô (833-850) to the time of Jôgan (859-876) or even Engi (901-923). The *aruiha* . . . *aruiha* . . . *aruiha* (. . . or . . . or . . . or . . .) structure used here is not found in Japanese writing and therefore provides another clue that the *Taketori Monogatari* originally derives from a Chinese or *kambun* base text.

³⁸ Here, Ôhide inserts the words “of the one who brings me the object I would like to see.” He claims that this section was sorely edited during copying, and phrases repeating the earlier

conversation between Kaguyahime and the old man were deleted. Without his additions (which also appear in the Koyama/Irie commentary before him, however), the passage reads: *itsure mo otori masari ohashimasaneba* [Ôhide's addition] *onkokorozashi no hodo ha miyu beshi*. "Since there is no one better or worse than the others among them, the depths of their affections must be determined. You must decide which of them you will marry according to this." The issue of where Kaguyahime begins to speak is rather unclear here and Noguchi mentions the possibility that something has been left out. He chooses to conclude instead, however, that the old man seems to be praising himself here for arriving at such a desirable conclusion, telling the suitors of how he was able to persuade the princess to agree to this plan, without leaving room for her objections in his explanation. Modern versions retain the passage in its unsupplemented form, but Mitani nonetheless finds the need to explain in his notes that the "You must decide . . . according to this" means "by having them show me something that I want to see." Noguchi states that the *kohon* text adds a phrase in a similar vein to Ôhide's addition: "Although I find it difficult to determine the depths of their affections, when they do actually show me what I would like to have, [I will be able to determine the true depths of their affections.]" (*sadame-gatashi yukashiku omohi-haberu mono no haberu wo mise-tamahamuni*). Keeping in mind, however, the theory that the *kohon* may have been a consciously revised later text, it is not surprising that Noguchi finds this too purely explanatory and therefore contrived, and suggests that Ôhide's interpretation inserting simply "the one who brings me the object I would like to see" be followed.

³⁹ In addition to the sources he has provided in his introduction (Supplementary Texts, p. 86-87 above), Ôhide provides the several different descriptions of this bowl which follow. From Keichû, he quotes: "In the *Saiiki-ki* (Ch. *Hsi Yü Chî*) it is stated that this bowl of the Buddha can be found in the land of Bo-la 波刺斯国." Also, the *Nanzan Jûji Kannôden* (南山住持感應伝) explains, "When the Buddha embarked upon the Path, the Four Emperors were said to have each given him a stone bowl, which only he could use. Others could not possess it. After he passed on from this earth, it was moved to Eagle Mountain and gave off a white light. It also brought

wealth.” This is speaking of a bowl which was made when the Buddha placed the four bowls given him by the Four Emperors inside each other, and pressed them into one. In the *Zoku Hakubutsu Shi* 続博物志, it is stated that the stone bowl of the Buddha . . . can hold over 5 liters. It is made of a blue jewel. Others say it is a blue stone. Others say it is multi-colored, mostly black, and its four sides shine. . . . A poor person of few possessions could toss away its contents, and immediately it would be full again. A rich person of many possessions could restore it a hundred thousand times, but it would never be full. Further, the *Suikai chû* stated that the bowl still existed and could be found in the Western regions, and different accounts tell of its existence in different lands in China. It shone a dark blue-navy color.

⁴⁰ Ôhide cites the *Resshi* (Ch. *Lieh Tzu*), which states:

To the East of the Gulf of Chih-li, . . . there is a deep ravine, a valley truly without bottom; and its bottomless underneath is named “The Entry to the Void”. The waters of the eight corners and the nine regions, the stream of the milky Way, all pour into it, but it neither shrinks nor grows. Within it there are five mountains, called Tai-yü, Yüan-chiao, Fang-hu, Ying-chou, and P’eng-lai (J. Hôrai). These mountains are thirty thousand miles high, and as many miles round. . . The towers and terraces upon them are all gold and jade, the beasts and birds are all unsullied white. Trees of pearl and garnet always grow densely, flowering and bearing fruit which is always luscious, and those who eat of it never grow old and die. . . Yet the bases of the five mountains used to rest on nothing; they were always rising and falling, going and returning, with the ebb and flow of the tide, and never for a moment stood firm. The immortals found this troublesome and complained about it to God. God was afraid that they would drift to the far West and he would lose the home of his sages. . . (Graham, 97)

⁴¹ Ôhide: “Although such jeweled branches are not to be found on the mountain of Hôrai, there is a description of a tree in the *Enkan Ruigon* (Ch. *Yüan-chien-lei han*) which resembles this jeweled branch.”

⁴² This is the Minister of the Right, Abe no Miushi. Ôhide merely remarks that this reference to him as "the next man" is interesting, but Noguchi and Katagiri suggest that this phrase could be a sign that the original had been a story of only three suitors, following the folk tale tradition of centering around the mystical number three (See Section 1, Note 26), in which case this third suitor would have been the last and referred to simply as "the other," "the last," etc.

⁴³ Ôhide argues that the character for robe should be read *kaha-goromo*, not *kaha-ginu*. This is a robe of the fur itself, rather than something woven. Either would make sense here, but since the word *kaha-goromo* is used in a later poem, it should be read as such here as well. See next note for the significance of this distinction.

⁴⁴ Ôhide explains: "The *Wamyô-shô* cites the *Shin'i-ki*, which speaks of a Fire-Rat, the fur of which is woven into a robe. When this robe is in the least bit soiled, it can be purified again by placing it in fire. In the *Sôshin-ki* (Ch. *Sou-shên chî*), it says that in the high hills of Kunlun there is a fiery mountain, and on that mountain live birds and beasts, trees and grasses. They all live in the midst of the flames, and therefore there is fire-resistant cloth. This is not from the trees and grasses of this mountain, but rather from the feathers of the birds and the fur of the beasts. In the Han period, this cloth was presented in Hsi-yü, the Western borderlands. . . . The *Honzô kômoku* (Ch. *Pên-ts'ao kang-mu*) says that the Fire-Rat is from the Western regions or the "Fire State" in the Southern Sea. This mountain has field fires which spread in the spring and summer and die in the fall and winter. The Fire-Rat is born among these fires. It is extremely large and its fur, as well as the grasses and trees, is woven into cloth. When it gets dirty, this cloth is burned and becomes clean again. There are many other sources which relate similar stories, but they all speak of the fur being woven into a cloth." Ôhide then argues that since our story speaks not of a woven cloth, but a robe made from the pelt of the rat itself, the implication is that it would be even more difficult to obtain.

⁴⁵ According to Inoue, Ochiai, and Noguchi, these five colors would be blue, yellow, red, white, and black, but their significance is not discussed.

⁴⁶ Ôhide: "In the "Miscellany" section of the *Chuang-tzu* (Watson, section 32: Lieh Yü-k'ou), it reads:

Chuang-tzu said, 'There's a poor family down by the river who make their living by weaving articles out of mugwort. The son was diving in the deepest part of the river and came upon a pearl [jewel] worth a thousand pieces of gold. His father said to him, 'Bring a rock and smash it to bits! A pearl [jewel] worth a thousand in gold could only have come from under the chin of the Black Dragon who lives at the bottom of the ninefold deeps. To be able to get the pearl, you must have happened along when he was asleep. If the Black Dragon had been awake, do you think there'd have been so much as a shred of you left?' (Watson, 360)

The *Shasekishû* states:

A brahman was training in the Buddhist path beside a certain river, when a great snake rose out of the river and wrapped itself around him in a very familiar manner. The brahman was very uncomfortable with this and appealed to the Buddha for help. The Buddha said to him, 'Does that snake have a jewel?' 'Yes, it has one in its neck,' the brahman replied. 'Well then, ask it for that jewel.' And so when the brahman asked the snake for the jewel, it replied, 'I approached you so familiarly precisely because I thought that you were a man of little desire and sufficient in wisdom. But this jewel is my only treasure, and I cannot give it to you.' Having said this, it never came back again."

Ôhide presents these as stories similar to the *Taketori* but does not suggest that the Japanese tale grew out of these particular accounts.

⁴⁷ Ôhide: "This Safe-Birth Shell is something which exists even today. If a woman holds the shell in her hand during childbirth, she will have a safe birth. . . . In the *Kawa Yashiro*, there is mention of a swallow's egg providing fertility, so that a woman was able to give birth without a father for her child. This explains the connection between swallows and childbirth, but is not the same thing as the charm described here. Also, in the *Sansai zu-e* . . . the case of a swallow turned to stone

being held in the hand of a woman for safe birth is similar, but there is no mention of a shell. The *Seikei zakki* . . . is similar in that it mentions something possessed by a swallow, but again this is not a shell. Another source, . . . is similar in that it tells of something being found in a swallow's nest, but this also is not useful. . . . There are many instances of the swallow's importance to safe birth, but there are no descriptions which correspond exactly to the object of this task.

Considering these sources, as well as the fact that there is something called the "Safe-Birth Shell," it seems that these two concepts must have been combined in the creation of this task." Igarashi's conclusion is that the concept must have been based on an old story that was passed on orally. The fact that the swallow's Safe-Birth Shell is the only one of the requested objects which does not have a precedent in legend or myth is also the subject of discussion among modern scholars.

⁴⁸ Mitani notes that, in order, the things she asks for are from 1) India, 2) Hôrai, 3) China, 4) Japan, and 5) within the palace. The men are, in order, 1 & 2) princes, 3) Minister, 4) Major Counselor, and 5) Middle Counselor, so their tasks were conceived in descending order of distance from the palace according to their rank. But all of them were mythical objects which didn't exist in this world. This is interesting in comparison to the *Konjaku Monogatari* version of the story in which there are only three suitors, who remain unnamed, and who are asked to bring 1) the thunder which roars in the sky, 2) the *Udonge* flower, and 3) the drum which sounds without being beaten (Supplementary Texts, pp. 95-97 above), all of which come from traditional Japanese folk tales of the *Nihon Shoki* and *Nihon Ryôiki*. Because of the variety of sources from which the *Taketori* tasks are taken, as well as the innovation of having five suitors instead of three, Mitani argues that the *Taketori* story was carefully thought out on paper by someone. This is further evidenced by the care whereby the name of each suitor is appropriate to his task in the *Taketori Monogatari*. Lastly, Mitani says that the combination of the tasks of the five suitors are far from anything which could be conceived by the common people, and seem to incorporate a political criticism held by the early to mid-Heian intellectuals against the regent government, creating a type of tale which would never be seen in the oral *setsuwa* tradition.

⁴⁹ Ôhide re-emphasizes the old man's ignorant good-heartedness as he realizes the impossibility of these tasks and sympathetically hesitates to tell the suitors of them.

⁵⁰ *unjite*: Mitani uses the character 倦, *umu*, which he interprets as "disgusted" or "fed up."

Igarashi first adopts this interpretation and is followed by Imaizumi, but before them Ôhide specifically states that this character is not appropriate here. He says that the word *unji* does not seem to have the meaning of bitterness or anger (*unji ha nayamu i ikaru i ha naki to kikoyu*). . . . He proposes instead that an old theory states that the character 鬱 *utsu* (gloominess) should be used. The dictionary says that this means the same thing as the character 罽 *utsu*, a small rope) which, since it seems to have the meaning of a bound heart, spent with despair (*wabi-hate kokoro no musubahareru i to kikoyureba*), is appropriate here. None of the later versions seem to be able to agree with this interpretation, however, and Igarashi, Imaizumi, and later Mitani and Noguchi all take this passage to mean that the suitors stamped off in frustration.

Notes to Section 3, pp. 107 - 108

¹ Ôhide interprets this first sentence of the section as referring to all five of the suitors, and serving as a general introduction to all five of the following sections which tell of their respective escapades. India is chosen as one particular example out of several, saying: "Even if it is something in India . . ." Grammatically, this sentence could also be interpreted as Prince Ishitsukuri's personal thoughts, as René Sieffert has done in his French translation: "De ne plus voir la jeune fille, le Prince Ishitsukuri ne vivait plus; aussi allait-il se résigner à chercher jusqu'aux Indes ce qu'elle lui demandait." The distinction is not clearly drawn by any other commentary, although most could be understood to follow Ôhide's reading.

² Comparing this first suitor's tale to the following four, modern commentators have remarked on the lack of the use of honorifics and the marked brevity of the section. Katagiri claims that from all these characteristics, it seems that this section retains the traces of an older form of the story.

Matsuo offers a tentative interpretation that perhaps Prince Ishitsukuri is included purely so that Kuramochi is not the only prince in the story. He says that, being of Fujiwara lineage, Prince Kuramochi would be too conspicuous as the target of ridicule and attack if he were the only prince. Mitani has conducted considerable research on the frequency and placement of the use of honorifics throughout the *Taketori Monogatari* tale. According to his calculations, he makes three observations. 1) For the most part, the use of honorifics gradually increases as the tale progresses. 2) Honorifics in references to Kaguyahime are completely absent in the first three sections and gradually increase in the following sections, but are very few in comparison to terms of respect used in reference to the suitors. 3) There are no honorific references to Prince Ishitsukuri. What Mitani concludes from this, is that it is possible that the original form of the *Taketori Monogatari* contained no honorifics. If, as he believes, the tale was written by a single person, it is unlikely that polite forms would have been overlooked in the beginning sections and used much more often in the later ones, particularly considering the careful ordering of the suitors in order of rank and difficulty of task. Instead, Mitani suggests that these honorific usages indicate the intervention of a later hand during the mid-Heian period or later when the intricacies of honorific usage became more pronounced. He supports his argument that originally the tale contained no honorifics with the explanation that there are many stylistic indications in the text that the *Taketori* was written by a male hand in a *kambun* style, which contains no honorifics. As this was converted to a *wabun*, or Japanese writing style, honorifics were added starting with the Prince Kuramochi section in consideration of his implicit connection with the Fujiwara family, which would have been in power at that time. The Prince Ishitsukuri section, since it preceded this one, was neglected, and remained closer to the *kambun* writing style.

³ More important to Ôhide than the historical identity of the models for the individual suitors (discussed in Section 2, Notes 11, 12, 13, and 15) is the appropriateness of their names to the context of their tasks in this tale. He proposes that the author uses the name Ishitsukuri (石作, “Stone Maker”) here because this character later returns with a false copy of the stone begging

bowl of the Buddha.

⁴ *kokoro no shitakumi aru hito*: Ôhide: “*Shitakumi* is an abbreviation of *shitatakumi* and has the same meaning as *shitaku* (preparation). This phrase has also been read *shita-dakumi aru hito* (one who has calculated and is prepared). Early on, the characters for *shitaku* came to have this meaning, although they did not originally mean the same thing as *shitadakumi*.” Inoue explains that in common use, this phrase means a clever person (*kufû no aru hito*).

⁵ Note again the recurrence of the number three. The overall structure of the tale retains the importance of the number three in aspects such as this. All of the suitors return in approximately three years. Ôhide: “It can be surmised that during these three years, Prince Ishitsukuri was very secretly walking about everywhere in all directions searching for something which looked enough like the Buddha’s bowl to replace it.”

⁶ Ôhide refers to Buddhist scriptures and information he has obtained from speaking with priests to explain that in the past, a statue of the priest, Binzuru, was placed in the dining halls of temples, and when the monks would eat, they would first make an offering to this icon. It was for this reason that there was a bowl in front of his statue. According to Mitani and Katagiri, Binzuru was a disciple of the Buddha, and the first of the sixteen Buddhist arhats. In Sanskrit, the name is written *Pindola*.

⁷ *tohochi*: Modern commentators simply define *tohochi* geographically as present day Shiki county in Nara prefecture (the county of Tôchi). Ôhide says, however, that the line *tohochi no gun* is meant to be a general phrase here and not a specific place name. In the *Shûi Shû*, the Regent Ichijô’s poem in the “Miscellaneous Celebrations” section, reads:

<i>kureba toku</i>	As soon as evening comes,
<i>yukite kataramu</i>	how I wish that I could go to speak with you
<i>au koto no</i>	of the far-off day when we will meet.
<i>tohochi no sato no</i>	How miserable it is
<i>sumu ukarishi wo.</i>	that you live in Tôchi.

The note explains: "This is punning on the word *toho*, meaning far away." Ôhide seems to interpret the phrase *tohochi no gun*, then, as referring more generally to a far province and not necessarily to the county of Tohochi (as it is read in the *Wamyôshô*) in the province of Yamato. Matsuo argues that although punning between the words *toho* and *towo* may have been the intentional confusing of like sounds, it is also possible that at the time of the *Shûi Shû*, these two sounds were already beginning to be confused with each other.

⁸ Ôhide mentions that there are examples of messages being attached to flowering branches when they are sent in to someone in the *Ise Monogatari* Episode 97, *Genji Monogatari's*

"Wakamurasaki" chapter, Section 3 of the *Yamato* and many others. Inoue explains further that the artificial branch would have been made from five-colored paper and/or cloth, made into the form of various flowers just as they appeared naturally. Fujii explains, in his *Ise Monogatari Shinshaku* section 5, that gifts being offered either to the gods or to someone of very high rank could not respectfully be presented alone, so they were attached to a flowering branch. Mitani maintains that the artificial flowers are a Buddhist custom, practiced even today, and are meant to convey the supposed Buddhist origin of the bowl. Noguchi proposes instead that when there was nothing available which was appropriate to the particular season, artificial flowers would be sent.

⁹ Ôhide states that the various texts read *naishi* or *oishi* here, but since this was a bowl which belonged to the Buddha, it should correctly read *miishi no hachi*, the "most revered stone bowl." Mitani reads it *naishi* following Igarashi's suggestion that this is actually a variation of *nakishi* ("wept"). This leads to an interpretation which would mean "this weeping bowl of tears," and only secondarily implying that it is a bowl of stone. Even without taking *naishi* to mean "crying," however, the reference to tears is still present in the line *namida nagareki* (tears flowed).

¹⁰ Ôhide: "The final syllable *chi* (meaning blood) of *hachi* (bowl) combines with the following *no namida* to create a pun 'tears of blood.' Also, it should be mentioned that the word *tsukushi* means 'to try' or 'to exhaust,' however, since India lies to the East of Japan, it would be necessary to pass through the port of Tsukushi in order to get there, so this word carries a double meaning.

The suggestion of this part implies the extreme distances the prince had to go in his quest.”

¹¹ Katagiri: “The real bowl should have shone brightly. That the distinctive characteristics of the requested object are not explicitly stated here is perhaps a remnant of an older form of the story, and also a peculiarity of this section of the narrative only.”

¹² Ôhide: “Ogura is related to the word *kuraki*, ‘dark.’ According to the *Yamato Kokushi*, the Ogura Mountain temple is on the peak above Kurahashi on Ogura Mountain in Tôchi. Around the time that this story was formed, this must have been a famous place.” Apparently, even though Ôhide takes the phrase *tohochi no gun* to mean simply “a far-off county,” it still resonates with the name of the county of Tôchi in Yamato indirectly referred to here. Noguchi points out that it is not clear in the text how Kaguyahime knew that he had gotten the bowl from Ogura Mountain. He claims that if it was through some supernatural power, it doesn’t conform to the other suitors’ stories, since she does not at any other point show evidence of any such power. Similarly, Ôhide explains that Kaguyahime could not have known that the prince had brought the bowl from Ogura Mountain, but since it does not shine in the least, she guesses that he must have brought it from this “Dark Mountain.” Inoue suggests that she is not referring specifically to the Ogura Mountain in Yamato province here, but rather is simply using its name for its meaning “Mountain of Darkness.” According to Mitani, by the Heian period, Ogura Mountain referred to the Mount Ogura in Kyoto, which would indicate that the *Taketori Monogatari* was either a very early Heian text of the period when Yamato province was still prominent in the readers’ minds, or it was a sentimental reference to the Yamato/Nara period. Mitani also says that it could also be that through this reference the author was attempting to emphasize the historic identity of his model for Prince Ishitsukuri, Tajihi no Mahito no Shima, whose grandfather was from the Yamato area.

¹³ Ôhide: “Since the bowl was an imitation which did not even shine, Kaguyahime sent it back out to where the Prince was waiting.”

¹⁴ Ôhide: “In response to Kaguyahime’s reference to Ogura Mountain, Ishitsukuri compares the brightness of the princess’s pale face to Shirayama, the ‘Mountain of Whiteness.’ When the glow

of the bowl encountered her radiance, it was outshone. *Usu* means the same thing as when the stars and moon disappear in the light of morning.” Katagiri finds this reference sudden, since Shirayama straddles Ishikawa, Toyama, Fukui, and Gifu prefectures and seems to be only tenuously related to the previous poem. However, Mitani explains that this area covered by Shirayama was known as Kaga province at the time. The name White Mountain of Kaga would appear to be a very natural allusion to the glowing beauty of Kaguyahime herself.

¹⁵ Ôhide states that the prince seems to say that as he discards the bowl outside of the gate, he hopes in his heart that it will shine and he might take it up again. Since it is not the real thing, it never shone to begin with, and it is shameful for him to speak as if it did shine. Thus, the meaning of “shame” is combined with the word for “bowl.” Igarashi gives the prince more credit when he postulates that he must be saying that he is casting aside the path of wickedness and wants to become good of heart.

¹⁶ *hazhi wo sutsu*: Here, the pun associating the words “bowl” and “shame” ties the two together in an etymological explanation which Ôhide sees primarily as humorous in intent. He notes that there does not seem to be a concern for voiced versus unvoiced consonants in this punning and this can be seen in later puns such as the *ahenashi/abenashi* and *tahegata/tabegata* of Sections 5 and 6 as well. Although Ôhide sees this punning as humorous (*ikkyô to seru nari*), Igarashi sees the passage as more cruelly sarcastic because the prince was first described as being calculating, but carries out his plan unskillfully. On top of this, he even goes so far as to approach Kaguyahime again even after he has failed, throwing away his pride. He says that for such an incompetent person to be called calculating is surely done with a feeling of ridicule.

Notes to Section 4, pp. 108 - 113

¹ Ôhide suggests that this name was chosen for the character because *kura* suggests the homophone meaning “dark,” and since he is revealed to be a dishonest person, this *kura* reflects his character. Honest people are described as being *kuraki koto nashi*, “without darkness,” and

irrational acts such as gambling are said to be *kura-goto*, “dark acts.” Inoue proposes that *kuramochi* is a pun meaning “having coffers” because Prince Kuramochi later uses his wealth to hire artisans to make a splendid jeweled branch.

² *kokoro tabakari*: Giving several examples of the use of *tabakari* in other sources, such as the *Kojiki* and *Ise Monogatari*, and quoting the commentaries which go along with them, Ôhide explains that this means the same thing as the *shitakumi* used to describe Prince Ishitsukuri. For Kuramochi, it would be a simple thing to send men to a coast thousands of miles away to retrieve certain stones. Instead, he thinks very carefully and calculatingly of how to deceive the princess.

³ Ôhide understands this to refer to a very specific location, saying that Tsukushi is in the province of Chikuzen in Sukita in the county of Mikasa. There are also hot springs in Yamaka in Echigo and the *Kokinshû* tells that Minamoto no Sane went to bathe in the springs at Tsukushi, so at the time it was undoubtedly a famous hot spring. Ôhide also remarks that since the prince’s destination had to be somewhere across the sea, he lied and said that he was going to Tsukushi. Later, Ochiai argues instead that Tsukushi actually just means Kyûshû as a whole. Modern commentators agree that this is a more general name for the entire area of Kyûshû, or at least the two provinces of Chikuzen and Chikugo. Noguchi does remark, however, that in naming a specific destination in this way, emphasis is placed on the prince’s extreme attention to detail and his calculating nature.

⁴ At the mouth of the Yodogawa River, the natural bay between modern day Osaka and Amagasaki.

⁵ Ôhide: “Since he was a prince, he was normally attended by a large number of retainers, and these were the people who saw him off to Naniwa. Saying that this was a secret trip, however, he pared down this group and sent most of them back to the capital when he reached the port.”

⁶ Ôhide: “When he departed for Tsukushi, the people, as well as his attendants, all saw him. Among them there were surely some who thought that he was going to Mt. Hôrai. But no one knew that he rowed back home afterwards.” Here again, the number three plays a role in the

structural development of the events of the tale.

⁷ *uchimarora roku nin*: The variants read *uchi takumi roku nin*, six palace craftsmen, *kazhi takumi roku nin*, six blacksmiths, or *katachi dakumi*, six artisans of all types (who would create all kinds of different things). Ôhide is the first commentator to suggest that it be read *uchimarora roku nin* (Uchimaro and five others) and is quoted for it by a few others, but is for the most part alone in his interpretation. Koma states that this substitution is not very good and Igarashi elaborates on the alternative reading which is generally accepted today. He states:

In the *Wamyôshô*, the Office of the Palace Artisans is read *uchi no takumi no tsukasa* and in the *Engi Shiki* it is also read *uchi no takumi*, so here the text should read *uchi no takumi rokunin*. This simply means six of the palace artisans. Below, the word *takumi* (artisan) appears alone, without specifically meaning blacksmith (*kazhi takumi*), so it should not be read *kazhi takumi*.

Koyama's argument that it should be *uchi-takumi* because they beat metal to create their craft is also inaccurate. Ôhide's interpretation that this should be read *uchimarora* arises from the mention of one individual's name at the end of the episode, but it should not be stated here at the beginning." Ôhide simply says that Uchimaro is the name of one of the artisans, and so, although it might seem that this should be read *uchi no takumi* as the title of the Office of the Palace Artisans is named in the *Wamyôshô*, that is a mistake in this instance. Modern commentators all read this *kazhi takumi*, six blacksmiths, and Matsuo argues that Ôhide's *uchimarora* is probably too bold a revision. Mitani suggests that blacksmiths were a highly respected and feared class which held a kind of religious power. He says that this is why the branch which they made was so close to the real thing that even Kaguyahime was fooled by it. In the end, Mitani believes that these smiths are the heroes because they reveal the truth, and so it is possible that a blacksmith or blacksmiths as a class played some role in the oral transmission of the tale.

⁸ *ichi no takumi narikeru*: Ôhide deviates from the standard interpretation that this phrase should be read *hitotsu no takara narikeru* (one of the treasures). Because he reads *uchimarora* as

referring to a specific individual and his co-workers, the reading of this phrase becomes “the best artisan.” Rather than being one of the treasures of the court, this would indicate that Uchimaro is the first, or the greatest, of the artisans. Igarashi emphatically disagrees with him, reading the phrase “one of the treasures.” Modern commentators use either *ichi no takara* or *hitotsu no takara*, but essentially these mean the same thing. “One of the treasures” or “the greatest treasure” would seem to be simply metaphorical references to “the best artisan.”

⁹ *kamahe*: Before him, commentators read this *kamado*, the forge, but Ôhide says that it is a mistake to think that because there is mention of a *kudo* (furnace) later this must be read *kamado* (*shita ni kudo to aru ni yorite, kamado naran to omohite ayamareru naru beshi*). As will be seen in Note 10 below, Ôhide does not take the word *kudo* to mean furnace. He says that *kamahe* has the meaning of a structure and therefore here the *kamahe wo mihe ni shikomete* is a triply enforced enclosure. Like a home, it is built with the objective of protecting oneself within and keeping out enemies. He also gives other examples from the *Uji Shûi* and other works which speak of erecting triple-layered fences to keep people away. Similarly, Keene says, “a furnace enclosed by triple walls was erected,” (p. 281) and Sieffert, “un triple foyer avait été déposé” (p. 151). The early modern commentaries following Ôhide had little argument with his reading, for the most part, but the modern Japanese commentaries seem without question to use *kamado*, meaning that a triple forge was built.

¹⁰ *kami ni kudo wo akete*: Ôhide: “It has been said that the *hetsuhi*, a kitchen furnace, is also called a *kudo*. However, this explanation does not work. Since *shirase-tamahitaru kagiri jifuroku so* would appear to refer to this prince’s sixteen manors, it must be understood that he was using the resources which came from those manors to make the jeweled branch. However, there are many omissions and miscopyings here, so it is difficult to be sure. *Kami* is perhaps lord, or protector and *kuto* should read *kura*, storehouse, instead.” Ôhide also offers other examples from the *Uji Shûi* and the *Ochikubo Monogatari* of goods being taken from storehouses for some other purpose, and perhaps this might help others in consideration of this passage. For the most part,

other commentators also follow this interpretation, although some also attempt to make some sense out of the word *kami* as meaning “above” and *kudo* being some sort of opening. For example, Koma proposes that this read, “They opened a window up above in order to make the jeweled branch.” Sasaki claims if the text is taken to mean that they are opening a vent in the ceiling, then it needs no revision. For Ôhide, the problem with this interpretation is that the phrase “of his sixteen manors” doesn’t seem to fit or make any sense if *kudo* is to mean a window. With the modern commentaries, discussions of this issue become very creative. Although they remain somewhat unconvinced by Ôhide’s interpretation, Katagiri and Mitani follow it while still emphasizing that this is the most unclear section of the text and it is possible to imagine many different versions if mistakes of copying or omission are taken into consideration. Meanwhile, Noguchi comes up with a new and unique interpretation. He says that this is one of the most cryptic passages in ancient narratives:

To make a bold guess, it is possible that something has been left out between “*kami ni ku*” and “*to akete*.” In the *Genji Monogatari*, just after the contest between the *Taketori* and *Utsuho* picture scrolls, Genji is speaking of the effort which Tō no Chūjō has expended on his painting and says, “The Middle Counsellor did not even show them [his pictures] to others, but opened only a small window [to work by]” (*chūnagon ha hito ni mo misede, warinaki mado wo akete egakase-tamahikeru*). [Seidensticker refers to this as “his [Tō no Chujo’s] secret studio,” p. 313.] Since the “ancestor of all romances” had just been mentioned at this point, perhaps this phrasing was meant to be an allusion to a phrase which is now missing from the *Taketori*. Maybe in the *Taketori* the text should also read “*kami ni ku ,warinaki mado wo akete*,” meaning “enclosing the whole place and only leaving the tiniest window in the ceiling, they toiled away at making the branch.”

He is the only one to suggest such an interpretation.

¹¹ Ôhide: “He showed great weariness as if he had been at sea for several years.”

¹² *mono ohohite*: Ochiai comments that although *mono* (thing) is a general term, here it would indicate a beautiful brocade. Wrapping a chest in brocade, twill or some fine woven cloth was a sign of luxury. According to Ôhide, they probably used something like the oiled cloths or paper which are called *yutan* today.

¹³ Although Koyama before him mentions the connection between this Udonge flower and the fact that retrieving such a flower is one of the tasks from the *Konjaku monogatari*, Ôhide simply gives examples and explanations of what the flower is like, disregarding the *Konjaku* connection. He quotes extensively from sources such as the *Genji Monogatari*, *Kakaishô*, *Hon'yaku Myôgi Shû*, and the *Hatsunehan-kyô* (船泥海経) sutra. According to Buddhist legend, the Udonge is a tree which usually has no flowers, but bears fruit and is said to bloom once every three thousand years. Katagiri explains that it is an abbreviation of the Sanskrit, *udombara*. It appears in the *Lotus Sutra*, and is said to bloom when King Konrin comes to Earth. It is a flower of Buddhist legend and therefore different from the mystical Taoist legends from which the Hôrai story originates. Ôhide says that although the prince had brought the jeweled branch from Hôrai, as the people passed on the story of this unusual treasure, they confused it with the Udonge flower. Mitani claims, however, that this is not just a natural outcome of the spreading of a rumor. Since in the *Konjaku Monogatari* one of the suitors is assigned the task of bringing back the *udonge* flower, this *Taketori* reference must have been a mistake which came from confusion with a more popular form of the *Taketori* legend, or the *Konjaku* version.

¹⁴ Noguchi: "Unable to see through the cunning of the prince, Kaguyahime is depicted with human feelings of joy and sorrow."

¹⁵ *ahite tatematsuru*: Mitani claims that in these words the reader can see the delight of the old man running out to greet the prince, but no other commentators mention reading any further into the phrase than simply that the old man went out to meet him. His interpretation elaborates on the naive and good-hearted nature of the old man, stressing how easily he is taken in by the superficial beauty of the branch and the crafted words of Prince Kuramochi. He argues also that the character

development of the old man is a central part of this section, and is carried out primarily through a considerable amount of conversation and a few verbs of action.

¹⁶ *kore wo mo ahare to mo mite woru ni*: Ôhide explains that Kaguyahime believes that this jeweled branch is the real thing, and is distressed by the realization that the prince has gone to such lengths out of his love for her. As she broods over what to do since she must now be joined with him, the old man runs in, also believing that this is the true jeweled branch. The “as well” indicates that she also believes it is the real thing as does the old man. In the following section, Ôhide also interprets the *mo* of the phrase *wouna mo* (the old woman also) as meaning “as well as the old man” (See Section 5, Note 21), retaining him always as an implicit participant, even when he is not directly mentioned in the scene.

¹⁷ Ôhide: “The old man has already come inside to bring the branch to Kaguyahime, but this was just to present the gift to her. Because the old man also thinks that this is a real branch, he runs in to get an answer from her.”

¹⁸ *ahi tsukaumatsuri-tamahe*: Ôhide gives several examples of the use of the prefix *ahi*- meaning to do for each other, jointly. Here he suggests that the old man’s words, although he should say “serve him (as your husband),” actually imply that perhaps the prince should also attend on the princess somewhat and that this joint effort is lightly suggested in these words (*tada tsukafu-tatematsuri-tamahe to ifu beki wo, isasaka hime wo kashidzukite, miko to sôgo ni to ifu i wo karuku fukumete, ahi to ha iharu ka*). This is not certain, however. Inoue is the first to suggest a different interpretation. He breaks the phrase down into *ahi* and *tsukaumatsuri-tamahe*, “meet/marry” and “serve him.” The various interpretations of this combination include such disparate definitions as Mitani’s “marry him,” Keene’s “grant him an audience” (*Bamboo Cutter*, 335), and Katagiri’s statement in direct opposition to Ôhide that the verb *tsukaumatsuru* would indicate that this would not be a marriage of equals, but rather would imply a marriage in which Kaguyahime would serve the prince.

¹⁹ *hahi*: Ôhide: “This word is often used to indicate walking a very short distance, or even to

describe the movement of insects, and here means that the prince, who has been sitting outside below the veranda, slowly steps up onto it. He seems to be forcibly making his way there even though he has not yet been permitted to do so.” Inoue takes a different angle when he explains this as “climbs up,” which he clarifies as implying, “without hesitation.” Mitani states that in the Heian period, whether someone could enter a room or not depended on status. For instance, there was a term, *denjau-bito*, meaning someone who had the qualifications to enter the Seiryōden, the emperor’s private chambers. Here, the fact that Prince Kuramochi goes up onto the veranda means that he believes that he has acquired the right to marry the princess.

²⁰ Mitani breaks the quote off here. In the Teihon (底本) there is no quotative *to* at the end of the phrase, but this may be because it was a repeat mark that got dropped accidentally since it is followed by the word *tori-gataki*. Ōhide: “Above, the old man had said, ‘In this world, men are united with women, and women are united with men. After that, the family grows and is even more prosperous. How can you not do this too?’ Having this in her mind, she did not want to disobey her parents’ wishes and grieved over these thoughts. Having the plan to send these men off on tasks which they could not possibly achieve, she had hoped to avoid the problem, but now one has unexpectedly brought his object back and she is despondent.”

²¹ Inoue explains that here the old man is buying time for the princess to write an answer to the prince’s poem: “Kuramochi has climbed up onto the veranda and the old man is preparing the room, and asks an unnecessary question. But the prince takes this question very seriously, and, thinking that he has surely obtained her hand, proudly tells his story. Attention should be paid in this scene to the princess’s silence, the old man’s mediation and the prince’s pride. His story should be appreciated at a leisurely pace, as the author’s brush paints the picture from all angles, with much variation in a very interesting manner.”

²² Note once again that it is clearly stated that the trip took three years.

²³ Ōhide proposes that the prince is probably basing his story upon a tale such as the section of the *Uji Shūi* Part 6 which tells of the adventures of a man named Sōkyata in India. Ōhide’s version of

the story is as follows:

Sôkyata took five hundred men across the seas for the purpose of business and came upon a tremendous storm and was blown to an unknown land where several very beautiful women appeared. Sôkyata and his men stayed there and every day these women took a nap at three o'clock. Finding their sleeping figures somehow disturbing, they spoke with others who had been taken by them before and, hearing of how frightening these women were, tried to flee. Since they had no boat, they prayed to the Kannon goddess of Fudaraku Mountain and a great white horse appeared. When they mounted this and crossed the seas again, the women turned into monsters ten meters tall, and danced fourteen or fifteen meters above them, screaming. Sôkyata was able to return home to India and after two years had passed, one of the women came to him. Sôkyata seized a sword and the woman, fearing to be killed by him, brought sickness to the palace. The emperor, finding her very beautiful, summoned her to be with him, and on the morning of the third day, she came out, with blood on her mouth, looked around the land, and disappeared into the clouds as if she had flown. Looking in the bedroom, the people saw that there was only one bite of the emperor's head left.

He remarks that the prince is probably basing his story upon this type of tale. For a translation of the complete story, see D. E. Mills, *A Collection of Tales from Uji*, 266-269.

²⁴ *mukutsukegenaru mono*: Ôhide: "a frightful or disgusting thing."

²⁵ Ôhide: "As another commentator said, 'The prince's answer repeats similar phrases because he is making up his story as he goes along.'" Koyama suggests that this style of writing comes from the *Monzen* (Ch. *Wen Hsüan*) poetry collection and Ôhide, Igarashi, etc. also quote him on this.

²⁶ *ihoka to ifu tatsu no toki bakari ni*: Igarashi suggests that, rather than saying, "on X day of Y month," he uses the phrase "on the five hundredth day" to emphasize the length of time he had been gone and the fact that he had been through so much hardship that he didn't even know what day it was exactly.

²⁷ The *Resshi* says that the five mountains (including Peng Lai/Hôrai) are not anchored and float on top of the waves (see Section 2, Note 40).

²⁸ *sono yama no sama*: Mitani notes that this is an expression particular to the *kambun* style and does not appear in later *kana* narrative literature .

²⁹ *amabito*: Inoue: “According to Buddhist legend, the celestial maidens are goddesses who fly about the heavens. They wear *keman* (華蔓) on their heads and robes of feathers, and their bodies shine brilliantly.” These *keman* are decorative Buddhist ornaments usually made of bronze or sometimes leather, with designs of birds and flowers carved on them.

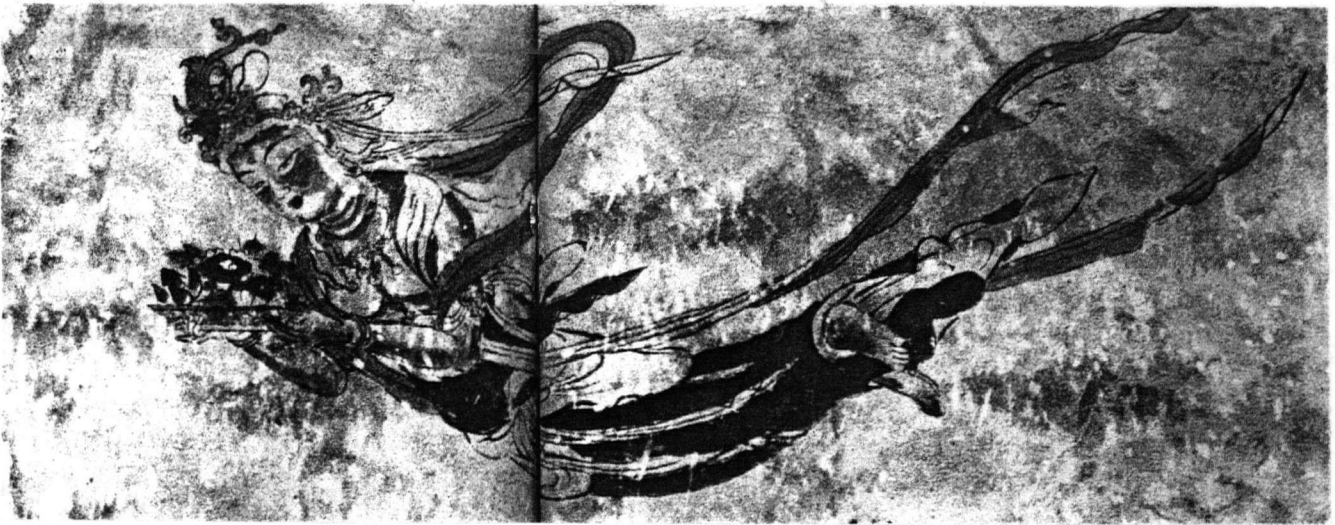


Figure 7: *keman*. In *Shinmeikai Kogo Jiten*.



Figure 8: A late 12th or early 13th century painting of a celestial maiden (*amabito*). Hôkaiji Temple. Reproduced in Fujii and Ôoka, 24-25.

³⁰ Ôhide quotes Keichû as having said that the details of this section are modeled after the story of the Ocean King's palace in the *Kojiki*:

He climbed up the KATURA tree and waited.

Then the serving maiden of TÖYÖ-TAMA-BIME, the daughter of the sea-deity, brought out

jeweled vessels to draw water, then she noticed a brightness in the well and, looking up, saw a lovely young man. (Philippi, 151)

³¹ *kono wonna ni kaku notamafu ha tare zo*: Ôhide adds the *ni* to indicate that the prince is asking the woman her name. Without it, it would appear that the woman is asking the question. Mitani chooses to keep the text as it appears without this *ni*, saying that it surely means to say that the woman is the subject here. He interprets the passage like this: “This woman said, ‘Who is saying this?’ She then gives her own name immediately because it was the custom to announce one’s own name first when asking someone his name.” Katagiri believes that the sentence “He asked, ‘Who is it who graces me with such words?’” has been added much later, so that the *kono wonna* ended up in the wrong place. He says that it should correctly read *kaku notamafu ha tare zo to tofu. kono wonna, waga na ha ukanruri to ihite . . .* (I [the prince] asked, “Who is it who graces me with such words?” This woman said, “My name is Ukanruri.”)

³² Ôhide remarks that this is a name which the prince has made up for the priestess. Commentators have suggested several different combinations of characters for this name, including Koyama’s 宝嵌瑠璃, Torii’s 宝冠瑠璃, and Mitani’s 宝漠瑠璃, but none are able to attach any significance to the name itself.

³³ Ôhide: “He takes this reference from the *Hakubutsu Shi*, which says that the mountains of Kunlun produce waters of five colors.” According to Mitani, the *Lotus Sutra* and others tell of the Seven Treasures, of which gold, silver, and lapis were the most well-known to the general public.

³⁴ Ôhide: “Just like the box in which the Fire-Rat’s fur is placed [Section 5], this is a bridge made of many different kinds of jewels put together.”

³⁵ Ôhide: “These trees are sparkling because they are blooming with flowers of gold, silver, and pearls.”

³⁶ Ôhide: “That he is ‘even more’ (*sara ni*) anxious indicates that he had always longed for her and

there had never been a moment when he was not thinking of her, but now that he had acquired the branch, his longing was increased even more because this was the means by which he was to gain her hand. (*tadachi ni afu beki tedate narinureba, hitoshio kohishisa no susumeru yoshi nari.*)”

³⁷ *kinofu nan miyako ni*: Koyama reads this *kinofu nanto ni*, “Yesterday I returned to the southern capital,” but Ôhide states that this is incorrect and that *nan* is simply an emphatic particle, so that it should read, “Yesterday I (finally) returned to the capital.”

³⁸ Ôhide reads this last word *take toru*, not *taketori* like other versions. The point of view, then, becomes a direct statement in the first person, instead of a third person description of the bamboo cutter. Inoue mentions that the *kuretake* is a particular variety of bamboo, but here it is just referring to bamboo in general. No one else seems to be concerned that there is any special significance to this phrase.

³⁹ The use of the words *yo* (age) and *fushi* (occasion/circumstance) results in verbal association with bamboo, the joints of which are called *fushi*, and the segments between the joints of which are called *yo*.

⁴⁰ Ôhide: “The prince is relieved because he thinks that he must certainly become Kaguyahime’s husband, since the old man believes his story to be true and has even composed a poem about it, showing his sympathy.”

⁴¹ *fumi-basami*: Mitani explains that this is a piece of bamboo with a forked end used by people of lower rank when passing a letter to someone of the noble birth. This scene is depicted in the *Taketori no Okina to Kaguyahime Emakimono* (Figure 9) from the Genroku period (1688-1704).

⁴² *ayabe no uchimaro* 漢部内麻呂: The name Ayabe means “man from China” and Ôhide remarks that the name Ayahito (漢人, also “man from China”) appears in the Record of Names, although there is no Ayabe. Imaizumi later explains that the naturalized immigrants from China and Korea were the best among the artisans and so giving him the name Ayabe here is attempting to give him a foreign sound.

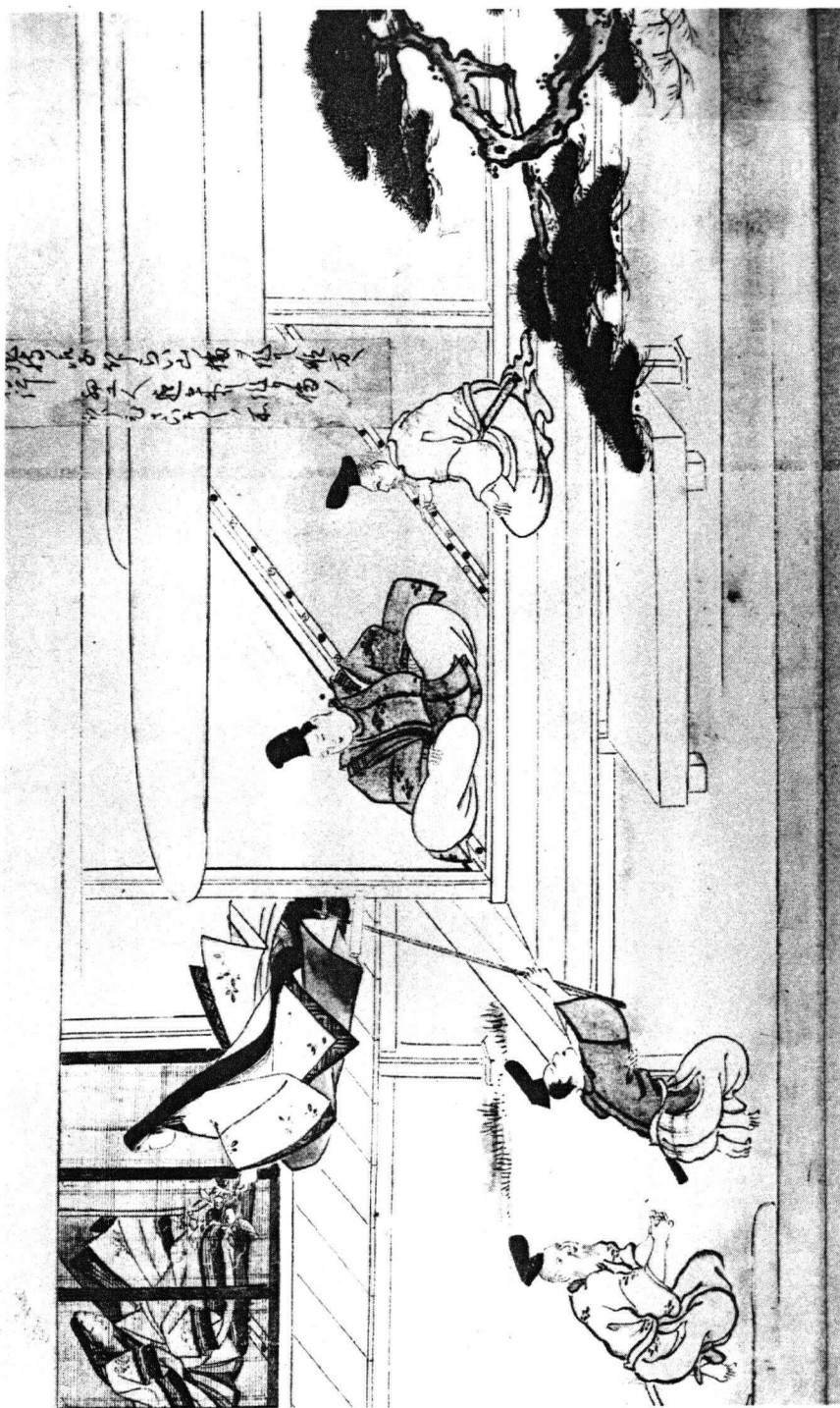


Figure 9: *Taketori no Okina no Monogatari E-maki*. Imperial Collections.

Reproduced in Kyûsojin Hitaku, *Taketori Monogatari*.

⁴³ Ôhide: *tsukumodokoro*. He gives examples of several different descriptions of the role of the workers of the Office of Palace Works. Among them, he quotes a source which says that there were metalworkers, makers of trays, eating tables, bath towels, pottery, and carpentry all within this office. Mitani describes this as the place where imperial furnishings were made. Artists, artisans, metal-workers, metal-casters, etc. worked there. The *rufubon* texts read *kumon-tsukasa* here, but Katagiri states that that was an office which deals with taxes and so is not appropriate here.

⁴⁴ Ôhide: “Koyama/Irie’s *Shô* says *kokoku wo tachite* ‘leaving the old country’ and others say *gokoku*, ‘the five grains, or the five countries,’ etc. But if the workers say they left the country, it would sound as if they went with the prince to find Mt. Hôrai, and this is not what they are attempting to convey here. Because the *kokoku* is written in *kana* here, to attribute the characters 古国 (old country) or 五穀 (five staple grains) to it would be a mistake. It should read *kokoro wo kudakite* (devote heart and soul).” Tanaka Miyuki, however, disagrees, saying that this is a fictional tale anyway (*moto yori tsukuri monogatari nareba*), and so the exaggeration that they have been so devoted to their work that they “fasted from the five staples” (*gokoku 五穀 wo tachite*) is interesting. Igarashi also accepts the five staples reading, saying that this would mean that they worked even to the point of forgetting their evening meals. Of course, they would not really forget their evening meals, but use this expression because it is forceful and extreme. Mitani also accepts this interpretation, stating that the five grains were the essential staple foods, rice, wheat, millet, foxtail millet, and beans. Eliminating the five staples means to fast while praying for the success of a certain endeavor, but this can be read as an exaggerated expression meaning to devote one’s energy to the project to the point of not eating.

⁴⁵ *wakachite kego ni*: Ôhide adds the *wakachite* to mean “divide” where some read *waroki* (bad, or poor) and some eliminate the word completely. Katagiri’s version says *waroki kego* (so that I can compensate my poor workers) and Mitani’s just says *kego* (so that I can compensate my

workers).

⁴⁶ Ôhide has added the *yo*, “odd” or “plus,” to fit with the above passage.

⁴⁷ ***mitsukahi***: Ôhide gives examples of the distinction drawn between the term *tsuma*, wife, and *tsukahi hito*, mistress, or member of the court. Here, the meaning should be taken simply as “mistress.” Katagiri also states that this is not the primary wife, but someone serving the prince in a slightly lower position. As the daughter of a bamboo cutter it wasn’t logical or acceptable that she would become the head wife of a prince.

⁴⁸ ***miya***: Ôhide: “If the prince were going to be living (spending nights) there, then the bamboo cutter’s house should be called a palace.” Ochiai gives the same explanation for the word “palace,” but also mentions that, because of the bamboo cutter’s new-found wealth, the workers are confident in asking for payment for their work from Kaguyahime. Similarly, Mitani sees the term *miya* as an allusion to the luxury of the bamboo cutter’s house. Katagiri suggests that rather than meaning a palace, this word *miya* may originally have been written 御屋 (honorable residence) referring more generally to a particularly splendid building.

⁴⁹ ***to ifu wo kikite***: Ôhide: “This phrase is unclear. The letter is followed by the phrase ‘he said,’ (*to maushite*) which would seem to indicate direct speech, but perhaps the letter was written in the style of spoken words. Suzuki states that these are the words of the letter, and that there would be no reason for Uchimaro to explain verbally since Kaguyahime has already taken the letter and is looking at it. Since the passage should be read as a letter, it should be followed by the phrase, ‘when she saw this’ (*to aru wo mite*) and not ‘when she heard this’ (*to ifu wo kikite*).”

⁵⁰ ***kururu mama ni***: Koyama says that this darkness refers to Kaguyahime’s mood, and that she felt very despondent, but Ôhide says instead, and Igarashi and the others agree with him, that *kururu* refers rather to the impending setting of the sun, and the fact that she will soon have to spend the night with the prince.

⁵¹ ***kaheshi-tamahe***: Ochiai is the only one to propose an alternative reading for this phrase,

saying that she means that the prince should be sent back or sent away.

⁵² Katagiri: "He appears to be trying to convince himself."

⁵³ *sasuga ni obohete*: Ôhide: "He thought that the jeweled branch was real and thought that the princess would accept the prince's proposal, and so had spoken very familiarly with the man. Now he feels sorry for him and sits silently with his eyes closed as if he were asleep."

⁵⁴ *chôzesase-tamafu*: Ôhide: "Koyama's suggestion that it should be written 調ぜ (to exorcise) and the *shahon* reading *totonohesase* (to make prepared) are both wrong. Of the other possibilities, 懲 (to punish, or warn/admonish), and Motoori's 打擲の打 (to beat), we cannot know which is the correct meaning. There are many examples of ghosts being punished in *monogatari* literature. Since punishment, 懲, often more generally includes beating, 打擲, it is perhaps the better word. Also, more accurately, the word for beating would be *chôji* not simply *chô*. However, most others commentators follow the interpretation of 'to beat' because of the following 'until they bled.'"

⁵⁵ 御死もや *shini mo ya*. Ôhide argues that there must be some mistake here, saying: "There is no reason why these characters should be read *shini* (pass away/die). So the character 御 must be a mistake, or else there are considerable omissions below. Whatever the reading of this phrase, it simply means that those who were looking for him were unable to find him." He also cites Suzuki, who states that the characters 御死 are actually a mistake for the flowing style of the characters for *mimamaru* 身罷, which is also an honorific form of the word "to die."

⁵⁶ *miko no mitomo ni (dani)*: Ôhide explains that this emphasizes the phrase that his retainers had searched for him and been unable to find him. He doesn't say that he hid himself such that the people in general could not find him, but says that even his own followers were unable to find him, which reveals the intensity of his shame. For this reason, the word *dani* (even) should be included.

⁵⁷ *tama-zakaru*: Ôhide: "Literally, this means 'to lose one's soul,' or 'to become childish' (*manuke*) However, here, there is also a pun between the word *tama*, jewel, and *tamashii*, soul. There is a poem from Saigyô's *Sankashû*, which reads:

<i>itohoshi ya</i>	How dear to me --
<i>sara ni kokoro no</i>	My feelings for you become
<i>wosanakute</i>	yet more innocent.
<i>tamagireruru</i>	It is a love which feels
<i>kohi mo suru kana</i>	as though my soul would part.

This means the same thing. This is probably a mistake for *tamasakanaru*. *Saganashi*, meaning 'bad,' is implied, as well as the link with *saga naru*, 'and so this situation (of not obtaining the jewel) came about.' The interest of this statement lies in these multiple meanings."

Mitani also sees that, according to this statement, when the prince disappeared, seeing him was something *tamasaka-nari* (rare), also, because of the jeweled branch, he distanced himself (*toozakaru*). This also brings to mind the word *tama saganashi*, a pun on the jewels being bad or fake. Katagiri argues that although many versions interpret *tamasakaru* as referring to the soul leaving the body, meaning dying or becoming worthless, unlike the phrases which end each of the other sections, like *yobahi* and *hazhi sutsu*, this is not a common phrase, and it's strange to have a phrase like this which cannot be found anywhere else. So he takes the *ru* as a *ni* to make the phrase *tamasaka ni* (occasionally, or unexpectedly) which is more common. This would mean then that after many years he just showed up unexpectedly.

Notes to Section 5, pp. 113 - 116

¹ *wô kei*: Commentators agree with Ôhide that this is a name invented for this story. This man would have come from China for the purpose of trade. Noguchi also explains that, at the time, trade was directly under the supervision of the government, and personal trafficking was strictly prohibited. Nonetheless, secret trade was prevalent among those in search of rare fortune and

large profit. Hakata (in Tsukushi) was the central port for this activity.

² Mitani says that it would appear that Ô is in Japan when Abe sends the messenger to him, but it becomes more reasonable later to assume that he has gone back to China. Because of the confusion surrounding this point, different texts interpret the words *kara* and *morokoshi* differently in the following passages. (See Notes 3 & 4, below)

³ *kano ura ni*: Others say *kara ni* (in China) or *kano kara ni* (in this [country,] China). Ôhide uses *kano ura ni* (at this inlet), taking it to refer to Hakata, since boats from foreign lands would arrive at the inlet at Hakata in ancient times. All early modern commentators after him accept this reading. Modern commentators, however, use the phrasing of the following passages to explain why this should be read *kara ni* or *kano kara ni*. Since later in his letter Ô says “this country” and means China, and also since Fusamori is said to *maude-kite . . . mau-noboru*, meaning come to Japan from another land and go up to the capital, it can be understood that Fusamori had been to China himself. However, Ôhide takes this passage to mean rather that Fusamori went to Hakata to get news from Ô, whose boat had moored there.

⁴ Since he is taking this passage to mean that Ô's boat is still in Hakata, Ôhide argues that, while the various texts read *kono kuni* (this country), here it should read *waga kuni* (my country), i.e. China. Igarashi, also understanding Ô to be in Hakata, leaves the text as it is, saying that “this country,” on the contrary, refers to Japan. He argues that, although it sounds as though the merchant is speaking of China, he is really saying that this robe is something which has not been seen in Japan, and, further, is something which he has not seen himself (in his own country). Mitani says that this *kono kuni* could be either China or Japan, but since Ô continues with the suggestion that the fur might be in India, he accepts the interpretation that the trader is in China or at least is talking of his own country, China.

⁵ *tenjiku*: India

⁶ Ôhide says that this message is an abbreviated version of the real message and leads us to believe that Fusamori actually went to China on Ô Kei's ship: “According to the letter, Ô says that he will

search for the elusive object, even though its existence sounds questionable. A section which should explain how Fusamori goes to China with him and then returns with the fur and the second letter has been omitted in the following passages because this sequence of events is made clear from the content of the letter which appear later. These omissions are very clever because the information is revealed through the content of the letters.” Igarashi does not take the passage to suggest that Fusamori went to China, but rather that he waited at Hakata for the boat’s return, and, when it arrived with Ô’s retainers aboard, he heard the news, sent word to Abe, and went to meet the boat on horseback. Modern commentators agree with Ôhide that Fusamori probably went all the way to China with Abe’s letter.

⁷ Of his own accord, Igarashi also adds the phrase “three years passed,” before this statement, presumably to remain consistent with the time frame of the other quests.

⁸ Modern commentators note that, according to the *Engi Shiki*, it would take fourteen days to get from Dazaifu to Kyoto on a normal horse, so this means that this rider made it to the capital of Yamato in exactly half that time. Mitani notes that it is possible, however, for the journey to be made in seven days, so this shows the author’s careful attention to realistic detail.

⁹ Ôhide explains that Ô Kei did not come himself this time, so he is writing from the perspective of being in China. “This country,” then, refers to China.

¹⁰ *nishi no yama-dera*: Ôhide: “This must be a mountain to the west of the Chinese capital in which Ô lives.”

¹¹ *uruhashiki ruri*: Ôhide: “*Uruhashiki* comes from *uru*, which is *ura*, the heart, and *kuhashi*, subtle. It refers to the depth of feeling invoked by good things or loved things. Here, it refers to the beauty of the jewels. Usually lapis, here *ruri* refers to all types of jewels.” Koyama states: “According to the *Gishi* commentary, *ruri* was originally a stone which came from China and shone in ten different colors. These crystalline jewels did not burn when placed in fire.”

Katagiri’s understanding is that *ruri* was originally one of the seven Buddhist treasures, but here most likely simply means “glass.”

¹² *hikari sasayakitari*: In other texts, *hikari shi sasayakitari*, *hikari shi sasatari*, and *hikari shi sashitari*. Ôhide: "This is a mistake for *kagayakitari*, to shine." Mitani postulates that *sasakitari* must mean something like "to sparkle," but finds it unclear. Likewise, Matsuo's discussion of the various interpretations is not definitive, but he suggests that *shi* may be an emphatic particle and *sasayaku*, although it usually means "to speak very softly," or "to whisper," here can be taken more generally to mean "to do something in a soft manner," in this case, "to shine softly." Since there are no other examples of this phrase being used in this manner, however, he finds even this explanation questionable.

¹³ Mitani notes here that this is the first mention of the fur's fire-resistant quality. He concludes that the author is assuming a readership familiar with the legend and that this foreshadowing displays the author's ingenuity in formulating his narrative structure.

¹⁴ *ana kashiko*: Mitani says that *kashiko* is a term indicating respect for an object, but Katagiri says instead that it means something like "Ah, what a shame/waste." Here, Ôhide quotes Suzuki, who says: "Of the five suitors, Prince Kuramochi was particularly aware of how Kaguyahime would react. But this minister [Abe] is especially unaware of things that most others would know. The two princes were very calculating, so if the story were not to also include a foolish man like him [Abe], the story would lose its charm" (*kakaru hito ohashimasade ha monogatari no kyou ha arumajiki nari*). Ôhide adds his own comment that even now, many wealthy people are like this; they believe that they can obtain anything, even the rarest treasures, if they give enough money for it. Mitani also remarks on the focus in this section purely on the minister's material wealth, but from a less critical perspective: "This section focuses on the material wealth of the suitor without any concern for his personality traits. . . . He is seen as generous and ignorant of the real world. He didn't see his assignment as a real task for himself, but just sat back and thought that having money alone would get him the real thing. He didn't have to work hard to achieve his goal. This section is also evidence of an increase in foreign products and rampant villainous merchants."

¹⁵ *kesau shite*: Ôhide says simply that this means to make up one's face, but Ochiai adds that in

the past this also referred to dressing oneself.

¹⁶ *omohi*: The last syllable of the word *omohi* (feeling), is also the word for fire. The discussion of the *Taketori Monogatari* in the *Genji Monogatari* “E-awase” section refers specifically to this section of the text, stating “*hi-nezumi no omohi katatoki ni kietaru*” (the passion of the Fire-Rat instantly went up in flames . . .). This indicates that the association would have been a commonly recognized play on words at that time.

¹⁷ *mime*: Ôhide has changed this from *kime* (to wear), saying: “Since the Minister of the Right would not be wearing the fur robe himself, it must be a mistake and should be read, *mime*, to see, or to meet.” Suzuki argues that *kime*, to wear, is linked to the word robe and therefore is more appropriate here, but others agree with Ôhide. Koizumi seems to cover both possibilities when he suggests that the poem should be interpreted to mean that the moistened sleeves of his robe have been dried by the pleasure of having obtained the fur robe, and he will or he hopes to see her wear the fur robe. (It is unclear whether he reads the poem *kime* or *mime*.) Of the modern commentators, however, even Matsuo, who usually gives a summary of most previous readings and often specifically notes Ôhide’s interpretation even if it is at variance with all common readings, does not mention this alternative interpretation. He, Noguchi, Mitani, and Katagiri, all use the word *kime*, discussing rather whether this also implies “wear it [to be married to you]” (Matsuo) or “wear it [to share your bed tonight]” (Noguchi).

¹⁸ Ôhide: “In other words, you must accept him as your husband.”

¹⁹ Ôhide: “Compared to Prince Kuramochi, who came right up onto the veranda, the minister is honest and waits at the gate. In contrast, Prince Kuramochi was proud of his skill and boasted of it. The story speaks of both greed (*ri*) and dullness or slowness (*don*).”

²⁰ Katagiri: “The repetition of this ‘called in to be seated’ might imply that there was originally a picture in between here. It would not have been unusual for early versions of the text to be illustrated as the *Genji* ‘E-Awase’ chapter suggests.”

²¹ *wouna no kokoro ni mo*: As Mitani points out, it is important to note the appearance of the

old woman here. The *ni mo* is key, though, because her purpose is only to serve as a reinforcement for the feelings of the old man. *Even she* thought it, so he must have thought it all the more.

²² Ôhide: "Although Kaguyahime would not openly deny the wishes of the old man, it is worded in this way because she in fact did not have any intention of marrying. Although he had encouraged her with Ishitsukuri and Kuramochi, he could not forcibly say anything since she seemed to be so determined not to marry."

²³ Mitani: "The need to prove that it is not the real fur by burning it is further evidence of the author's attention to realistic detail. It is obvious that Kaguyahime is not of this world and therefore it would not be unreasonable that she would know without testing that the robe was fake, but she insists on burning it. [This is also consistent with her inability to know by superhuman means that Prince Kuramochi had produced an imitation jeweled branch. See Section 4, Note 16.] These middle sections describing the suitors' are written differently from the introductory and concluding passages, which are more fanciful and fairy tale-like. Again, this would support the theory that these sections about the five suitors were actually thoughtfully planned out by the author, not just transcriptions of pre-existing oral fairy tales."

²⁴ *yakase tamafu*: Ôhide draws attention to the fact that it was the Minister of the Right who ordered someone to burn it, not the old man, meaning perhaps to emphasize Abe's naïve confidence in the authenticity of the robe.

²⁵ Ochiai is the only one who interprets this differently, saying that these are Kaguyahime's words of surprise.

²⁶ Although modern commentators simply describe this as being pale, Ôhide explains that in the *Kojiki* the color of bamboo leaves (green) is used to describe the paleness of one who is ill. He states that normally, when one becomes ashamed all of a sudden his face would become red, but in the most extreme cases would turn green as is described here.

²⁷ Ôhide rephrases this: "If I had known that it would burn like this, I should have kept it from the

fire in order to look at it. It is a shame that it has been burned up.” Imaizumi says instead that the implied undertones reveal that, although she should not have worried about something which would burn so easily in the fire, she had believed that it was the real thing and had been troubled by the thought that she would have to marry the minister. Unlike the instance of the convincing jeweled branch, it is unclear here whether or not Kaguyahime really believed that this robe was actually made from the fur of the Fire-Rat.

²⁸ *sumi-tamafu*: Ôhide: “In the past, when a man came to visit a woman and their relations were as a couple, he was said to ‘live’ with her.” This would indicate, as Katagiri notes, a more stable marital relationship than *kayofu*, to commute or go back and forth between two places to visit, as was common for men to do in Heian times.

²⁹ *ahe nashi*: A pun here ties the Minister’s name Abe to *ahe* (to bear) so that *abe/ahe nashi* would indicate both “no Abe” since, crestfallen, he has gone home stripped of all courage and passion (Ôhide), and, at the same time, the expression “unbearable” would also translate as “how unfortunate” or “how disappointing.” Ôhide also points out that this pun is alluded to in the “E-awase” reference noted above, in the final line, “in an instant it was up in flames -- a rather disappointing conclusion” (*ito ahe nashi*) (Seidensticker, 312). In his discussion of this section of the tale as a whole, Mitani cites Mitani Kuniaki’s interpretation that this section is meant as a sort of social commentary. The *hi* (fire) implies *hi-iro*, a deep scarlet color, and the *nezumi no kawagoromo* (rat’s fur robe) refers to the fur of the yellow marten which was widely praised in early times. At a certain point in the Heian period, only counselors of state and higher ranking individuals were allowed to wear this fur. Even though many laws prohibited others from wearing it, wealthy aristocratic families were able to purchase it and it came into vogue around the Jôgan era (859-876). Mitani Eiichi then analyses the passage and offers that time period as the time during which the *Taketori* must have been set and looks at the satire and tone of the writing as evidence of the author’s attempt to voice his own resentment toward the wealthy elite. For this reason, he proposes Ki no Haseo as a possible author of the tale.

Notes to Section 6, pp. 116 - 120

¹ *waga ie ni ari to aru hito*: Ôhide: "These are people who, even if they lived outside of his residence, were in his service." Mitani and Katagiri comment on the fact that, unlike the previous three suitors, this section is not introduced with a few words describing the Major Counselor's character.

² Mitani: "i.e. ones which shine in the five colors."

³ *kimi no tsukahi*: Ôhide: "The *kobanbon* and the *ruibon* texts read *ten no tsukahi*, but this is a mistake." Mitani explains further that in the *Nihon Shoki*, the character 天 (*ten*) was read *kimi*.

He gives this as evidence that before this *kana* text there existed a *hentai kambuntai* version. Either way, the meaning does not change significantly.

⁴ Ôhide: "According to some people, when the long rains come and erode the mountains, the big snakes are swept away by these waters, flow down the rivers and when they come out into the ocean, become dragons. Also, a certain person named Izumita from Naka no Ura in Etchû told of a happening of the eleventh day of the Seventh Month of the sixth year of Bunka [1810, so only a few before Ôhide began to work on this commentary], when there had been strong winds and rain since morning. Toward the hour of the sheep (2 p.m.) it had cleared just slightly, but in the direction of the offing it was still clouded over in a grayish color, when a particularly black cloud arose out of the middle of the grayness. It descended again and rose and fell about a meter above the surface of the ocean when, looking as if it would come right down onto the waves, the figure of a small dragon could be seen inside of it. It rose up shining all over, then the sky cleared without a trace of clouds. The old man from there said that such a thing had happened in the past. A dragon had risen up from there. From the same place, a man named Okada said that he had seen something in the mountains of Kiso in Shinano. It was in the Sixth Month and there was a heavy rainshower. As it was about to clear, he could faintly see what appeared to be the portion from about the middle of the tail to the end of it. There is also a record of such an event in the *Fusô Ryakuki*."

⁵ *miwarahite*: Ôhide explains that the Major Counselor laughs (*warafu*) because he sees his servants say they will go out to obtain the jewel according to his orders, even though they appear to be so cowardly. He also cites Suzuki, who says that this entire section pokes fun at the Major Counselor's strength and strictness, and explains that the Ôtomo family was historically known for its strength and power in protecting Emperor Kammu. But Matsuo observes that Ôhide's *miwarahite* appears alternatively in the Kohon text as *misumawite* (resist, refuse), in the Hôsa-bon as *mihakaraite* (decide, make sure), in the Shimabara-bon as *miharawite* (見腹みて, see and be calmed), in the Tenshō and Tanaka texts as *miharawite* (見はらみて, cast away with a glance), in the Takedashi-bon as *miharawite* (御はらみて, be calmed), the Kyûsojinshi-bon as *warahite* (laugh), etc. There are those who interpret these several variations as "he recovered from his anger" or "he calmed himself" (*miharawite*) but Matsuo considers it most appropriate to see the *hara* as an erroneous transcription of *warahi*, following Ôhide's interpretation. Noguchi argues that although originally the verb *hara-wiru* existed as an antonym for *hara-tatsu* (to become angry or irritated), it later changed in form to *hara gi ieru*, so that *hara-wiru* became an unfamiliar expression, resulting in the interpretation of this phrase as *miwarahi*. Mitani also attempts to explain the early modern commentators' general acceptance of the term *miwarahite* in spite of the numerous other options. He says that since most earlier interpretations follow the Kampon printed versions which read *miwarahite*, and since Ôhide doesn't make an issue of it, most have followed this reading without questioning it. But Mitani understands this section as a scene in which the Major Counselor is hearing complaints from all sides over the impossibility of the task he has assigned to his men. He no doubt is upset with them and they have reluctantly given in to his orders so he is chastizing them. It is most likely that he would not be laughing, joking, pleased, or good-natured at this point, so *miharawite* (he became calmed) is perhaps a better reading than *miwarahite* (he laughed).

⁶ Ôhide: "Suzuki says that to say this now is unnecessary, but it is in order to make people laugh

that it is written in this way.”

⁷ *ichi no kate ni*: He gave them valuables, such as silk and cotton, to exchange for food on their way. Ôhide remarks that the lord does not regret exhausting his resources, but is doing it to please his men who are going off to find the jewel.

⁸ *imowi*: Although Koyama defines *imowi* as a devotional practice which specifically refers to abstinence, Ôhide explains it more broadly saying that this means that the Major Counselor will pray that they are able to obtain the jewel, will care for his body, and practice devotion (*guwan nado wo tachitamahite, mi wo tsutsushimi, seishin shite ohasuru nari*).

⁹ Katagiri remarks that here again, the repetition might imply that there had been a picture in between these two sentences.

¹⁰ Ôhide: “There is no place which they can indicate as the place where the dragon with the jewel resides. So they depart undecided as to which way to go.”

¹¹ Ôhide: “Here, the Major Counselor tells them to get the jewel without giving them any directions as to where the dragon can be found or what the jewel is like. They are thinking that this is a clearly impossible task and that, though he might say that they should serve their lord and guardian with their lives, they complain among themselves that even for a lord or a parent this is too much to ask” (*inochi wo sutetemo tsukahematsuru beshi to ha ihedo, oya ni mo are, kimi ni mo are, amari naru koto wo oose-tamafu kana to soshiri-aheru nari*).

¹² *rei no yau ni*: Ôhide: “Since Kaguyahime is such an exceptionally beautiful woman who even makes the inside of the house radiate with her beauty, it would not do to have her in an average home, so he is beginning construction anew and rebuilding his house.” Mitani states that this can also be interpreted, “The residence cannot be the same as it has been until now.”

¹³ *iroheshi*: This appears as *kaheshi* (return) in several texts, including the Koyama version.

Ôhide suggests that the character 返 (*kaesu*) is perhaps a mistake for 色 (*iro*, color). He says that this could be a reference to a type of colored lacquer as was described in the *Ryôzan Bokudan* (両

山墨談), or perhaps it is just the normal lacquer which is a bluish color. Modern commentators read the *kaheshi* of the variant texts as *kabe shi* (make walls), so that the sentence means, "He made walls of [or decorated with] lacquer."

¹⁴ Imaizumi: "This expression is meant to describe the elaborate nature of the decorations, but does not necessarily mean that he actually used thread to thatch the roof."

¹⁵ *uchi-uchi no shitsurahi*: Literally, "hanging between the posts marking off each room."

Mitani: "We don't know what mansions of the time were like, but there are no records of such extravagance. Probably this the author's fanciful idea of an extravagantly built mansion."

¹⁶ *moto no me-domo ha mina ohiharahite*: The *mina ohiharahite* (sending all of them away) is Ôhide's addition, without which the sentence would read as Katagiri gives it: "Sure that Kaguyahime would become his wife, his previous wives prepared themselves by spending their days and nights alone." Ôhide explains, however, that although one should not speak of the Major Counselor's previous wives in such a rude fashion, they are of no importance to him when compared to Kaguyahime, so the phrase "he threw them all out" should be added. Mitani: "Though the Major Counselor's generosity toward his followers and his trust in them endears the reader to him, his sending all his wives home and taking for granted that he will get Kaguyahime goes too far, making him a laughable figure."

¹⁷ *yatsure-tamahite*: Ôhide simply states that this means that he set out without a large group to accompany him. He also explains the etymology of the word *yatsuru*, saying that, since it is stated in the "Aoi" section of Keichû's *Genchû Shûi* commentary that the characters for *ranru* (襦袢) rags) are read *yatsuru*, this probably is a term which is associated with clothing (*ranru wo, yatsuru to yomereba, koromo yori idetaru kotoba naru beshi*). It is not clear, however, if he means to say that here the term refers specifically to the Major Counselor's clothing or is simply used more generally to describe the discreet and unassuming nature of his travelling party. Ochiai later states that *yatsure-tamahite* means that the Major Counselor dressed in the clothing of average people so that he wouldn't be recognized. Modern commentators also take *yatsuru* to mean, poor or weak,

and in this case specifically disguised in travelling clothes, or poor clothing, but do not use the same etymological argument as was presented by Ôhide.

¹⁸ Ôhide: "The boatpeople do not believe that he is being sincere, thinking that surely he must be mad, and so, laughing, they reply that there is no boat which could do such a thing."

¹⁹ *odzhi-naki koto suru funabito ni mo aru kana*: Ôhide: "Seeing how fearful the boatpeople are of the dragon, he says that this must be why they give such a weak answer to his question. He thinks that surely these boatpeople do not know that a strong man could defeat the dragon, thereby asserting his own strength and prowess."

²⁰ Katagiri divides this up slightly differently: "They were surely boatpeople with no pride.

Thinking that they had said this without knowing, the Major Counselor said . . ."

²¹ Ôhide: "It can be seen from the *Man'yôshû*, *Shindai-ki*, and *Seishi mokuroku*, that members of the Ôtomo family were well known for their prowess as guardsmen and were very highly skilled in archery.

²² Ôhide: "He says this with resentment" (*nikumite notamafu nari*).

²³ *makari*: A humble form of "to go." Ôhide interprets this as meaning that they were distanced from the emperor's land, the humble form showing respect for the emperor's land, Japan. Mitani and Katagiri see *makari* instead as a humble expression used by the narrator to indicate respect for the reader.

²⁴ Ôhide: "A section of the Suma chapter from the *Genji Monogatari* is very similar to this account:

Suddenly a wind came up and even before the services were finished the sky was black. Genji's men rushed about in confusion. Rain came pouring down, completely without warning. . . The wind was now a howling tempest, everything that had not been tied down was scuttling off across the beach. The surf was biting at their feet. The sea was white, as if spread over with white linen. Fearful every moment of being struck down, they finally made their way back to the house. . .

The lightning and thunder seemed to announce the end of the world, and the rain to

beat its way into the ground; and Genji sat calmly reading a sutra. The thunder subsided in the evening, but the wind went on through the night. . . (Seidensticker, 246)

This *Genji* section was probably written with thoughts of this account of the Major Counselor's journey (*kono monogatari wo omohite kakeru naru beshi*)."

²⁵ Ôhide: "He is saying that the boat would travel further and further south toward the Southern Isles and, one way or the other, they would be unable to avoid death. The different tales of the Southern Seas discussed in the supplementary text material clearly show how much this area was to be feared." (See pp. 87-89 above.)

²⁶ *utate aru*: Ôhide: "This seems to mean someone who is not gentle as is common, but rather is strangely suspicious."

²⁷ *kaji-tori naku*: Ôhide: "This stroke of the brush is very humorous and it is difficult to stop laughing."

²⁸ *kami ha ochi-kakaru yau ni hirameki-kakaru*: This *kami* is written 神, god, but means 雷 (also *kami*), thunder. There is considerable interplay between the two, and the sea god, thunder, and the dragon all become closely related in this account.

²⁹ Mitani: "The belief in dragons was certainly influenced by the Chinese legends, but it was also strengthened by the indigenous beliefs that the gods of water and the ocean were snake-shaped. The dragon also played a role in bringing water for the rice fields and a good fish harvest. That it appears in the sky and is accompanied by loud noises is due to the influence of the Chinese tradition."

³⁰ *kadzhi-tori no onkami*: Katagiri: "This god is the protecting god of sea voyages. His head priests are boat captains. Even today there are gods called *funatama* (船霊), *funa-gamisama* (船神様), and *ofunasama* (お船様), which are revered by boaters and fishing people."

³¹ *odzhi-naku kokoro-wosanaku*: *Odzhi-naku* also appears as *wotonaku*, *otonaku*, and *nen*

naku (without sound/without care or sense) but Ôhide states that Motoori Ôhira has said that all these are mistakes for *odzhi-naku*, which means unskillful and foolish here. Katagiri explains that this has the same meaning as the *kokoro-wosanaku* which follows.

³² *yogoto wo hanatsu* . . . : Ôhide: "This section has the ring of a relatively modern mode of thought and for this reason it is questionable whether this was written during the period commonly believed to be the time of the creation of the *Taketori Monogatari*. Looking at it from this perspective, it is possible that phrases such as *yogoto* (words of prayer) may just be imitations of old grammatical structures. However, I will analyze this passage as if it were an old form. There is a certain degree of distinction between the terms *yogoto* and *norito* (prayers). *Norito* is the generic term for a Shinto prayer, and can often also include the meaning of *yogoto*. *Yogoto* is usually a term used for prayers invoked by a lower ranking person for the good fortune of a higher ranking individual, and so to a certain extent is a courtly term used to designate a spiritual bond (*tashô wabigoto no i no chikahi no kotoba*). *Hanatsu*, rather than meaning to shout out in a loud voice, would seem to indicate rather that, since the object of the prayers is not visible to the speaker, he sends these words out far and freely that they might reach the one for whom they are intended.

³³ *sukoshi akarite*: Although modern commentators use the phrase *sukoshi hikarite* (flashed/shone a little bit), which appears in the various texts, Ôhide says that these texts must be wrong. He argues for his change saying that it would seem at first that the flashing would be leftover lightning, however, if the thunder had stopped then there would be no reason for there to be lightning. For this reason, it should read *akarite* (became brighter), instead. This would then follow up the statement above that the world had become dark. The thunder had stopped and the sky had brightened a bit, but the wind was still blowing strongly.

³⁴ Ôhide: "Since the Major Counselor had been so fearful of the Southern Seas, no matter how many times and how insistently he was told that the wind was blowing in a good direction and not a bad one, he still doubted that it was really true and would not believe it."

³⁵ Ôhide: "That the wind had been blowing hard for three or four days shows that they had been blown far from the Southern Seas."

³⁶ Mitani: "Apparently this type of story of drifting upon the Southern Seas was not completely fictitious. There are records of dispatches by emperors during the years between Jomei (630) and Uda (894). Six of them resulted in ships drifting on the seas and there is even a famous account in the *Shoku Nihon Kôki*. This story and others like it probably provided the background for this scene." (Again, see pp. 87-89 for examples of such accounts.)

³⁷ Ôhide: "At first, the Major Counselor had gone out secretly so that no one would know about his trip, but now, having met with such misfortune, he is unable to do anything for his men, and requests assistance from the provincial lord."

³⁸ Ôhide: "He still thinks that he is on a beach in the Southern Seas and therefore doesn't get up. Once again, the tale is written to portray this man who had so prided himself on his prowess with a bow and arrow in a humorous way."

³⁹ *kaze ito omoki hito nite*: Mitani: "Here *kaze* is completely different from the present day 'cold.' The *Yamai-zôshi* and *Ochikubo Monogatari* both give detailed descriptions of the symptoms -- sometimes the central and sometimes peripheral nervous systems are hit; sometimes there are convulsions, or the eyes are agitated, etc. The details given here again are realistic and accurate to the particular sickness, attesting to the author's attention to detail." Ôhide: "Although this sounds a bit strange, it is the way of speaking of the time. This Major Counselor was of the temperament that whenever he 'caught a cold' it was terribly disturbing to his system. In the *Ôkagami* and the *Uji Shûi* there are examples of the word *kaze* being used to refer to such a serious ailment."

⁴⁰ Ôhide: "The *Byôgen-ron* describes the symptoms of a 'cold,' among which it is said that one's eyes look like *momo*, apricots. Here, plums (*sumomo*) have been substituted for apricots (*karamomo*)."

⁴¹ Ôhide sees this phrasing as emphasizing how secretly they had hidden themselves away.

⁴² *kandau*: Commentators are divided over the degree of severity of this term. Ôhide says that the character for this is 勘当 and it means something to the effect of the word *oshikari* (reprimand).

Tanaka Miyuki sees it as more stringent, saying that *kandau* is the term for the punishment imposed upon an individual guilty of a crime under the law. Later commentators such as Ochiai and Imaizumi follow Ôhide, suggesting that, although the word originally meant punishment for a crime, here it just means to reprimand. Mitani defines it as scolding, and Katagiri as punishment, but they do not focus too much on drawing a distinction between the two meanings.

⁴³ Ôhide sees the change in the Major Counselor's attitude here as very humorous, pointing out the contrast between his initial insistence that they retrieve the jewel, and his later praise that they hadn't brought back the jewel. In contrast, Ochiai does not choose to focus on the potential humor of the scene, stating that Ôtomo is praising his retainers for not bringing back the jewel, speaking with joy for his retainers lives.

⁴⁴ Ôhide: "Although the Major Counselor is just postulating here, dragons and thunder probably seem to be of the same category of things."

⁴⁵ Ôhide: "The repetition of his joy of their not having brought back the jewel is humorous."

⁴⁶ Ochiai: "He realizes this for the first time here, and is surprised and embittered."

⁴⁷ Ôhide: "This stands in contrast to the 'Courtship' section in which the men state that the princess might as well order them not to hang around the premises." (Section 2, p. 106)

⁴⁸ It is interesting to compare the Major Counselor's generous treatment of his men with the harshness and stinginess of Prince Kuramochi. Once again, Ôhide emphasizes the humor here, as the Major Counselor, who should have given his men a reward for bringing back the jewel, rewards them instead because he is overjoyed that they were unharmed precisely because they didn't bring it back. Mitani notes that this section is different from the previous three because it doesn't end with Kaguyahime appearing and revealing the falsity of the object the suitor has brought back. This suitor and the next do not manage to bring anything back from their attempts at

their tasks. Mitani sees this structural feature as evidence suggesting that originally the legend must have recounted of the exploits of three suitors, to which the last two suitors were added when the tale was formalized in writing.

⁴⁹ Ôhide: "This refers back to the earlier comment of sending the women away (p. 117 & note 16).

The first wife of the real Major Counselor Ôtomo no Miyuki was an uncommonly chaste woman. In the *Shoku Nihongi* Book 4, in the section on the, the 9th month of the 5th year of Wadô [812] during the reign of Empress Gemmei: "3rd day. In an Imperial Edict it was said: We are greatly moved by the chastity of the widow of Tajihi no Mabito Shima, shô ni-i, whose maiden name is Iehara, and of the widow of Ôtomo no Sukune Miyuki ju ni-i, posthumously promoted to Udaijin, whose maiden name is Ki no Ason, who during the lifetime of their husbands assisted them in their tasks of governing the country, who faithfully stick to their determination of sharing their husbands' graves, and grant to both of them a domain of fifty families." (Snellen, 251-252)

⁵⁰ Ôhide quotes Suzuki, who praises the finely constructed closure to this episode with its reference back to what had come of the reward Ôtomo had offered for bringing back the jewel, what had become of his previous wives, and what happened to the new house which he had built.

⁵¹ Ôhide says that this is the reply of the servant and others (*kenin nado no kotahe nari*), although Inoue says that it is the statement of a single person.

⁵² Ôhide explains that upon hearing this, the people find the statement very funny and have difficulty controlling their laughing (*tahe-gatashi*). He then quotes Suzuki who says that if these had been true plums, then they would have been edible, but since these look like plums but are really swellings, there is a pun on *tabe-gatashi*, "hard to eat." Ochiai notes that, at this time, *ana tahegata* means, "Oh, how unbearably funny," but later it is also used to indicate the difficulty of something occurring. In later periods, the expression can also refer to things which are unbearably funny, trying, embarrassing, sad, etc.

⁵³ *yo ni ahanu koto*: Ôhide: "This is referring to the statement above that the men were saying among themselves that even if it were a parent or lord who were to demand it, to ask for the jewel

from a dragon would be too much. Things which are unreasonable are difficult to accomplish, and since the lord had ordered his men to do something which was very difficult, it is called *ahanu koto*, an 'unreasonable thing.' If it is something which the men are not able to do, it is called *ahenu koto*, 'an impossible thing.'"

⁵⁴ Ôhide says that this episode is written particularly humorously so as to make people laugh, but Igarashi does not agree. He states: "It could be said that Ôtomo no Miyuki was a foolish and haughty man, for when he was fooled by his own men and encountered suffering, he relied on the boat captain as on a high mountain. This episode has brought together many such foolish things. In giving the name Ôtomo to this character, the author writes of how shame was brought to the Ôtomo who were known for their pride and strength. It is conceivable that this is so forcefully written because the author is very angry that many people think of anyone with the Ôtomo name as being unparalleled in power. When it says that he vomitted, this shows his extreme baseness and makes us think of the anger in the author's heart that he would ridicule him so. Ôhide explains this section as being written humorously in order to make people laugh, but when you look at it with a clear perspective, it is not so. It is not very funny at all."

Notes to Section 7, pp. 120 - 123

¹ Ôhide: "As explained earlier, there have been many different suggestions for the Middle Counselor's name, including Morotaka, Marotari, Morotari, but these are all mistakes. In the section entitled 'The Courtship,' where it reads *maro, tada*. . ., the *tada* (simply) was mistaken for *tari* and thought to be a part of his name. Here, it has been mistakenly supposed that this ending has been left out, and has erroneously been added by later copyists."

² *ihe ni tsukaharuru wonoko domo*: Ôhide sees this sentiment as similar to the phrase "[Major Counselor Ôtomo] called together all the men in his household" in Section 6.

³ Katagiri notes that in this section, as with the Major Counselor Ôtomo, there is no introductory description of the Middle Counselor's character.

⁴ See Section 2, Note 47.

⁵ Ôhide: “This would mean that somehow when they give birth they release this shell, even though when one splits their bellies to see, there is nothing which can be called such a shell, (*hara wo warite mitemo shikaru ifu beki mono ha nakaredomo, ko umu ni ha, ikasama ni shite ka idasuramu to nari*).”

⁶ *harakaku ka to mausu*: Ôhide offers as a tentative suggestion that this should be read *tsubakurame to mausu mono ha* (that bird which is called the swallow). He qualifies this with the statement that it should be understood in this way until a complete and accurate text is found. Suzuki Hiroyasu (*Taketori Monogatari Hyôchû*, 1888) reads this instead as *hara-hara to*, saying that this is the same as *hare-hare* and means the same thing as the popular *ara-ara* or *are-are* (an expression of surprise or disappointment), interpreting the sentence as, “They say, ‘Oh my! oh my!’ and when they see human beings, they disappear/die/are lost.” Igarashi leaves out this phrase completely, creating a sentence which reads *ikade ka idasuran to mausu*. (“One said that somehow they release it.”) He interprets the repetition of *to mausu* here and in the following sentence as meaning that different individuals are making these various comments. Ochiai says that *hara-hara to* is an expression describing the birds fluttering away lightly, linking this to the next phrase, which he interprets to mean that the birds disappear (i.e. fly away) when they see people. Mitani goes with *harakaku ka* from the Takeda Yukichi collection text, arguing that the *Dictionary of Japanese Dialects* (*Zenkoku hōgen jiten*) defines this term as describing the nesting of a chicken in the Kagoshima area dialect. Many recent versions follow the Kohon *ha/heru/haberu* (there is). The passage would then read, “Somehow, when they give birth, the Safe-Birth Shell is there” (*sanran no toki ni dôshite aru no ka koyasugai ga arimasu*). But Mitani claims that the existence of so many variant versions would suggest that this explanation is too simple, showing the Kohon to be a late revision.

⁷ Ôhide: “The birds called *tsubakurame* (swallows) die of fright when they see people” (*tsubakurame ga hito wo mireba, odorokite usenu nari*). Igarashi agrees with Ôhide but others say

that the birds are merely frightened and fly away.

⁸ *mune no tsuku no ana goto ni*: Koma proposes that this might be a mistake for *tsuma no ahida goto* (in the spaces between the eaves of the roof). But Ôhide seems much more confused by the phrase. He says:

Tsuku refers to the portion of the roof which protrudes from the vertical posts and supports the roof to keep it from sagging down. But this is not what is being referred to here. Here, *tsuku* is a mistake for *tsuka*. Perhaps this is the *tsuka hashira* (束柱) which appears in the *Wamyôshô*. [Katagiri describes this as a small post between the beam and the ridgepole.] *Ana goto* (in each hole) would appear to refer to the holes which are gouged into the pillars when a building is made, but which serve no purpose later. However, swallows are not the type of bird to build their nests in holes. Now, according to one theory, swallows' nests are inside buildings and above the kettles. If this is the case, there are holes in the wall for the smoke to get out of, and the swallows would be able to come and go easily. Accordingly, it could appear from the outside that they were making their nests in these holes. It is for this reason that one interpretation also says that in the mountains of Hida, above the beams of the farmhouses, the people place latticed drainboards creating a kind of second storey, where in wintertime they place things like tobacco which needs to dry, and where in summertime they raise things like fireflies. Or, it could be that in the classical age, *tsushi* was the name for the area above the beams, even without the drainboards. Since it is above the beams, it is in a place near the ridge of the roof and not by the eaves. In this case, it would be appropriate that these holes be near the ridgepole, which is a place where there would be reason to have holes for letting out the smoke.

The other early modern commentators offer interpretations along similar lines, focusing on the area around the ridgepole. Mitani, however, is not satisfied with this interpretation. Since the variant texts read *tsuku* and *tsutsu*, he concludes that these must be mistakes for *k/gushi*, which is an eave.

⁹ *ohoidzukasa*: the place where the food is prepared in the palace kitchens. Mitani says:

The author has chosen this place because it embodies a certain sacredness. This storehouse is where all the rice which has been collected in taxes from the provincial lords is kept, and the kitchens are where it is cooked for ceremonies to the gods as well as for large celebratory banquets. The swallows were said to bring rice and consequently good fortune and wealth. It is appropriate that they should be nesting under the eaves of the storehouse. It was also believed that they brought a certain type of shell to their nests and long ago it was believed that this shell had some sort of power to cure stomach illnesses and other ailments.

¹⁰ *agura wo yuhite*: Ôhide: "This does not mean a raised sitting place, as it usually does, but is something made from binding ropes together in a temporary station below the swallows' nests. It is the same thing as *ananahi* below." Under *ananahi*, Koyama states: "It is clear that this story is speaking of a scaffolding. If one looks at the old pictures of the *Taketori Monogatari*, there are depictions of men climbing on such a scaffold." Figure 10 shows an illustration from a late seventeenth century picture book edition of the tale.

¹¹ Ôhide: "Suzuki says perhaps the *kura* of the name Kuratsumaro comes from *tsubakurame*, the word for swallow. Prince Ishitsukuri takes his name from the *ishi no hachi*, the stone bowl, and the name of the imperial envoy, Tsuki no Iwagasa (Stone Cap of the Moon), of Section 8, resonates with the word for the Moon Capital, *tsuki no miyako*. According to one interpretation, the *tsuba* and *kura* of the swallow's name are reversed to make *kura-tsuba*. Since, when -maro is added to make this a personal name, the *ba* and the *ma* are repetitious, the *ba* is left out, making Kuratsumaro." Katagiri remarks that the name suits the image of a storehouse(*kura*)-keeper and notes the unusual frequency with which characters are identified by their personal names in this story.

¹² *hito mina kaheri maude kinu*: "They all retired to their residences." Ôhide once again quotes Suzuki's analysis, which states that the phrasing here sounds as though the men are



Figure 10. Nara e-hon *Taketori Monogatari*, Genroku period (1688-1704) reproduced in Nakano Kôichi, *Nara e-hon e-maki shû 1 Taketori Monogatari*, p. 245.

returning home of their own accord. But he believes that it should read instead that the Middle Counselor had ordered them to take down the scaffold and sent them home.

¹³ Ôhide: "He came very secretly because it was not considered appropriate for a man of his rank to come to such a place and to be among simple, low-ranking men."

¹⁴ Igarashi: "This description of the Middle Counselor's actions emphasizes to the reader the urgency he feels."

¹⁵ Inoue points out the disorder of these sentences by stating that earlier, when it said, "The Middle Counselor was overjoyed, . . . came secretly to the storehouse," etc., it first presented what was done at a later time, then went back to explain it. Therefore, when it states, "He was ecstatic about what Kuratsumaro had told him," it doesn't seem to follow nicely.

¹⁶ Ôhide: "In contrast to the episode of the dragon's jewel, where even the lord's own retainers would not so much as follow his orders and go out to search for the object for him, here someone who is not even one of Lord Isonokami no Maro's own men comes to help him."

¹⁷ Mitani and Katagiri comment that during this period, to give an inferior one's outer robe was the highest gift one could give. When someone received something like this, he would wear it over his shoulders and do a kind of dance of gratitude.

¹⁸ Ôhide: "Kuratsumaro is an official at this storehouse, but does not stay there night and day. He has his own home to which he also returns. It is for this reason that the Middle Counselor gives him this robe and tells him to come back that night to help him get the shell."

¹⁹ Mitani: "Like the last section, the story jumps right into the action without a character description, but this time the Middle Counselor is dependent upon the suggestions and ideas of his followers. Here, the serving men are portrayed as honest, trustworthy ones in contrast to the followers of Lord Ôtomo. Each section of the tale is written in careful contrast to the others. The first and second suitors stand in contrast to the fourth and fifth, and the third seems to be a middle ground different from both groups. This would indicate that the tale was not just passed down orally but was carefully thought out on paper by the author."

²⁰ Ôhide: "When it said, 'Without letting anyone know, he secretly went to the storehouse,' it meant this occasion. This does not mean that the Middle Counselor came once earlier then retired and came back again."

²¹ Ôhide: "This is the first time that the Middle Counselor actually sees the swallows making their nests at night. Since he was so excited about Kuratsumaro's plan, he granted him his reward right away, instead of waiting until the plan was successfully executed, as he should have. Just as it was remarked in Note 15 that the order of events was slightly jumbled, we are now back at the Middle Counselor's residence, where he is granting Kuratsumaro the robe. This brings us back to the same occasion of the old man's suggestion to take down the scaffold and the Middle Counselor's agreement, as well as the Middle Counselor's question, 'When will we know that the swallow is going to give birth?' Where it says, 'When the Middle Counselor went to the storehouse after the sun went down,' this is simply a reinvocation of the occasion of the earlier statement that he 'came secretly to the storehouse, . . . and worked through the night.' This is not two separate visits."

²² Following Koyama's interpretation, Ôhide says, "Although he thought long and hard about who could accomplish this task, he could not think of anyone who would be able to do it, so he did it himself."

²³ *okina shietari*: Ôhide: "This old man is Kuratsumaro. Since it was the old man's idea, the Middle Counselor is so happy that he calls out to him that he has gotten the shell. Now, although it might sound like the Middle Counselor is addressing himself as "old man," ("You've got it, old man!") this is not the case." Igarashi: "Ôhide says that this old man is Kuratsumaro. Although this would sound correct, here the Middle Counselor is referring to himself as an 'old man'" (*gojishin wo okina shietari to iheru ni ha yurugase ni shite iheru kokoro naran*). Modern commentators acknowledge the issue of discussion among earlier commentators over the identity of this *okina*, but agree that he must be Kuratsumaro. Matsuo comments that Kuratsumaro was introduced as "an old man named Kuratsumaro," and the Middle Counselor uses the word *ware*

("I") to refer to himself in other places. It would also seem odd for one of Kaguyahime's suitors to refer to himself as an old man.

²⁴ *tsuna hiki-sugushite tsuna tayuru*: There seems to be confusion as to why the men would pull on the rope in order to let the basket down. Koyama suggests that, although pulling on the rope would seem to be in opposition to their goal, the men first pull it up strongly and then let it down. Ôhide says instead that when they try to let down the basket which they have hoisted up, they become flustered and, instead of letting the rope out as they should have, they pull it hard; it is frayed on the edge of something and snaps. Igarashi says that Koyama's interpretation is too strong. He quotes Ôhide but then adds that there must have been a rope on top to raise the basket up with and one below to bring him down. His fall was a combination of the slackening of the upper rope and pulling too hard on the lower rope.

²⁵ *nokezama ni*: Ôhide: "This means, 'looking up.' He fell with his face up and his back down. So he injured his back."

²⁶ *yashima no kanahe*: Ôhide quotes many references from the various imperial records (*Tenji-ki*, *Montoku-ki*, *Sandai Jitsuroku*) to this particular Yashima stewpot in the imperial household kitchens (*ô-i no tsukasa*), but he says that the significance of the name Yashima is unclear. A *kanahe* is described in the *Wamyôshô* under the metalworks section as a pot with three legs and small handles on either side and was considered a very valuable item, but Inoue argues that this is not any special *kanahe*, as described by Ôhide, but is simply a stewpot. Ochiai claims that *yashima* (eight islands) indicates one of eight very large pots which were designed to look like the eight major islands of Japan (*ôyashima ni katadoreru, hakko no ookinaru kama narubeshi*). Matsuo explains that it is a pot which symbolizes the eight sacred directions of the ovens.

²⁷ Ôhide: "He has fainted and his pupils have rolled up in his head."

²⁸ *ohonkuchi ni*: Ôhide adds the words "into his mouth," saying: "In such cases, water was splashed on the face in the past just as it is done today. If water is fed into the mouth and splashed on the face, then the person is startled and revives." He gives several examples of similar scenes

from other works such as the *Ise Monogatari* and the *Uji Shûi Monogatari*, although these all describe splashing water on an injured person's face, but do not involve making him take the water into his mouth.

²⁹ *karaujite iki idetamaheri*: Ôhide: "After after they had gone to great lengths to revive him, his breathing came back."

³⁰ Here again, the order of events is a bit unclear. Ôhide: "Although it sounds as though he was lying on top of the pot and people had come to spoon water into his mouth and revive him before he regained his breath, actually, it must be that they brought him down from on top of the pot first, even though that fact ends up being recounted later." Inoue rephrases it a bit more strongly and argues that this reordering must certainly be the result of faulty copying and we must wait for a correct text to appear.

³¹ Katagiri: "a stick of pine about 50 cm long with wax on the end which was burned to provide light."

³² *ana kahina no waza ya*: There is a pun here between *shita kai ga nai* (it was useless, pointless) and *kai ga nai* (there is no shell).

³³ Mitani: "He couldn't place anything in the box both because he had not gotten the Safe-Birth Shell, but also because he was physically unable because his back was broken."

³⁴ Mitani explains that the texts present many different possible readings. The Teihon reads *ii-iketarû* (second is repeat mark) or *itaiketarû*, but these are probably miscopyings of *warahagetarû* (childish). Ôhide corrects this to *ihaketarû*, citing instances of use of this word in the *Genji* "E-Awase" chapter, and the "Kagayakutsubo" chapter of the *Eiga Monogatari*, but says that from these references, it is apparent that the word means to do something naively without thinking (*kokoro-wosanakute shiryô mo naku mono suru yoshi nari*).

³⁵ *Matsu* has the meaning of both "pine trees" and "waiting;" *kahi-nashi* means both "no shells" and "in vain."

³⁶ *suminoe*: Katagiri: "The beach at present day Osaka, Sumiyoshi-ku near the Sumiyoshi

Taisha famous for its pine trees. This place is also often mentioned in connection with shells so it is appropriate in connection with the phrase *kahi-nashi*."

³⁷ Mitani: "... because I have received this letter from you ..."

³⁸ *kahi-ari*: a pun on "shell" (or charm) and "to not be in vain."

³⁹ Mitani: "This last suitor is the only one who succeeds in eliciting a sympathetic response from Kaguyahime. He is of the lowest rank of all of them but also receives help from his servants and even a total stranger and they are all respectful of him. Such faithful attendants didn't appear for any of the earlier noblemen. This might be inspired by another type of traditional legend in which the youngest son is the only successful one."

Notes to Section 8, pp. 123 - 127

¹ *naishi*: This is a lady-in-waiting who is in charge of reporting things to the emperor and getting his approval. A *naishi* is a court lady of the *naishi no tsukasa* (Handmaids' Office), the leading members of which "were in constant attendance on the emperor, caring for his personal needs and transmitting his commands." (McMullough and McCullough, 821-822) Nakatomi no Fusako would appear to be of the rank of Principal Handmaid, since lower-ranking handmaids were not involved in the transmission of commands from the emperor.

² Ôhide: "The name Nakatomi, a contraction of Nakatoriwomi (handler of affairs with or between subjects) is used because she is an intermediary for the emperor and Kaguyahime. The Nakatomi name was changed to Fujiwara with Kamatari (614-669), but the implications of the wealth of the Nakatomi name are clearly explained in works such as the *Kojikiden*."

Mitani: "The Nakatomi, like the Inbe [the name of the man who named the child, Section 1], is a family in charge of conducting ceremonies and a branch of the Fujiwara line. But that such a woman as Fusako, in spite of the fact that she has attained a high position of direct service to the emperor, is portrayed as incapable of fulfilling her duty, is perhaps an indirect criticism of Fujiwara men such as Fusasaki and Yoshifusa, manifesting the same anti-Fujiwara sentiment

which is implied when the author uses the title Prince Kuramochi for the undesirable character meant to represent Fujiwara Fuhito. In fairy tales, there is often a character of considerable power who presents certain tasks to a woman who is being tested in some way. This Nakatomi no Fusako, as a representative of the emperor, takes on this responsibility but then in return looks ridiculous for failing to do her job. This kind of political commentary is not something that would be prominent in an oral tradition and further supports the theory of the very conscious intervention of a creative author in the shaping of the story.”

³ Ōhide: “He thinks that surely she could not be an ordinary woman if she refused these men even though they exhausted themselves, and even lost their lives out of love for her. *Itazura ni nashite* is literally to waste in vain, but here it means the same thing as the phrase ‘she caused them to die for her.’ Although Isonokami was the only one who actually died in pursuit of her, all of the suitors met with unbearable shame, retreated to hide themselves in the mountains, and so on, and so it was almost like causing their death. Other examples in the *Shûi Shû* and the *Ise Monogatari* show that *itazura ni nari ni keru* means to die.”

Igarashi: “Prince Koretaka (844-897) became a monk and Narihira came to resent the world and abandoned himself to the pursuit of amorous pleasures. It was all because of the Fujiwara that these two wasted their lives and there are many other examples of such occurrences.”

⁴ Because the guest was a woman, the bamboo cutter’s wife came out to greet her. Mitani: “It is important to note the difference in structure here and the conscious distinction between this and the other suitors. This is the only section in which the old woman plays a prominent role. The fact that we still have this text today means that to a certain extent it was regarded as an enjoyable story in the circles of the women of the court of later periods, even if it was old-fashioned. It is possible that in the *kambun* versions of the Jōgan emperor’s time (859-76), the women of this section were not emphasized as much, but by the time of Engi (901-23), when it became formalized in *kana* script, it took on something close to its present form, and was intended more for a female audience, and emphasized the female characters more, as in this section.”

⁵ *iu ni ohasu to nari*: Ôhide: “*iu*. This is the character 優. It probably means *tayowaka naru* (supple, graceful, mild, gentle).” Tanaka Miyuki quotes an interpretation which suggests that this should be read *ika ni ohasu naru* “what kind of woman,” which goes well with the words which follow. This would cause the quote to read, “The emperor has ordered me to come and see what kind of a woman this Kaguyahime is.” Ôhide explains instead that the statement, “It has been said that Kaguyahime is very graceful,” is added in order to make it clearer that the emperor has not yet seen Kaguyahime, but has heard talk of her from the people. Most other commentators follow Ôhide’s interpretation.

⁶ Katagiri notes that the old woman uses honorific language when speaking of Kaguyahime.

⁷ Ôhide: “That is, that she go against the emperor’s orders.”

⁸ Ôhide: “Although the old woman says that she should accept this offer and enter into the emperor’s service, Kaguyahime does not find it a flattering prospect [*osore ooi koto*].” Another interpretation suggests that she does not find the idea of becoming a concubine or female attendant of the emperor good enough for herself. Igarashi once again reads Kaguyahime’s refusal as a critical commentary on the power of the Fujiwara clan: “She says that she does not fear the orders of the emperor because she fears the great power of the Fujiwara and does not accept the gracious offer of the emperor. (*mikado no meshite notamahan kashikoshi tomo omohazu to iheru mo fujiharashi no ikiohi mau nite kashikoku mo mikado wo kashikomi tatematsurazarishi nari*.) It was also the case with Prince Koretaka that, although the emperor wanted him to become Crown Prince, he was not given that rank out of fear of the Fujiwara.”

⁹ Ôhide: “The old woman tried to get Kaguyahime to stand up so that the imperial lady could see her, but since the princess made selfish excuses and didn’t feel humbled by the order, there didn’t seem to be any way that the woman would be able to see her.”

¹⁰ Mitani: “That is, her wishes that she should receive this messenger.” Ôhide: “Since Kaguyahime was so determined in her decision, she was a changed person, unmoving and no longer affectionate, and the old woman could not push her even though she felt differently.”

¹¹ Ôhide: "Up to the phrase 'she will not see you' consists of the princess's words. The old woman uses the quotative *to* to relay this message to the lady-in-waiting, but another *to mausu to*, which would indicate the beginning of the words of the lady-in-waiting, has been lost."

¹² *iharenu koto*: "Something which is not sensible." Ochiai explains that this means something which does not follow reason (*dôri ni ahanu koto*).

¹³ Ôhide: "Here, many words have been left out. The old woman should have gone out and listened to the lady-in-waiting's words, returned to where the princess was and relayed this to her. An account of these actions has been omitted and the narration moves directly to a description of the princess's position. She had no desire to go to the palace to begin with, but when she heard that the lady-in-waiting tried to use the threat of the emperor's power to order that she must obey, she became even more determined not to go."

¹⁴ Ôhide: "This means, 'Even if the penalty for this is death, that is alright.' Again, after this, the description of the old woman going back inside, and her relating the princess's answer to the lady-in-waiting have been omitted." Mitani: "Again, Kaguyahime's attitude is justified by the fact that she is not of this world, but later in the *Konjaku Monogatari* and Kamakura period versions, the section about the emperor is eliminated, and she goes directly back to the moon. In the Muromachi period, for example, in bamboo cutter tales in works such as the *Waka Hyakushu Chû*, it is implied that she went into the service of the emperor, and in the *Sankoku Denki* she actually marries the emperor. This probably signals a change in attitude toward heavenly beings."

¹⁵ *yami ni keredo*: Ôhide: "Since so many people had exhausted body and soul to pursue her but finally ceased to inquire after her, he thought that she would not easily accept even an imperial command, and so he also gave up for a time."

¹⁶ One of the base texts reads *ouna* (old woman), and Koma interprets this to mean, "I cannot lose to the tricks of the bamboo cutter's wife." Ôhide is quick to correct this, however, stating that the text which reads *ouna* is wrong. It should be read *wouna* (woman) and refers Kaguyahime. This reading is accepted by all the later commentators.

¹⁷ Ôhide: "Kaguyahime's tricks were her plans to avoid being united with any of the men by stating that she wanted unobtainable things from them. Though the five of them lost to her plotting, and their efforts were in vain, the emperor is determined not to lose such schemes."

¹⁸ *taketori no okina wo meshite*: Ôhide: "Sano no Haruki of Namba said that this phrase should be added and wrote it into his copy, so I am following his suggestion. Without it, 'your Kaguyahime' seems unclear and out of place. That all the texts leave it out must be because somehow it was transmitted this way by mistake." Igarashi does not include this phrase, but mentions Ôhide's version as a variant reading. All commentators agree that the old man has been summoned at some point, but most others do not make a point of changing the text to include a statement to that effect.

¹⁹ *kikoshi-meshite*: an honorific form of "to hear." Ôhide notes that there are examples of the emperor using honorific speech when speaking of himself later on as well. Katagiri states that the emperor uses honorific forms when speaking of himself because he is so high above the old man in status. He also mentions that it is possible that this use of honorific speech might indicate that these are instead the words of a go-between who is relaying the words of the emperor directly but first putting them in a respectful form. Since this usage appears again later on, however, it can most likely be seen as the emperor's use of the polite form in speaking of himself.

²⁰ *tahidahishiku ya ha*: Ôhide: "The common meaning of *tahidahishi* is 'tossed away carelessly.' This means that she should not be allowed to treat the Imperial orders in such a casual and short manner. The emperor is saying, 'I must obtain her as I ordered.'"

²¹ Ôhide: "Although both the old man and the old woman, knowing that they should not disregard an imperial command, urged Kaguyahime, she would not accept, and, finding it very difficult, they searched for a way to deal with the situation. The word *wadzurahi-haberi* (we are at a loss) indicates that they cannot find their way easily, and are very troubled by their plight."

²² Igarashi: "Here, the author seems to be expressing resentment over the ease and freedom with which the Fujiwara serve at court."

²³ Ôhide: "The emperor also knows that she is not Miyatsukomaro's own child by birth, but since he says things like 'your Kaguyahime [the Kaguyahime you have]' and the Kaguyahime 'you raised by your own hand,' it is apparent that he does not know that she is very strong-willed and will not heed the desires of the parents who raised her."

²⁴ *kauburi wo*: Ôhide: "an official cap. When he says that he will grant him a cap, this means that he would grant him the Fifth Rank."

²⁵ *katarafu yau*: Mitani points out the use of *katarafu* (to tell of) here rather than the usual *ifu* (to say). This word implies more of an intimate conversation, opening one's heart up to another, and approaching him so as to influence him in some way or win him over to one's own point of view.

²⁶ Mitani: "It should be noted that the old man is not fully able to understand Kaguyahime's position as a godly being and takes the emperor's side."

²⁷ Ôhide: "When she says she will disappear (*kieusen an zu*), this is different from the previous *kieiru*, which referred to death. Literally, like fire goes out or snow melts, her body would disappear. Here, she lets it slip that she possesses this secret ability, and later we see that she actually is able to fade away and then reappear when the emperor attempts to take her away. Also in the last section when the heavenly maidens come to take her away, the same thing happens. This phrase is linked to these other references."

²⁸ Koyama: "He doubts whether she would really die if she had to serve at court."

²⁹ Ôhide: "Since the old man, anxious for a rank and office, pressures her to serve and thinks that her refusal to the point of dying is just a falsehood, she tells him to try to send her to the court and see if she does not die. She certainly will."

³⁰ *hito-giki yasashi to iheba*: Ôhide: "The word *yasashi* means to be ashamed, but also has to do with thinking of other people and describes how one feels toward them. *Hadzukashi* implies being ashamed within oneself. Some people say now that the word *yasashi* is used in reference to elegant people. . . . In general, it has the feeling that one feels shame out of consideration for the person before one."

³¹ Ôhide: "Since this reply refers to his official position, this would mean, 'whatever my position, whether I am of high rank or low.'" For the most part, other commentators agree with Ôhide, but Igarashi again sees a more political comment in this statement. Rather than "whatever my position in the world," he reads this as "whatever the [political] situation in the world." He argues that this is showing resentment toward those powerful people who could serve at court freely, namely the Fujiwara.

³² Ôhide makes no comment on the use of the full name Miyatsukomaro here, since he noted at the beginning of the tale that this is the bamboo cutter's full name (See Section 1, Note 4). Koma argues instead that the Miyatsuko at the beginning, and the Miyatsukomaro here present a conscious distinction. Here, since the old man is speaking to someone else, he adds *-maro* to his name to speak humbly of himself. Mitani also remarks that the use of the bamboo cutter's personal name here should be noted. Since this is the only point in the story at which he refers to himself and is referred to by his personal name (except at the beginning when he is introduced), this probably serves to emphasize his position in relation to the emperor because the name itself implies "servant to the emperor."

³³ *tsukahasesasu*: Mitani: "Up to this point, his 'reporting to the Throne' has simply been written as *tsukahasu*, but here there is an extra honorific form added. This is probably because up to this point he has been receiving the orders of the emperor and carrying them out, but here he must convey the news that Kaguyahime will not accept his offer and will not comply with his orders, so he feels he needs to be extra humble. This is further evidence of the detail and attention paid by the author to the interpersonal relations within the text."

³⁴ *yamamoto chikaka nari*: None of the early modern commentaries mention or discussion the precise location of the bamboo cutter's house. Mitani suggests that it is possible to take the Sanuki of his name as referring to a place (See Section 1, note 3). Tsukahara Tetsuo takes this to be the Sanuki (讃岐) in Hirose in the province of Yamato and, according to the *Dictionary of Japanese Place Names*, hypothesizes that the Sanuki (三吉) in Umami village in the county of Kita

Katsuragi was the original Sanuki. This is a village at the foot of the mountains to the southeast of the spot where the Kongô mountain range (southwest of the Nara plain) is interrupted by a level plain.

³⁵ Mitani: "There is a tradition of writing about hunting expeditions in the literature of the Nara and early Heian periods. There are records in the *Ise Monogatari*, and others, usually of hunting with hawks. In Ki no Haseo's *Kikeshû*, there is a section about a hunting party (競狩記) in which, after the hawk hunting, there were feasting and women entertainers. Perhaps this scene of the emperor seeking out Kaguyahime after a hunting expedition is an indication of the hunting customs of the time."

³⁶ *chikaku yorase-tamafu ni*: Some texts do not include this phrase, and Ôhide follows a Shahon copy in adding it since it is missing from the various base texts. Mitani also adds this phrase, but Matsuo is the only one to indicate his reason for omitting it in his text. He notes that the Tenshō-bon, Ôhide, and Takeda texts all add the phrase *chikaku yorase-tamafu ni* and the Shimabara text adds *chikaku watarase-tamafu ni* (he came over closer). At first glance, these corrections would seem to indicate an omission in the Teihon base text, but since the meaning is clear enough without it, perhaps the texts which do not add anything are closer to the original form. This could be another case in which later corrections and additions have served to make the text clearer and more straightforward, but do not necessarily indicate an older, "purer" text.

³⁷ Ôhide adds that Kaguyahime is saying that if she had been conceived and born from the body of a person of this land, then she would have to obey the emperor's orders, but since she is not, she doesn't have to obey. This interpretation is interesting because it allows the princess exemption from obeying the emperor's orders because she is a divine being, but still upholds the virtue and authority of the emperor over the people of the earth.

³⁸ Ôhide: "She disappears because, since he is coming with his palanquin, she has nowhere to which to escape."

³⁹ *hakanaku*: Ôhide: "The significance of this term is difficult to pin down, and it can have many

meanings, including uncontrolled (*torishime-naki*), or temporary (*karizome naru*), and can be used in reference to death. Here, it refers to not having something to hold onto securely.”

⁴⁰ Ôhide: “He had heard that she was a transformed being, but now having seen her turn into a shadow, he knows for himself that she is no ordinary person.”

⁴¹ Although the various versions say *ontomo*, “as my companion/with me,” Ôhide corrects it to read *onmoto* according to the copied *shahon* version, explaining that *onmoto* is the imperial palace. Inoue translates it as *waga soba he* (by my side).

⁴² Ôhide: “Beneath this is also the suggestion that he cannot restrain his indecision about what to do (*ika de to oboshimesu kokoro no susumu ga seki todome gataki yoshi nari*).”

⁴³ *yorokobi tamafu*: Ôhide simply says that this means that the emperor was pleased with the way in which the old man consulted with him and did not let Kaguyahime know of their plans, allowing him to be able to see her. Mitani interprets this as meaning, however, that the emperor was so happy and thankful of the old man’s actions that he may have granted the old man the official rank he had promised before. Noguchi agrees that this *yorokobu* means to show one’s gratitude in a concrete manner, implying that in this case, although the emperor did not achieve his final objective, he probably still gave the old man a title and other things. The modern commentators are in agreement on this point.

⁴⁴ *aruji ikameshiu tsukaumatsuru*: “To present with food, to dine guests.” Ôhide claims that the term comes from the word *aruji*, meaning the host, which shifted in meaning to reflect the host’s display of thanks to his guests through holding a feast.

⁴⁵ *hyakukan no hitobito ni*: Ôhide: “This does not mean the number one hundred specifically, but just means a large number.”

⁴⁶ The bamboo cutter held this feast for the emperor and his men as his guests.

⁴⁷ *tamashihi wo todometaru kokochi shite*: Although his body was returning, he felt that his spirit had stayed behind with Kaguyahime. Ôhide: “Here he introduces the sentiment of the poem which follows.”

⁴⁸ Ôhide says that the final line of the poem should be brought to the beginning. The *somukite tomaru* means that Kaguyahime does not face toward the emperor, but stands with her back to him. Modern commentators also understand this to mean that the emperor stops and turns to look back at her. Ôhide continues that it is because she remains at home and disobeys the emperor's orders that the trip home is so painful. This also includes the idea that she makes him feel as though she has detained his spirit there, the sentiment which was stated in the preceding prose section.

⁴⁹ Ôhide: "This should be taken to echo the meaning of the *Kokin Rokujô* poem from Part 6, 'On Grasses': *nani sen ni/ tama no utena mo/ yaemugura/ hafuran naka ni/ futari koso neme*. (Why would I go/ to a jeweled pavilion?/ For, though it were among the lush weeds,/ I would that we could sleep together.) Her meaning is, 'I have spent all these years in such a humble home. At this point, what would I do in such a splendid palace?'"

⁵⁰ Ôhide: "To return to such a splendid palace without her would be meaningless. This also echoes the *Kokin Rokujô* poem which follows the one in Note 49: *mugura ohite/ aretaru yado no/ kohishiki ni/ tama to tsukureru/ yado mo wasurenu* (Longing for the humble shelter/ over which the weeds do grow,/ This fineness of the jeweled lodging/ is completely forgotten.) He sits up late wishing to be able to sleep here in this humble home of the bamboo cutter even for a single night, creating an effective image. The implication of the first *Rokujô* poem leads us to think that the emperor finds it difficult to return while still leaving the last line of the poem 'I would that we could sleep together' unfulfilled. Kaguyahime seems to understand that he returns against his true wishes and composes her poem with a tone of mockery. 'He could see even less clearly' sounds as if he has lost all reason."

⁵¹ *yo wo akashi-tamafu beki ni mo araneba*: Ôhide explains that this signals that as he encounters such difficulty in leaving, the night is progressing. Noguchi further notes that the significance of this statement is that one of the absolute taboos of the time was that the emperor was not to sleep anywhere but the palace where the sacred sword and jewel were safely enshrined.

⁵² *tsune ni tsukafu-matsuru hito*: The modern commentators note that these are the women

who had been his close personal attendants, took care of his personal needs, and received his affection. They were of low rank (from the families of provincial officials) and Kaguyahime would have come to the palace as one of them, not as a proper wife.

⁵³ Ôhide: "This means the same thing as when the Major Counselor Ôtomo sent away all his previous wives and lived alone." Noguchi: "That is, he did not summon anyone to sleep with him."

⁵⁴ *yoshi nakute*: Koyama: "Indifferently." Koma: "*yue naku*, for no reason." Ôhide: "*itazura ni*, in vain. Only Kaguyahime was in his heart. Even those women at court who were considered beautiful did not seem human to him. He did not see any other women, and he did not go to see those whom he had visited before, since he no longer had any use for them." Igarashi argues that this shows her extreme haughtiness. As he has argued all along, since this tale is speaking indirectly of many things out of fear of those in power, although it looks like it is saying one thing, it is not, and the true implications are difficult to pin down. Although it is written as though the emperor really loves Kaguyahime, the true message is not to succumb to the will of this powerful person. Noguchi, on the other hand, interprets this "He did not visit them *unless it was necessary*." He sees the emperor stuck in a more difficult position, stating that he did not pay visits to his other wives during the day unless there was some special circumstance. Since at the time the emperor was unable to go against custom or the powerful families, he would have been obliged to visit them sometimes.

⁵⁵ *kayohase tamafu*: *kayohase* is not just once or twice, but implies a regular correspondence.

Igarashi: "He is probably flattering her." (*kano hito no kokoro wo tori-tamafu naru beshi*)

⁵⁶ This would imply the passing of time and the regular and continuous nature of this correspondence, as the emperor would have sent poems with charming branches of trees and plants of the various seasons in progression.

Notes to Section 9, pp. 127 - 134

¹ *ohonkokoro wo tagahi ni nagusame-tamafu*: Ochiai states that although it would seem that they are comforting each other, this refers only to the emperor ("he comforted himself"). *Tagahi ni*, however, clearly implicates both parties, and Ochiai is the only commentator to interpret the passage as one-sided. Perhaps he is attempting to emphasize the princess's continued coldness in spite of the fact from this point on she begins to show compassion and sympathy toward the emperor.

² In this final section of the tale, even more extensively than in earlier sections, Ôhide restates the events as they occur, hinting at the thoughts and feelings behind them, and reiterating the reasoning and motivations behind them in his own words. Ôhide: "Since the princess was a person of the Moon Capital, unknown to others she had always longed for her home when she gazed at the moon, but with this spring she became more pensive and her sorrow became more noticeable to others. Ochiai also remarks that the moon is something which would make anyone sad (*tsuki wo mireba tare mo monoganashiki kokochi no suru mono nareba*) but this spring she was even more despondent than was normal."

³ *tsuki no kaho*: Ôhide points out the use of this phrase "the face of the moon" in the Suma chapter of the *Genji Monogatari*, saying that the following passage is modeled after this section of the *Taketori*:

A radiant moon had come out. They were reminded that it was the harvest full moon. Genji could not take his eyes from. On other such nights there had been concerts at court, and perhaps they of whom he was thinking would be gazing at this same moon and thinking of him. . . . His men were in tears.

His longing was intense at the memory of Fujitsubo's farewell poem, and as other memories came back, one after another, he had to turn away to hide his tears. It was very late, said his men, but still he did not come inside.

"So long as I look upon it I find comfort,

The moon which comes again to the distant city.” (Seidensticker, 238)

The expression is also used in the Akashi and Minori (The Rites) chapters.

⁴ *fudzuki no mochi no tsuki*: *Mochi* can be written with either the characters for the night of the fifteenth (十五夜), as Ôhide states, or the character meaning bright or full (望), as Imaizumi argues. In either case, the meaning is not restricted to the one night of the Fifteenth of the month, but indicates more broadly “the part of the month when the moon is bright.” Ôhide cites Norinaga’s *Shinrekikô* study of the history of the native calendar, which says, “*mochi* carries the meaning of *michi*, to be bright, and so this means the brightness of the moon. The middle ten days or so of a month is called the *mochi*...” This would be from about the tenth to the twentieth of the month. Later, however, the same word will be used in the more restrictive sense to mean the very night of the Fifteenth. (See Note 23, below.)

⁵ *umashiki yo ni*: Ôhide: “*umashiki* (美しき) is the opposite of *niga-nigashiki* (苦苦しき, very unpleasant), implying that since the bamboo cutter has become wealthy and prosperous, it has become a world of no grief.”

⁶ Ôhide has added the words “at the moon.” The various texts read *kaguyahime mireba yo no naka kokoro-bosoku*. (“When I look, the world is so lonely.”) Although later commentators agree that this refers to the times when Kaguyahime looks at the moon, they do not change the text to state that directly. Igarashi states: “Ôhide says that perhaps the words ‘at the moon’ have been dropped from the *Shô* text, but this is not the case. Since she is responding to the question, ‘What feelings do you have that cause you to look upon the moon . . . ?’ it is unnecessary to say directly that she is looking at the moon.” Modern commentators merely add the words “at the moon” parenthetically in their modern translations of the text.

⁷ *nadefu mono wo ka nageki-haberu beki*: Ochiai suggests that her question is a rhetorical one, meaning, “What thing in particular should I lament? Nothing in particular, it is just a sad and lonely world.” Although he does not see this specifically as rhetorical, Ôhide uses the same words

to explain the princess's response.

⁸ *kaguyahime no aru tokoro ni itarite*: "He went to where Kaguyahime was." Ôhide remarks that it seems strange to say here "he went to where she was" since it would appear that the old man and the princess were together when they were speaking to each other. So instead he cites Suzuki, who says, "This must happen at a different time from the above conversation, so it should be thought of as if the words, 'Later, the old man . . . ' (*okina sono go*) were added before this." Other commentators agree that this must refer to either later the same night or on some other later occasion.

⁹ Ôhide: "Here, the old man takes to heart her mournful appearance and, concerned about it, asks kindly and persistently what is the matter."

¹⁰ Ôhide: "Since she says that nothing is bothering her, and uses the moon as a pretext, he tells her to just not look at the moon then."

¹¹ *naho tsuki mireba*: Ôhide: "This would appear to be the moon of the Sixteenth night and after."

¹² *yufu-yami ni ha*: Ôhide: "This is after the Twentieth of the month when the moon is waning."

¹³ *tsuki no hodo ni narinureba*: Commentators are a bit more divided as to the precise period designated here. Ôhide says that these would be the nights after about the Third of the Eighth Month. Mitani says more broadly that since this means the time when the moon would come out in the early evening, it means the moon before the Fifteenth night of the month. Inoue says that this is rather a moonlit night closer to the time of the full moon, on about the Twelfth or the Thirteenth night.

¹⁴ *oya*: Tanaka Miyuki is the only one to specifically state that this must refer to both the old man and the old woman, but since Ôhide read *oya* as both parents earlier (Section 2, Note 26), I have followed that interpretation here as well.

¹⁵ Mitani notes that it is at this point that the addition of honorific endings to Kaguyahime's actions

begins to stand out. For a summary of his conclusions on the significance of the use of honorifics in this tale, see Section 3, Note 2.

¹⁶ Although Igarashi later omits this second *naki tamafu* (she wept), Ôhide says: "This would seem to repeat unnecessarily from the sentence before, but it should definitely remain." Modern texts preserve this repetition and do not note this variant reading.

¹⁷ Here again Ôhide states specifically that *oya* means both the old man and the old woman.

¹⁸ Ôhide: "She thought to tell the old man when he first asked her repeatedly what was the matter."

¹⁹ Ôhide: "The princess felt pained that if she were to tell them of her parting, her parents would be grieved because of their love for her, and so she did not tell them right away."

²⁰ Ôhide: "Before, she had kept it secret, but now that the time of the full moon is approaching closer and closer, and she must go to the heavens, she cannot go without saying it any longer, and so now she will reveal her secret."

²¹ See Ôhide's Supplementary Texts, p. 92 above, for a description of the Moon Capital from the *Kisekyô*.

²² Ôhide: "A bond of fate between the old man and her in a previous life."

²³ *mochi*: Ôhide: "Here the term does not refer to the middle ten days of the month as it did above, but specifically refers to the Fifteenth day."

²⁴ *natane*: rapeseed. Ôhide notes that whereas she was described as being but three inches high in Section 1 when she came out of the bamboo, here she is being compared to something even smaller. Most commentators take this as an exaggeration which emphasizes how small she was and how long the old man had taken care of her.

²⁵ *ware koso shiname*: Ôhide: "If this is to say that the princess will go to some other place, I will surely die before that."

²⁶ *tsuki no miyako no hito nite chichi haha ari*: This phrase can be understood to read either "I am a person of the Moon Capital, and my father and mother are there," or "I have a father

and mother who are of the Moon Capital.” Ôhide takes this first reading, although modern commentators all take the second.

²⁷ This emphasis on the difference in the concept of time between the human world and another world is characteristic of legends of far-off lands (*ikyô densetsu*). Modern commentators cite as an example the *Tango Fudoki* legend of the young Urashima, whose brief stay at the Dragon’s Palace was equal to many years in the world of men. (See Supplementary Texts, p. 64-69 above.)

Koyama explains that, to those who live in the *bishamon-ten* heavenly kingdom, fifty years of human time are like one day and one night, and eighteen thousand years are like one year. Ôhide cites the *Chidoron*, which says “The Four Heavenly Kings ruled for five hundred years. To them, fifty years of human time were like one day and night. Thirty of those days made a month, and twelve months a year. Their age was five hundred of those years. This would be nine million human years.” Here, the author would be thinking of references such as this and the *Sôsha Ô Gogan Kyô* (荘沙王五願経), which tells of a heavenly reign of eight hundred forty million years.

²⁸ Ôhide: “It is as if, because she has been in this world for a long time, she has not thought of her parents in her true country, and has forgotten them.”

²⁹ Ôhide: “The fact that she must go back to the Moon is what is making her sad. This sentence means the same thing as the later phrase which says, ‘The people of the Moon Capital are all very beautiful, they do not grow old, and they have no worries. Although it is my true country and I must return immediately, I have become accustomed to this world, and feel displeased to have to return to my parents.’ Here, she feels only sadness at parting.”

³⁰ *makari nan to su*: Providing examples from other sections of this tale as well as numerous other works, Ôhide demonstrates that this *nan to su* means the same thing as *beshi* (must, or certainly will go).

³¹ Ôhide: “They are thinking ahead to when she will have left and how in the future they will surely miss her with regret and find it difficult to hide those feelings.”

³² Ôhide: “They became choked with their sadness and the hot water which they drank would not

even pass their throats.”

³³ *kami*: Ôhide points out that the early Koyama commentary has *hige* (beard) instead. He follows the variant which reads *kami*, saying that the various texts which say *hige* are wrong. One does not write beard and mean the hair. The Urashima story and the *Tosa Nikki* both speak of white hair as a sign of age. Later commentators are fairly evenly divided in their readings, but modern commentators all use *hige* without comment.

³⁴ Earlier in the tale, the old man says that he is seventy years old (Section 2, p. 104 and Note 27). Koyama argues that one should think carefully the issue of whether the apparent discrepancy here is a matter of mistake, or something which has a reason. He says, “Later, the old man says that he has raised Kaguyahime for over twenty years. If this is so, then it would seem more reasonable that his age be seventy years here at this later point. Perhaps his age at these two different points has been switched somehow or written in backwards by mistake.” Koma suggests that his apparent youth at this late point in the tale might be implying that because he has become wealthy, he has forgotten all unhappiness and hardship and grown younger again so that he looks as if he were fifty years old. Other commentators propose that the word fifty is really a mistake for eighty or ninety. Ôhide, for his part, provides several alternative possibilities:

In reference to the unclear nature of the discussion of the old man’s age, one commentator said, ‘In the beginning, the old man himself says that he is over seventy, so this must be his true age. But here, the messenger is reporting what he has seen, and he is showing his surprise over the fact that although at first the old man had looked as if he must be about fifty, now, because of his worries, he has aged all of a sudden. Since these are the words of the messenger who is just guessing his age, it is not a mistake.’

Suzuki says, ‘Although this explanation would seem to be helpful, it is still not satisfying. In my own opinion, this must be a mistake by the author. Even in the *Genji Monogatari*, which is so carefully constructed, the age of the Former Prince’s lady-in-waiting is not consistent and things like this happen later as well.’ Yet another

interpretation says that, considering that the old man was over seventy at the beginning, then we learn later that he has raised the princess for over twenty years; together this means that he is actually about one hundred years old. After he found the princess, he became worry-free and carefree, so his appearance became younger and he looked to be only about fifty. Now, with these new worries, he has aged again and his true age of one hundred years now shows. Taking into account this theory, the first suggestion that this is merely the messenger's guess as to the old man's age would appear to present a plausible case, however, still it must be an accidental mistake.

Finally, in his own opinion, Ôhide suggests that in the "Courtship" section the old man says that he is over seventy and does not know what will happen from one day to the next because he is trying to encourage the princess to marry by saying that he is old. Here, the story is trying to show that he aged all of a sudden from worrying so much. Since, in that case, it is not suitable for him to really be an old man, the expression that he is fifty is used for emphasis, even though the result is a contradiction between the beginning and the end.

Igarashi again proposes something quite different from those scholars before him, saying that the old man's later statement (p. 131) that he had raised the girl for twenty years was just empty words meant to deceive the heavenly people coming to take her away. It was said in the beginning that Kaguyahime grew very quickly, and the suitors, although their escapades are related in succession, would have undertaken their quests at the same time, taking three years to return. To this we add the two years that they were courting her in the beginning, and for the Emperor's courtship, there were three years, so all together she should have been there for about seven or eight years. As for the reason why it is said that the old man is fifty at this point, Igarashi's interpretation is close to Ôhide's except that his final word on the subject is that since this was originally an imaginary story (*tsukuri-monogatari*), for the sake of the spirit of it, there is no reason to be concerned with differences in the number of years.

³⁵ Ôhide: "This might sound like it is describing the old man's suffering, but it is not. Whenever

the word *kokoro gurushi* is used in narratives and such, it always means that another person is feeling sorry for someone." Mitani: "*kokoro kurushi*, this is a phrase implying sympathy and sadness for the other person. In other words, he feels sorry for the old man."

³⁶ *mochi*: Ôhide: "This time, it means exactly the Fifteenth Night."

³⁷ Mitani: "Although it is useless, thank you for your concern."

³⁸ Ôhide: "With these words, he is imagining the sadness of the old man and the old woman."

³⁹ *tsukasa-tsukasa ni ouseite*: Mitani: "The various offices. Here, it is indicating the Six Guards Headquarters (*rokuefu*)."

⁴⁰ *tô no chûjô*: Most texts say *shôjô* (Lesser Captain) here, but since later a Middle Captain of the Bodyguards (*tô no chûjô*) comes to play a significant role, most early commentators understand these to be the same man and change his rank here. Ôhide explains that, although the emperor seems to send a Lesser Captain here, he does not send any other messenger from the palace, so this must be the same man with whom Kaguyahime speaks later in the tale. He says that it may be the case that here the *tô* has been dropped and the character 中 (*chû*, Middle) mistaken for 少 (*shô*, Lesser). Or, just as there was a discrepancy in the old man's age, perhaps the author simply forgot that it was written Lesser Captain earlier, and called him *tô no chûjô* here. Perhaps because he is an envoy sent for the purpose of deterring the people who come down from the heavens, he is given the name Takano, meaning "High Field."

⁴¹ *rokue no tsukasa*: Ôhide: "The Six Guards Headquarters are the Left and Right Bodyguards (*sakon'efu*, *ukon'efu*), the Left and Right Gate Guards (*saemonfu*, *uemonfu*), and the Left and Right Military Guards (*sahyôefu*, *uhyôefu*). The officers are, in the Bodyguards, Major Captain (*taishô*), Middle Captain (*chûjô*), Lesser Captain (*shôshô*), Lieutenant (*shôgen*), and Assistant Lieutenant (*shôsô*); and in the Gate and Military Guards, directors (*kami*), assistants (*suke*), secretaries (*jô*), and clerks (*sakan*). They all carry bows and arrows and swords and protect the palace. Together with the men serving them, they were two thousand all together." Mitani states

that this system of the six offices of the guards protecting the palace was established in Kōnin 2 (811).

⁴² *tsuihidzi*: Ōhide cites other sources such as the *Ise monogatari* and the [*Kokon*] *Chomonjū* to explain that this is simply an earthen wall, and not the roofed wooden structure plastered with mud which is referred to as a *tsuiji* in more modern Japanese. *Ise* Episode 5: “Since he did not wish to be observed, he could not enter through the gate, but came and went through a broken place in the earthen wall where some children had been playing.” (McCullough, 72) *Chomonjū*, 19 “Since the top of the earthen wall which surrounded them on four sides was planted top to bottom with pinks, when they were in full bloom they were of all colors and varieties, and it was like a mountain covered in brocade.”

Pictorial representations of the abovementioned *Ise* episode from the early 1300's (Kubo version), the mid-1300's (Ihon 19th century copy of work with calligraphy attributed to Seson-ji Yukitada 1286-1350), and the latter half of the Muromachi period (Ono Family and Hokuni versions) show that as early as the 15th or early 16th centuries, this distinction was being lost.

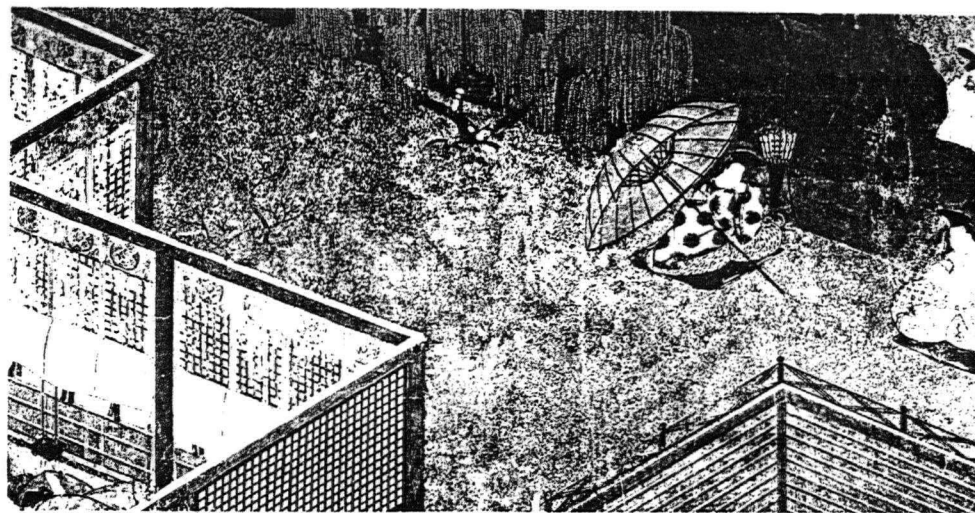


Fig. 12, above. E-maki *Ise Monogatari*, Kubo version. In Chino Kaori *Ise Monogatari-e*, p. 3.

Fig. 13, below. E-maki *Ise Monogatari*, Ihon version. In Chino, p. 36.

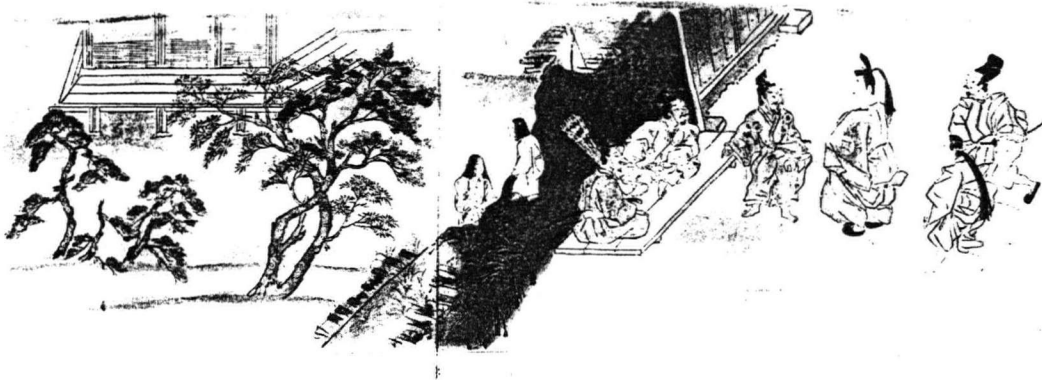
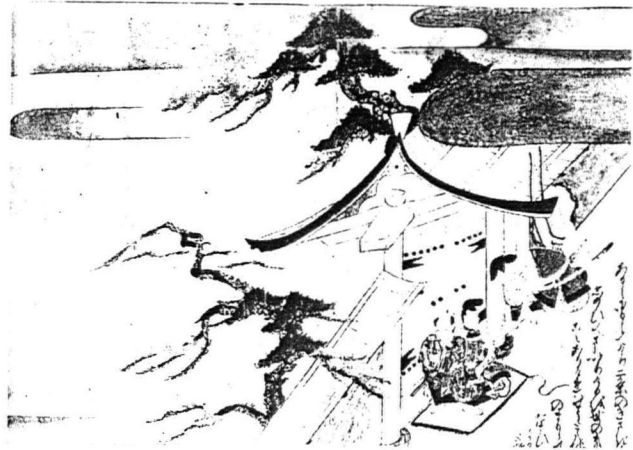


Fig. 14 *Ise Monogatari* painted scroll, Ono family version. In Chino, p. 36.



⁴³ *akeru hima mo naku mamorasu*: Ôhide: "This refers rather to the members of the household and not to the guards who were sent from the palace."

⁴⁴ *kono mamoru hitobito mo yumiya wo taishite wori*: Ôhide: "The men of the household. It is unnecessary to say that the palace guards had bows and arrows because here it is saying that the servants *also* had them."

⁴⁵ *moya*: Mitani explains that this is the main building which formed the center of the *shinden*

style residence.

⁴⁶ *nurigome no uchi*: Ôhide: "The *nurigome* is an old style of room. Earth is plastered thickly on the inside of the room, like a storage room where utensils and things are kept. The *Kojiki-den*, addresses the term like this: 'Everything called a *muro* is, even when it is inside a house, far in the back. In the past, it was built plastered with earth and was a place for sleeping. In later years, the sleeping room and the *nurigome* were not the same.' Either way, it is a place which extends far back, so the old woman is in there holding the princess in her arms. In addition to placing her in the back of the *nurigome*, the old woman is placed there to hold her so that she won't be able to get up and leave of her own accord."

⁴⁷ Koyama and Ôhide note the similarity to Episode 6 of the *Ise monogatari*, which runs like this: "The man put the lady inside a ruined storehouse and stationed himself in the doorway with his bow and quiver on his back, never dreaming that the place was haunted by demons. But while he was standing there longing for daybreak, a demon ate the lady up in one gulp." (McCullough, 73) Ôhide remarks that in the *Ise* the man was standing guard in order to prevent fearful things from coming in, but here in the *Taketori*, the old man is protecting her so that she will not be able to get out.

⁴⁸ Ôhide: "Since, starting with the men from the palace guards, many people were protecting on the outside, and the old man, the old woman, and the serving women, etc. were protecting from the inside, he could say this with such confidence."

⁴⁹ *kaha(ho)ri*: Koyama proposes three different interpretations. First, if this were read *kahari* (to change, or unusual) the sentence could be understood to mean *kaharitaru koto araba* (if there is anything out of the ordinary). Another way of reading it would be as a mistake for *kahahori*, which the *Wamyôshô* explains as equivalent to a bat. Thirdly, it could be read *kahaari* (蚊飛蟻), insects or flying ants meaning that even if there is something very small, they will shoot and kill it. The commentators after him all agree with the interpretation that this is speaking of a bat. Ôhide says that since this is a thing which flies around at night and in the evening, when the old man talks

of something flying about in the sky, it is appropriate that the guard respond with a reference to a bat.

⁵⁰ *sashi-komete*: Ôhide explains that in ancient times, a door was usually left lying to the side of an opening, so that to close it was to bring the door and place it in the opening (*sashi-komu*).

Later, sliding doors (*yarido*) made this more convenient. Hinged doors did exist since ancient times also and “piercing” them (*sasu*) meant to insert something into the doors to secure them.

⁵¹ Ôhide: “From this statement, it would appear that the heavenly people are immune to arrows.”

⁵² *akinan to su*: Ôhide: “Without touching them, they will open of their own accord.”

⁵³ *nagaki tsume shite*: Koyama: “In the *Ôkagami*, there is a reference to fingernails which were long and like the blade of a sword.”

⁵⁴ *saga kami*: Modern commentators all take this to mean “their hair,” although the early modern commentators have provided them with some colorful alternatives. Koma proposes: “The pictures which we have today of people from this time all show them with long, flowing hair. Since the heavenly maidens are drawn with their hair tied up, it may mean *sakagami* (逆髪), upside down hair, in contrast to the loosely flowing hair.” Ôhide cites Suzuki as taking *sakagami* with these characters to mean instead “hair standing on end” or “grasping the hair upside down by the roots”: “If *sakagami wo toru* means to place the hand with the thumb toward the roots and grasp the hair, then the following *sakashiri* would mean to turn the hem of the kimono upward, and show the backside or to draw the entrails out from the backside. Either way, it has the sound of a very strong statement.” Although Ôhide is uncertain as to the correct interpretation of this term, he does not find the *sakagami*, *sakashiri* interpretation convincing and provides grammatical examples to support his argument that it should probably be read *saga* (their). He says that in the *Kojiki*, the word *shiga* refers to the noun which it precedes, and means “that . . .” *Shi* and *sa* could be interchangeable. He also explains that in the *Heike* and the *Uji Shûi*, *shiya* is used in the same way, so *sa* could also be an abbreviated form of this *shiya*. Still, there are no examples of the word *shiyaga*, so he is unsure even of this interpretation. Nonetheless, it is the one he prefers and

has been followed by the later commentators as well.

⁵⁵ *sakashiri*: Ôhide and the modern commentators take this as the same as the *saga* of the above *sagakami*, “their backsides,” but Koyama has taken the above *sagakami* to mean grasping the hair by the roots, and so this *sakashiri* means “turning one over/turning up-side down.” He sees this as a humorous description. Koma proposes yet another reading, *saru shiri*. He argues that now, since the old man is cursing the heavenly maidens for having wings and robes of feathers, he calls them *sarushiri* (monkey-bottoms?). Igarashi follows Koyama’s interpretation of “turning over,” saying that here, although on the surface these people appear to be sincere and loyal retainers, inside their hearts are very cruel, so he is going to cast out into the open the meanness which is hidden inside and make them ashamed.

⁵⁶ *ohoyake hito*: Mitani: “People serving at court. Here, it means the members of the Imperial Guards who have come to protect the princess.”

⁵⁷ *ito masanashi*: Ôhide: “Although this originally meant something like reckless and slovenly, here it seems to just mean ‘not good.’” Mitani: “unseemly, in bad form, shameful.”

⁵⁸ *makaramu michi mo yasuku mo arumajiki ni*: Ôhide: “Now that Kaguyahime is rising to the heavens, she is leaving this world to go to another world, and so it is as if she were to die. For this reason, she says that she is uneasy about leaving her father and mother in this world. There are many examples of this kind of phrase being used in the *Shoku Nihongi*, *Sumiyoshi Monogatari*, *Chomonjû*, and others in instances of lords and ladies passing from this world.”

⁵⁹ *tsuki goro*: Although the various texts read *hi goro*, (usually, for many days), Ôhide changes it to *tsuki goro* (for several months) because she has been speaking of the passage of the moon since the spring. Commentators after him use this reading, until Igarashi, who reverts to the original *hi goro*, saying that it sounds fine so there is no reason to change it.

⁶⁰ Ôhide: “These people of the Moon Capital are all fair of face, and are not uncomely like the humans of this world. Their bodies do not grow old and weak, and they are forever in the blossom of youth, so they have no troubles or worries.”

⁶¹ Ôhide: "She is postulating that in the future she will surely look back and feel sad. She is apologizing, saying that it is not her true desire to ascend to the heavens and leave them as if tossing them aside, disregarding her filial duty to her parents and not seeing to their needs as they grow older."

⁶² The phrase "she wept" does not appear in the texts, however Koyama and Ôhide argue that this passage is of the same sentiment as when, above, it said, "and they wept bitterly together." Since "bitterly" is already used above, Ôhide just adds "she wept."

⁶³ *na shitamahi so*: Ôhide says here that this should read *na notamahi so* (do not say . . .). Others take the *shi*, which would usually be taken to mean "do not do such things," as a substitute for *ifu* (say), so that a correction is not necessary.

⁶⁴ Ôhide: "Although they have many people who will fight, and have such power that they should not lose, they will not harm the messengers from the heavens." Igarashi: "Although he said earlier that he would gouge out their eyes with his long fingernails, etc., here he says that as long as he doesn't have to hand over Kaguyahime, that is all he wants, showing his conflicting feelings."

⁶⁵ Ôhide explains that this is the light of the people descending from the heavens. Koyama cites a passage from the *Eiga Monogatari* which refers to the brightness of this night.

⁶⁶ *ke no ana sahe miyuru*: Ôhide explains that the light is so bright that even people's pores can be seen clearly. Before him, Koma argued that such a reading using the word "pores" or "follicles" is really a later and more vulgar expression and the phrase should actually read *ke no aru sahe miyuru*, "one could even see where they had each hair" or "one could see that they had [individual] hairs." For the most part, commentators agree with Ôhide, and Igarashi takes this interpretation one step further, explaining that this means that people's mistakes or faults were exposed. For example, the old man's exclamation that he will gouge out the Moon People's eyes with his long fingernails shows his inability to see the princess's sadness at leaving and the inescapability of it, and rather is simply motivated by anger and resentment.

⁶⁷ Ôhide: "This must be outside the gates of the house. Below, it says that Miyatsukomaro says

'Come in,' so it would sound as if they are outside the gate and come in. . . . Since they are heavenly people, they do not touch the ground directly."

⁶⁸ *kore wo mite*: Ôhide: "'Seeing this' means seeing the people come from the heavens. Some texts include this phrase and some don't, but there does not seem to be any discussion surrounding it."

⁶⁹ Ôhide: "Inside would be the old man, the old woman, and the serving women. Outside would be the guards from the palace and the servants of the bamboo-cutter's household."

⁷⁰ Ôhide: "All their strong words were in vain, and they lost their desire to fight."

⁷¹ *mono ni osoharuru yau nite*: Ôhide: "As if in a trance, they felt confused, as if their hearts were becalmed; they lost their voices, and they could not move their hands or feet."

⁷² *mamori aheri*: Ôhide: "The protectors looked at each other (*tagai ni me wo mi-awasete*), in amazement (*akirete aru nari*) . . . Here, it just means they looked at each other blankly (*kokoro mo nakute, miawasete oru nari*)."

⁷³ *tateru hito-domo*: The people outside the house who stood five meters from the ground, i.e. the heavenly people who had come to get Kaguyahime.

⁷⁴ *tobu kuruma hitotsu kushitari*: Ôhide: "They have brought an extra carriage in which to place Kaguyahime."

⁷⁵ *wau to oboshiki hito*: Ôhide: "Because of the truly elegant beauty of his figure and his dress, it was presumed that he must be the king. He was not the king of the Moon Capital, but rather the Head Envoy (*tsukahizane*, 正使) who had come to fetch the princess."

⁷⁶ *ihe ni*: Ôhide: "This Head Envoy sent another messenger in to call Miyatsukomaro out. Since 'the house' refers to the entire area inside the gate, we know that they are standing in front of the gate and have not entered beyond the fence."

⁷⁷ *utsubushi ni seri*: Ôhide: "To lower one's head and prostrate oneself." Igarashi: "Because of the overwhelming power of this person, he feels sad that there is nothing he can do. Just as this

is a general comment, it also should make one think of the events of Fujiwara Mototsune's single-handed decision to force Emperor Yôzei [actually Montoku] to abdicate and place his fourth son, Prince Korehito, rather than his first son, Prince Koretaka, in the position of Crown Prince [making him Emperor Seiwa r. 850-50]. When he did this, the subjects all feared Mototsune's power and Lord [Minamoto no] Tôru alone thought it objectionable (*ikaga to omohi tamaheri*) but did not say anything."

⁷⁸ *wosanaki hito*: Ôhide: "Suzuki says, 'When he says the old man is *wosanashi*, this can be correctly understood to mean both naive or foolish of heart and immature in years. In the eyes of the unworldly women from the heavens where there is no death, the seventy year old man is not even a grown man.'" Where Ôhide had first thought that the "young person" referred to Kaguyahime, Suzuki cautioned him that although on this earth she may have seemed to be young, in the Moon Capital she was not and had committed some kind of transgression in the past in that other world. Since she is not referred to in this way in any other place, it is clear that this *wosanaki hito* must refer to the old man. Most commentators use just the naive of heart interpretation and do not read into it "young in years."

⁷⁹ *sokora no toshi-goro sokora no kogane*: Although Koyama says that *sokora* should be written with the characters for "a little bit," Ôhide argues that some words must have been lost here, because this means that although she was only sent down for a short time, many years had passed. And he reminds us that in Section 1, the tale reads, "This bamboo cutter, after he found this child, repeatedly discovered stalks with gold between each joint when he went out to cut bamboo."

⁸⁰ Ôhide: "This is similar to the section of the Toshikage chapter of the *Utsuho Monogatari* in which Toshikage met the seven master *koto* players. When Manjushiri descended to their mountain and asked who they were, they responded, 'We were born of a heavenly lady, but owing to our minor sins we have to live separately in seven mountains.' (Uraki, 9)"

⁸¹ *onore ga moto*: Ôhide: "This is addressing him in a contemptible manner" (*iyashimete ifu*

nari).

⁸² *atahanu*: Ôhide: "Here, perhaps this means unreasonable/senseless, or simply that all the words he had spoken are useless. This would mean that though they would try to stop the princess from leaving, they would surely not be able to stop her."

⁸³ Igarashi: "As stated above in Note 34, the old man's statement that he has raised Kaguyahime for twenty odd years is a lie meant to keep the Moon People from taking her away. This can also be seen clearly in the old man's next false statement that that Kaguyahime is seriously ill."

⁸⁴ *katatoki to notamafu ni*: Ôhide: "Since the old man is like he is intoxicated, he appears to have misunderstood the messenger's words. He says that the king-like individual is wrong in calling this a short time, as if he had not heard the earlier explanation of how he had intended to send her for only a short time, but her stay had been prolonged." Inoue takes this instead, as most other commentators do, to mean that although the old man thinks this strange, to these people who never grow old and never die, twenty years really is a like a fleeting moment.

⁸⁵ Ôhide: "Since time in the heavens is so different from time on earth, he suggests that perhaps the Kaguyahime who is here is not the one they are looking for, and that there is someone somewhere else with the same name, with whom they have confused his Kaguyahime."

⁸⁶ Ôhide: "Since this is a carriage which has come from the heavens and will rise up to the heavens again, it is very different from that of humans and does not enter through the gate, and does not approach the place where people usually enter and exit the house."

⁸⁷ Ôhide: "The old woman is holding onto the princess so that she cannot stand up and cannot get away, but becomes paralyzed and the strength leaves her arms and she is not able to stop Kaguyahime from leaving."

⁸⁸ Ôhide: "The old woman is looking up at her as she goes to get into the carriage, and, since her will and her means to prevent her from going have all been exhausted, she can only look up and cry."

⁸⁹ Ôhide: "These are the princess's words. Thinking that the old man is not going to be able to

listen seriously to what she has to say, she writes a letter.”

⁹⁰ *sugi-wakarenuru koto*: Ôhide states that to leave this world and return to the heavens is the same as a person dying. Certainly in pictorial representations of the tale, there are many striking similarities between depictions of this scene from the *Taketori Monogatari* and scenes from Buddhist paintings of the Amida Nyorai coming to receive dying people into Paradise.



Figure 15. *Yûtsû Nembutsu Engi E-maki*, Seiryôji Temple collections. In Fujii and Ôoka, p. 46.



Figure 16. *Taketori Monogatari E-maki*, Yoshida Kôichi collection. Genroku period.

In *Zusetsu Nihon no Koten* 5, p. 78.

⁹¹ *ama no hagoromo*: See Ôhide's Supplementary Texts (pp. 92-95) for other sources for the robe of feathers and heavenly ascension. Ôhide also mentions a reference in Episode 16 of the *Ise Monogatari*:

His friend found it most touching. He sent him not only a robe but a quilt as well, . . .

Aritsune replied,

Kore ya kono	Can this be a famed
Ama no hagoromo	Feather robe from heaven?
Mube shi koso	A garment so splendid
Kimi ga mikeshi to	Must indeed have been designed
Tatematsurikere	For your own wear. (McCullough, <i>Ise</i> , 81-82)

In modern times, the field of mythology studies has produced extensive research on the association of this motif with swan-maiden legends from various parts of Japan and around the world.

⁹² Koyama and Ôhide cite several references from Chinese texts which tell of the magical qualities of different trees from which one would eat, and springs from which one would drink to achieve long life or immortality. One of these is an elixir which comes from the sacred Mount Hôrai, which was described earlier as being the home of the Taoist immortals (Section 2, Note 40).

⁹³ Ôhide: "Here, she is not just being presented with the elixir, but she is being ordered to partake of it here on earth."

⁹⁴ Ôhide: "It says that they did not allow her to wrap it, but later it states that the old man and old woman don't drink the elixir, so some of it seems to have been left for them."

⁹⁵ Ôhide: "When she puts on this feathered robe, her worldly feelings will change and will become other-worldly feelings. So when she is made to wear it, her feelings of love and sadness for the old man will also disappear."

⁹⁶ Ôhide: "This is her letter to the emperor. Since she will surely lose these feelings when she puts on the robe, she wants to write a note before she puts it on, and asks them to wait a moment."

⁹⁷ *amabito ososhi to*: Ôhide: "He says, 'It is late. You must return to the heavens quickly,'

and seems to rush her. This heavenly person is perhaps a messenger, but below it says *kokoro motonagari tamafu* (he hurried her) with honorifics, and so it would seem to be the words of the Head Envoy, to which the princess replies 'you know nothing about . . .' If it is the envoy, she should not speak so rudely and informally to him. On the other hand, if it is someone of very low station like the servants who brought the robe, or the heavenly people who did not allow her to wrap the elixir, it would not be common for the narrator to use the polite form *tamafu* in reference to them." The use of honorifics in this way makes it unclear in this passage who is telling Kaguyahime to hurry, but most commentators do not make a point of identifying the speaker, leaving it as *amabito* (a heavenly person).

⁹⁸ Ôhide: "Kaguyahime has been in this world for a long time and now, since it is time for her to leave, there are many things she has to say to people, but since her escort is heartlessly pressing her, she is resentful that they know nothing of the ways of the world."

⁹⁹ *yurusanu mukahe*: Ôhide: "This is the same as earlier when she says that they had not allowed her to stay longer even when she went out onto the veranda to beg for more time [p. 130]. The messengers have come to say that she must return to the moon this very night."

¹⁰⁰ *wadzurashiki mi*: Ôhide: "This means not free, and not having the freedom to do what one wishes, and so it would refer to the fact that since it is clear that she would have to return to the heavens very soon, she could not stay here forever."

¹⁰¹ Ôhide: "Although the emperor felt so strongly for her, she coldly refused to serve him, and he must have thought with disbelief that this was the unbelievably cold-hearted act of someone who knew no compassion."

¹⁰² *tô no chûjô*: See Note 40, above. Ôhide takes this to mean the Lord Takano who was sent from the emperor with the troops to guard the house. Tô no chûjô is Head of the Chamberlain's Office, and overlaps with the position of Middle Captain of the Bodyguards. He was in charge of the palace affairs. Mitani notes that the Kurôdodokoro (Chamberlain's Office) was established in Kônin 1 (810), indicating that the tale would have been formalized in writing at some point after

that date.

¹⁰³ Igarashi: "That she forgot even the sadness of the old man who had raised her is a comment on the cold and unfeeling nature of those people who hold so much power. . . . That we still have the expressions today that people with power 'have wings' or 'their wings are strong' or they 'grow wings' etc., must come from such old stories."

¹⁰⁴ *chi no namida*: Koyama: "According to the *Ainôshô* dictionary, to cry tears of blood is to cry until no more tears will come. This expression also appears in the *Yamato Monogatari*, Episode 168: 'Enduring with fortitude the ache in his heart, he wept all night long. When he looked about him in the morning, he saw that his raincoat and other belongings were spattered with the tears of blood he had shed. He thought to himself, 'It really is true that when one weeps violently enough, one sheds tears of blood.' (Tahara, 119)"

¹⁰⁵ Inoue: "Since the old man and the old woman would do nothing but weep, someone nearby read this letter to them."

¹⁰⁶ Ôhide: "He has not moved from where he first prostrated himself before the escort which had come to take Kaguyahime away."

¹⁰⁷ *mono mo kikoshimesazu*: Ôhide: "Hearing of Kaguyahime's return to the heavens, he mourned deeply and would not listen to any words of encouragement that they offered to him."

¹⁰⁸ *on'asobi nado mo nakarikeri*: Mitani: "This would be musical entertainment from wind and string instruments."

¹⁰⁹ *miyako mo chikaku*: early modern commentaries take this to be the Heian capital, but modern interpretations state that since the story is set in the Nara period, this would mean the capital in Nara.

¹¹⁰ Ôhide: "His heart does not settle, and he cannot be calmed. He had loved Kaguyahime deeply, but she would not serve him and ascended to the heavens, and so he feels as if his body is floating in his suffering. So he asks what use is there in drinking this elixir which preserves long life. The *na* of *namida* doubles as the *na* negating the verb 'see,' and *namida* also includes the word *nami*,

waves, which is related to the verb *ukabu*, to float.”

¹¹¹ Ôhide says that although this family name appears in the *Seishiroku*, this is a fictional name.

The name Tsuki recalls the *tsuki no miyako*, Moon Capital, and was probably created to carry this meaning.

¹¹² *tsuhamono*: Ôhide: “In China, this was the name for a type of fighting weapon, but later came to be used as the name for a brave warrior, and was understood to mean ‘strong one,’ and its use as the name for a type of sword became obsolete. The word was also used to refer to weapons in our country in ancient times, and it is stated in the *Nihon Shoki* that it is a mistake to use *tsuhamono* to refer to people. This usage of the word *tsuhamono* to refer to people must have originated around the time of this tale.”

¹¹³ *fuji no yama to ha nadzukeru*: Koyama: “This is a fable explaining how the mountain got its name. Since it was rich in soldiers (*fushi*, 富士) it became called Fuji. But this is not really why the mountain got this name. Since the envoy followed the orders to burn the elixir of immortality on the mountain, it should be called Fuji -- the Mountain of Immortality (*fushi*, 不死). The explanation of the name of the mountain should be placed after the reference to the smoke rising so that the name refers to the burning elixir rather than the many soldiers. The *Rinsaiyô* (林採葉) also interprets the meaning of Fuji as ‘Mountain of Immortality.’” Ôhide is also unsure about which of these meanings Fuji is meant to have, but concludes: “Since this is a fable, I would like to take this to have both of these meanings. I believe that it is through the skill of the author that this can be taken to have both the meaning of ‘immortal’ and ‘rich in soldiers.’ The meaning of immortality is on the surface, and the meaning of rich in soldiers is on the reverse side (*ura*). According to an old transmission, however, the name Fuji is actually taken from the name of a rural district. At first, it would seem that the voiced consonant *ji* is a problem since both of these interpretations which should be read *fushi*, but in the past sections this has not been an issue. *Hachi* and *haji*, *abe* and *ahe*, *tabe* and *tahe*, as well as puns in the poems do not adhere to purity of

voiced and unvoiced consonants.”

¹¹⁴ Ôhide: “The reason why he ordered the elixir to be burned near the heavens on a high mountain was in order to return the elixir to the heavens. As long as there was still some of the elixir remaining, the smoke continued to rise into the clouds.” Igarashi: “This means that the emperor’s love for her has not run out. This is the same sentiment as was expressed by Kawara-in [Minamoto no Tôru], who built a salt kiln and had sea water brought every day from the bay of Naniwa in a never-dying salt fire. The implication of this is that the thoughts deep in the emperor’s heart do not fail as he passes the days in this bitter world.”

¹¹⁵ Koma: “Here it is finally made clear that this story was written very early, even before the *Kokinshû* (ca. 920). In the *Kokinshû* preface, it says that the smoke from Mt. Fuji is no longer climbing in the sky toward the clouds, and so this story must be older than that work.”

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aston, W. G. *A History of Japanese Literature*. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1899.
- Aston, W. G., trans. *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A. D. 697*.
London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1956.
- Bowring, Richard. "The *Ise monogatari*: A Short Cultural History." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 52.2 (1992): 401-480.
- Brownstein, Michael C. "From *Kokugaku* to *Kokubungaku*: Canon-Formation in the Meiji Period." *Harvard Journal of Asian Studies* 47.2 (1987): 435-460.
- Bussho Kaisetsu Daijiten*. 14 vols. Tokyo: Daitô Shuppansha, 1974-1988.
- Chance, Linda H. "Constructing the Classic: *Tsurezuregusa* in Tokugawa Readings." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 117.1 (Jan-Mar 1997): 39-56.
- Chino Kaori. *Ise Monogatari-e*. Nihon no bijutsu 6 no. 301. Tokyo: Bunkachô, 1991.
- Dickins, F. V., trans. "The Story of the Old Bamboo Wicker-Worker." *Primitive and Mediaeval Japanese Texts, translated into English, with introductions, notes, and glossaries*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906. 314-378.
- Earl, David Magarey. *Emperor and Nation in Japan: Political Thinkers of the Tokugawa Period*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964.
- Fischer-Schreiber, Ingrid, et al. *The Encyclopedia of Eastern Philosophy and Religion: Buddhism, Hinduism, Taoism, Zen*. Stephan Schuhmacher and Gert Woerner, eds. Boston: Shambala, 1989.
- Fujii Sadakazu and Ôoka Shinobu, eds. *Taketori Monogatari, Yamato Monogatari, Utsuho Monogatari*. Shinchô Koten Bungaku Album 3. Tokyo: Shinchôsha, 1991.
- Fujii Sadakazu. *Monogatari Bungaku Seiritsushi*. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1987.
- Fujii Takanao. *Ise Monogatari Shinshaku*. Tokyo: Kokubun Meicho Kankôkai, 1934 (reprint).
- Fujitani Takashi. "Inventing, Forgetting, Remembering: Toward a Historical Ethnography of

- the Nation-State." Harumi Befu, ed. *Cultural Nationalism in East Asia: Representation and Identity*. 77-106.
- Genji Monogatari* 2. Abe Akio, Akiyama Ken, and Imai Gen'e, eds. Nihon Koten Bungaku Zenshû 13. Tokyo: Shôgakukan, 1972.
- Graham, A. C., trans. *The Book of Lieh-Tzu*. London: J. Murray, 1973.
- Harper, Thomas. "The Tale of Genji in the eighteenth century: Keichû, Mabuchi and Norinaga." C. Andrew Gerstle, ed. *18th Century Japan*. 106-124.
- Harris, Rosemary. *The Child in the Bamboo Grove*. New York: S. G. Phillips, 1971.
- Hirata Yoshinobu. *Taketori Monogatari*. Kishina Satsuki, illustr. Kumon no Manga Koten Bungakukan. Tokyo: Kumon Publishing Co., Ltd., 1991.
- Hu Xiu-min. "Princesses who Yearn for the Moon: Murasaki, Oigimi, and Ukifune as Reflections of Kaguyahime." Unpublished manuscript, 1995.
- Introduction to Classical Japanese Literature*. Kokusai Bunka Shinkôkai, ed. Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1948.
- Kaguyahime*. Manga Nihon Mukashi-banashi 16. Tokyo: Futami Shobô, 1976.
- Kaifûsô Chûshaku*. Sawada Sosei, ed. Tokyo: Ôokayama Shoten, 1933.
- Katagiri Yôichi, ed. *Taketori Monogatari, Ise Monogatari, Tosa Nikki*. Kan'yaku Nihon no Koten 10. Tokyo, Shôgakukan, 1983.
- . "Taketori Monogatari sakuhin kanshô." *Taketori Monogatari, Ise Monogatari*. Zusetsu Nihon no Koten 5. Tokyo: Shûeisha, 1978.
- Keene, Donald. *Seeds in the Heart: Japanese Literature from Earliest Times to the Late Sixteenth Century*. A History of Japanese Literature, Vol. 1. NY: Henry Holt and Company, 1993.
- Keene, Donald, trans. "The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter" in *Modern Japanese Fiction and Its Traditions: An Introduction*. J. Thomas Rimer. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1978, 275-305.
- Khosla, Dr. Sarla. *Lalitavistara and the Evolution of Buddha Legend*. New Delhi: Galaxy

Publications, 1991.

"Kishu ryûri-tan." *Kôjien*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1969.

Konjaku Monogatari Shû 4. Mabuchi Kazuo, F. Kunisaki, and T. Konno, eds. Nihon Koten Bungaku Zenshû 24. Tokyo: Shôgakukan, 1976.

Kyûsojin Hitaku, ed. *Taketori Monogatari*. Tokyo: Kyûko Shoin, 1974.

Levy, Ian Hideo, trans. *The Ten Thousand Leaves: A Translation of the Man'yôshû, Japan's Premier Anthology of Classical Poetry*. Vol. 1. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1981.

Makura no Sôshi. Matsuo Satoshi and Nagai Kazuko, eds. Nihon Koten Bungaku Zenshû 11. Tokyo: Shôgakukan, 1974.

Man'yôshû. Kojima Noriyuki, Kinoshita Masatoshi, and Satake Akihiro, eds. Nihon Koten Bungaku Zenshû 3, 5. Tokyo: Shôgakukan, 1972.

Marra, Michele. *The Aesthetics of Discontent*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1991.

Matsumoto Shigeru. *Motoori Norinaga*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1970.

Matsuo Satoshi, ed. *Taketori Monogatari Zenshaku*. Tokyo: Musashino Shoin, 1983.

McAlpine, William and Helen. "The Tale of Princess Kaguya." *Japanese Tales and Legends*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1958. 127-187.

McCarthy, Ralph and Kancho Oda. *The Moon Princess*. Tokyo: Kôdansha International, 1993.

McCullough, Helen Craig. *Classical Japanese Prose: An Anthology*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1990.

---. *Tales of Ise: Lyrical Episodes from Tenth-Century Japan*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1968.

McCullough, William H. and Helen Craig McCullough, trans. *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes: Annals of Japanese aristocratic life in the Heian period*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1980.

Mills, D. E. *A Collection of Tales from Uji: A Study and Translation of Uji Shûi Monogatari*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1970.

Miner, Earl, Hiroko Odagiri, and Robert E. Morrell. *The Princeton Companion to Classical Japanese Literature*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1985.

Mitani Eiichi. *Taketori Monogatari Hyôkai*. Tokyo: Yûseidô, 1988.

- Mitani Eiichi, ed. *Taketori Monogatari, Utsuho Monogatari*. Kanshō Nihon Kōten Bungaku 6. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1977.
- Mitani Eiichi, F. Minemura, Y. Saito, and K. Hiratsuka. *Shakaijin no tame no Kokugo no Jōshiki*. 2nd ed. Tokyo: Taishūkan Shoten, 1993.
- Mostow, Joshua S. "Canonizing Elegance: The Modern Construction of the *Ise Monogatari*." Constructing the Past: Canon Formation, National Identity, and Japanese Literature Conference. Columbia University. New York, March 30, 1997.
- . *Pictures of the Heart: The Hyakunin Isshu in Word and Image*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996.
- Nakamura, Kyoko Motomochi. *Miraculous Stories from the Japanese Buddhist Tradition: The Nihon ryōiki of the Monk Kyōkai*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1973.
- Nakano Kōichi, ed. *Taketori Monogatari*. Nara e-hon e-maki shū 1. Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1987.
- Nihon Kōten Bungaku Daijiten*. 6 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1983-5.
- Nihon Ryōiki*. Nakada Norio, ed. *Nihon Kōten Bungaku Zenshū* 6. Tokyo: Shōgakusan, 1975.
- Nihon Shoki, Fudoki*. Kanshō Nihon Kōten Bungaku series, 2. Naoki Kōjirō, Nishimiya Kazutami, Okada Seishi, eds. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1977.
- Noguchi Motohiro, ed. *Taketori Monogatari*. Shinchō Nihon Kōten Shūsei. Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1979.
- Nosco, Peter. *Remembering Paradise: Nativism and Nostalgia in Eighteenth-Century Japan*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1990.
- Ozaki, Yei Theodora. "The Bamboo-Cutter and the Moon-Child." *Japanese Fairy Book*. London: A. Constable, 1903.
- Philippi, Donald L., trans. *Kojiki*. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1968.
- Rahula, Bikkhu Telwatte. *A Critical Study of the Mahāvastu*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1978.
- Rubinger, Richard. *Private Academies of Tokugawa Japan*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1982.

Sagoromo no Chûjô, Tsuru no Zôshi, Yonjû-ni no Mono-Arasohi. Nara e-hon e-maki shû 12.

Nakano Kôichi, ed. Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1988.

Seidensticker, Edward G., trans. *The Tale of Genji.* by Murasaki Shikibu. NY: Alfred A.

Knopf, 1991.

Shinmeikai Kogo Jiten. Kindaichi Haruhiko, ed. Tokyo: Sanshōdō, 1977.

Sieffert, René, trans. *Le Conte du Coupeur de Bambous.* Tokyo: Nichi-futsu Kaikan, 1952.

Snellen, J. B. "Shoku Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan, continued, from 697-791 A. D."

Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan. Second Series, vol. XI (1934): 151-239.

---. "Shoku Nihongi IV-VI (Chronicles of Japan -- Continued)." *Transactions of the Asiatic*

Society of Japan. Second Series, vol. XIV (1937): 209-278.

Tahara, Mildred M., trans. *Tales of Yamato: A Tenth-Century Poem-Tale.* Honolulu:

University Press of Hawaii, 1980.

Tanaka Ôhide. *Taketori no Okina no Monogatari Kai.* Nihon bungaku kochû taisei series.

Tokyo: Kokubun Meicho Kankokai, 1934.

Tôdô Akiyasu. "Chûgoku no Meicho." *Gakken Kan-wa Daijiten.* Tokyo: Gakushû Kenkyûsha,

1978. 1600-1646.

Uesaka Nobuo. *Taketori monogatari zenhyôshaku: kochûshaku-hen.* Tokyo: Yûbun Shoin,

1990.

Uraki, Jiro, trans. *The Tale of the Cavern.* Tokyo: Shinozaki Shorin, 1984.

Vos, Frits. *A Study of the Ise-Monogatari with the Text according to the Den-Teika-Hippon and an Annotated Translation,* 2 vols. 's-Gravenhage: Mouton, 1957.

Watson, Burton, transl. *Chuang-tzu: Basic Writings.* NY: Columbia UP, 1964.

Williston, T. P. "The Bamboo Cutter's Daughter." *Japanese Fairy Tales.* NY: Rand McNally,

1911.

Yokoi, Takashi. "Onna no Monogatari" no nagare: kodai kôki shôsetsushi ron. Tokyo: Kato

Chûdôkan, 1984.

APPENDIX 1

List of Sources Referenced in the Commentaries

[Details for the following entries have been gathered from the *Nihon Koten Bungaku Daijiten*;

Bussho Kaisetsu Daijiten; Tôdô Akiyasu, in *Gakken Kan-wa Jiten*; Miner et al., *Princeton Companion to Classical Japanese Literature*; Fischer-Schreiber, *The Encyclopedia of Eastern Philosophy and Religion: Buddhism, Hinduism, Taoism*; and Keene, *Seeds in the Heart*]

Ainôshô: 挨囊抄 Dictionary in two parts covering vocabulary as well as numerous aspects of Japanese and Chinese historical events of interest to the priesthood. Compiled by the Shingon priest Gyôyo, 1445.

Bussetsu Nanyo Giiki In'en Kyô: 仏説奈女嗜域因縁経 Buddhist sutra from late second century, translated into Chinese in the latter Han period. Tells the story of the enlightenment of the Buddhist nun Âmrâpâlî and her rebirth into this world as well as the story of her bonds with her son Jîvaka. *Taishô Shinshû Daizôkyô* 19/636 No. 1006.

Ch'ang Hen Ko: See *Chôgonka*

Chôgonka: 長恨歌 (Ch. *Ch'ang Hen Ko*, The Song of Everlasting Sorrow) Narrative poem recounting the story of the disastrous love of the Chinese ruler Hsüan Tsung for the beautiful Yang Kuei-fei. By Tang poet Po Chü-i (J. Haku Kyoï or Haku Rakuten, 772-846)

Chuang Tzu: 莊子 (J. *Sôshi*) Taoist classic in 33 chapters by Chuang-tzu (369-286 B. C.) and his disciples, dealing with the nature of the Tao and stressing the importance of meditation.

Dai Chidoron: 大智度論 (Commentary on the Great Wisdom Sutra) Kumârajîva's translation of Nâgârjuna's *Mahâ-Prajñâpâramitâ-Sâstra* with commentary emphasizing the doctrine of Emptiness (*kû*).

Eiga Monogatari: 栄華(花)物語 (A Tale of Flowering Fortunes) Late Heian *rekishi monogatari* in

forty parts focusing on the glory of the court, especially of Fujiwara no Michinaga, and the fifteen reigns from Uda (r. 887-897) to the first part of Horikawa (r. 1086-1107). Thought to have been written by a woman of the court, ca. 1092.

Engi Shiki: 延喜式 (The Engi Ceremonies) Book of laws ordered by Emperor Daigo in 905. 50

volumes divided according to departments of the government. By Fujiwara no Tadahira.

Fudoki: 風土記 (Topographies) Accounts (only some of which survive today) of the 72

provinces that made up ancient Japan ordered by Empress Gemmei in 713. Deal with natural features, customs, and interesting stories, and tend to emphasize a history unbroken since the age of the gods.

Fukuro no Sôshi (also *Fukurozôshi*): 袋草子 (Book of Folded Pages) Compilation of anecdotes

about people and statements and accounts important to the history of Japanese poetry, including *renga*. By Fujiwara no Kiyosuke, 1159.

Fusô Ryakki: 扶柔略記 (A Short History of Japan) Thirty-volume history of Japan in *kambun*

attributed to the Buddhist monk Kôen and compiled between 1094 and 1107. The primary source for the *Mizukagami* (The Water Mirror), an account of the reigns of the fourteen emperors from Jimmu, the first, to 850 AD and the reign of Nimmyô.

Genchû Shûi: 源註拾遺 *Genji Monogatari* commentary by Keichû, 1697. Addresses the overall

issues of title, author, number of chapters, and the commentaries of earlier scholars.

Genji Monogatari: 源氏物語 (The Tale of Genji), by Murasaki Shikibu ca. 1011. A complex

narrative in fifty-four parts, dealing with the the private lives of fictitious members of the mid-Heian court.

Genji Shaku: 源氏釈 (A Genji Analysis) The earliest *Genji Monogatari* commentary, of the late

Heian period in one volume by Fujiwara no Koreyuki.

Gishi: 魏志 The history of one of the three states at war after the Han period (220-265). The history of the three states, the *Sankokushi* (三国志, late third century), tells of the period and is drawn upon heavily by the *Kojiki*. It contains the earliest written record of Japan's history.

Gokanjo: 後漢書 Ch. *Hou Han Shu* (The History of the Later Han Dynasty) One of the *San Shi* 三史 (Ch. *San Shih*), Three Histories of China, in 120 scrolls. Compiled by Fan Yeh (398-445) of the Liu Sung Dynasty. Well-known to learned scholars of the Edo period.

Gunsho Ruijû: 群書類從 (Classified Collections of Japanese Classics) Compendium in 530 parts of over 1,200 writings of various kinds. Compiled by the late Edo scholar Hanawa Hokinoichi (1746-1821) over the years 1779 to 1819.

Hakubutsushi: 博物志 Collection in 10 volumes of legends and fantastic tales by Chang-hua (232-300). Originally 400 volumes, but as a result of the Chin emperor's orders, those of questionable authenticity were eliminated.

Heichû Monogatari: 平中物語 (The Tale of Heichû [or Sadabun]), author unknown, mid-tenth century. A poem tale centered around the poems of Taira no Sadabun (or Sadabumi; died ca. 923), in thirty-eight episodes.

Hokkekyô: (also *Myôhōrengekyô*) 妙法蓮華經 Sk. *Saddharma-pundarîka-sûtra* (Lotus Sutra, or Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma) Translated by Kumârajîva into Chinese in 406, it became the preeminent scripture in the Mahâyâna of East Asia. Teaches that all sentient beings have the potential for attaining Buddhahood.

Hon'yaku Myôgi Shû: 翻譯名義集 (Collection of Meanings of Names in Translation) Chinese Buddhist dictionary classifying and defining Sanskrit terms appearing in the Buddhist texts. Compiled by in 1143.

Honzô Kômoku: 本草綱目 Ch. *Pên-ts'ao kang-mu*. In 52 volumes, China's most representative treatise on herbs and plants outlining their appearance, place of provenance, and medicinal properties. By Li Shih-chên, 1578.

Honzô Wamyô: 本草和名 (Dictionary of the Japanese Names of Plants) Commissioned by Emperor Daigo in 918 and compiled by Fukane Sukehito. Not just a dictionary of plants, but also invaluable as a reference for changes in the study of natural history and a source for ancient words (*kodaigo*) and *man'yôgana*.

Hôrôkaku Kyô: 寶樓閣經 (Sutra of the Jeweled Pagoda) Full title *Kôdai Hôrôkaku Zenjû*

Himitsu Darani Kyô: 廣大寶樓閣善住秘密陀羅尼經 Skt. *Aryamahâmanivipula vimânavisvasu pratisthita gnhyaparama rahasya kalpa râjanâma dhârani*. Sutra of Buddhist teachings on laws of benevolence, chanting sutras, building pagodas, drawing images or icons, and performing masses. In three books, it appears in the *Taishô Shinshû Daizôkyô* collection 19/636 No. 1006.

Ise Daijingû Sankeiki: 伊勢大神宮參詣記 (Account of a Pilgrimage to the Great Shrine at Ise)

Travel record in one volume of the author's 1342 pilgrimage to Ise and the surrounding area. By Saka Jûbutsu, attendant doctor to three reigns of emperors from the Nambokuchô to Muromachi periods.

Ise Monogatari: 伊勢物語 (Tales of Ise), author unknown, early tenth century. A poem tale of

125 episodes, centering around the amorous escapades of a character thought to be modeled after Ariwara no Narihira, an early Heian *waka* poet.

Ise Monogatari Chikenshû: 伊勢物語智顯抄 (also *Waka Chikenshû*) *Ise Monogatari* commentary

in 3 volumes, attributed to Minamoto no Tsunenobu (1016-1097). Includes *hiden* teachings of the importance of the *Ise* to *waka* poetry.

Ise Monogatari Zuinô: 伊勢物語髓 *Ise Monogatari* commentary in 1 volume, recording the

hidden teachings of Narihira's second son, Ariwara no Shigeharu. Nambokuchô to early Muromachi period (14th to early 15th centuries).

Junrekiki: 巡歴記 (Same as *Kamo no Chômei Iseiki*?) [Kamo no Chômei's poetic record of his 1186 pilgrimage to Ise. Of the thirty-odd poems which survive, the insistence on poetic place names creates the sense of a poet's journey into the depths of *uta-makura*.]

Kachô Yojô: 花鳥余情 (Overtones of Birds and Flowers) *Genji Monogatari* commentary by Ichijô Kaneyoshi, 1472. An expansion of the *Kakaishô* commentary, but analyzes entire sections of the text and not just specific words and phrases.

Kagerô Nikki: 蜻蛉日記 (The Gossamer Years) Heian diary by Michitsuna's mother (936-995?) recounting the misery and hardship of the author's life.

Kaifûsô: 懷風藻 (Fond Recollections of Poetry) Japanese collection of 120 poems in Chinese compiled in 751 and going back eighty years.

Kakaishô: 河海抄 (Commentary on Rivers and Oceans) *Genji Monogatari* commentary in 20 volumes commissioned in the early Jôji period (1362-1368). Written by Yotsuji Yoshinari. Monumental work in the critical assimilation of *Genji* scholarship up to its day, and highly influential of later work on the Heian classic.

Kammuryôjyûkyô: 觀無量寿經 Sk. *Amitâyurdhyâna-sûtra* (Sûtra of Meditation on Amida Buddha) One of the Three Pure Land Sutras telling of the Buddha's instructions to Queen Vaidehî on the forms of meditation. Advocates reliance on Amida as savior.

Kawa Yashiro: 河社 *zuihitsu* by Keichû, ca. 1693-5. Discussion of topics from national histories to imperial anthologies to *monogatari* literature in 106 segments.

Kikeshû: 紀家集 *kanshi/kambun* record of Emperor Uda's activities written by Ki no Haseo after

Kisekyô: 起世經 Translated by Janakutta of the Sui dynasty. A description of the eight hells, of which seven are depicted in the *Jigoku Zôshi* hell scrolls. *Taishô Shinshû Daizôkyô* collection 1/310, No. 24

Kôdai Hôrôkaku Zenjû Himitsu Darani Kyô: 廣大寶樓閣善住秘密陀羅尼經 Skt.

Aryamahâmanivipula vimânavisvasu pratisthita gnhyaparama rahasya kalpa râjanâma dhâranî see *Hôrôkaku Kyô*

Kogo Shûi: 古語拾遺 (Gleanings From the Old Words) A history in one volume by Inbe no Hironari, 807. An account of the events from the first emperor, Jimmu, through Temmu (686), including a discussion of the role of the Inbe family activity at the Tenshō Shrine and its rivalry with the Nakatomi clan.

Kojiki: 古事記 (Record of Ancient Matters) Chronicle of early Japanese history in three parts and 114 sections. A transcribed record of the recitation of memorized matter by Hieda no Are commissioned by Emperor Temmu in 672.

Kojikiden: 古事記伝 commentary on the *Kojiki* in 44 chapters by Motoori Norinaga, 1798.

Authoritative work on ancient history and the study of ancient matters.

Kokinshû Chû: 古今集註 A *Kokin Waka Shû* commentary in 20 volumes by Kenshō, 1191.

Citing older poetic and historical treatises, it was the first *Kokinshû* commentary to bring the various notes and references together. Heavily referenced throughout the Medieval and Early Modern periods.

Kokin (Waka) Rokujô: 古今(和歌)六帖 Heian personal poetry anthology (*shisenshû*) from other collections, by 987. A number of theories regarding the compiler include Ki no Tsurayuki, his wife, Minamoto Shitagô, Prince Kaneakira, etc.

Kokin (Waka) Shû: 古今(和歌)集 (Collection of Ancient and Modern [Japanese] Poems) Early Heian official poetry collection (*chokusenshû*) compiled by Ki no Tsurayuki, Ki no

Tomonori, Oshikôchi Mitsune, and Mibu no Tadamine, ca. 920.

Kokon Chomonjû: 古今著聞集 (Stories Heard from Writers Old and New) Major *setsuwa* collection in twenty parts and consisting of 726 stories. Compiled by Tachibana Narisue (橘成季), 1254.

Konjaku Monogatari Shû: 今昔物語集 (A Collection of Tales of Times Now Past) Late Heian *setsuwa* collection in thirty-one parts. Date and authorship unknown, but thought to perhaps have been compiled by Minamoto Takakuni (1004-1077) in the second half of the eleventh or the first half of the twelfth century.

Lalitavistara: Buddhist text in twenty-seven chapters narrating the legendary life of Buddha, in prose and poetry. Thought to be an anonymous compilation of recent and ancient passages for the popularization of Mahâyâna Buddhism.

Mahâvastu: (The Great Story) Work of the *avadâna*, or legends, class of the Mahâyânic Buddhist scriptures constituting a collection of the history, quasi-history, and legends dealing with the life and teachings of the Buddha. Composition would appear to have occurred over the period of time from the second century B.C. to the third or fourth century A.D.

Makura no Sôshi: 枕草子 (The Pillow Book) Heian *zuihitsu* divided into various kinds of short parts dealing with the author's personal thoughts about things and her life as lady-in-waiting to Empress Sadako during the last decade of the tenth century. Written by Sei Shônagon, ca. 994.

Man'yôshû: 万葉集 (Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves or For Ten Thousand Generations) Late Nara or early Heian and earliest extant collection of Japanese poetry. Final compiler thought to have been Ôtomo Yakamochi, after 759.

Matsura (no miya) Monogatari: 松浦(の宮)物語 (The Tale of the Matsura Palace) *Giko monogatari* attributed to Fujiwara Teika, ca. 1193.

Montoku Tennô Jitsuroku: 文德天皇実録 (Chronicles of the Emperor Montoku) Fifth of the Six Dynastic Histories (*Rikkokushi*), it consists of a record of the events between 850 and 858 during the reign of Emperor Montoku. Compiled by Fujiwara no Mototsune and Sugawara no Koreyoshi in 879.

Monzen: 文選 Ch. *Wen Hsüan*. Influential Chinese poetry collection covering a millenium of writing beginning with the Chou dynasty. Compiled by Prince Chao-ming of the Liang dynasty, 501-531.

Nihon Ryôiki: (also *Nihon Reiiki*) 日本霊異記 (Miraculous Stories of Japan) Collection of 116 didactic stories of ghosts, prodigies, and miracles. Earliest collection of Buddhist legends in Japan in three volumes. Compiled by the monk Kyôkai in the late 8th or early 9th century.

Nihon Shoki (also *Nihongi*): 日本(書)紀 Nara period historical narrative in thirty books of the creation of Japan and the origins and succession of the imperial line. Set down by order of Genshō (r. 715-24) in 720, and compiled chiefly by Prince Toneri.

Ochikubo Monogatari: 落窪物語 (The Tale of Ochikubo) Mid-Heian narrative thought to have been written by a man for female readers. A tale of love and mistreatment of a stepdaughter from the later tenth century.

Ôkagami: 大鏡 (The Great Mirror) Late Heian *rekishi monogatari* in three, six, or eight parts describing the events of the years 850 to 1025, and specifically the life and times of Fujiwara no Michinaga. Written ca. 1119.

Resshi: 列子 Ch. *Lieh-tzu*. Taoist work in 8 volumes allegedly by Lieh-tzu, but dated by scholars much later to the Chin dynasty. Based on the philosopher's teachings, it uses ancient folk tales and myths as well as the teachings of other great thinkers to explain the mechanical and uncontrollable nature of life.

Rin'yô(waka)shû: 林葉(和歌)集 Personal poetry collection consisting of 1008 poems divided into sections on Spring, Summer, Autumn, Winter, Love, and Miscellaneous topics. By Shun'e, 1179.

Roppyakuban Utaawase: 六百番歌合(俊成卿) (The Poetry Match in Six Hundred Rounds) Poetry Match convened by Fujiwara Yoshitsune in 1193 between the Rokujô house (including Kenshō) and the Mikohidari house, with Fujiwara Shunzei as the judge.

Ruiju Myôgi Shô: 類聚名義抄 (Classified Dictionary of Pronunciations and Meaning, Annotated) Chinese-Japanese dictionary of Buddhist terms divided into sections on the Buddha, the Law, and monks. Begun in the 11th or 12 century and completed many decades or even a century later.

Ruijû Zatsuyô Shô: 類聚雜要抄 (Classified Dictionary of Various Things) Record in 4 volumes of events at court and public and private ceremony between 934 and 1148.

Ryûjôroku: 龍城録 Ch. *Lung ch'eng lu* (Register of Dragon City) Collection of Taoist tales, among them one recounting a trip to the moon palace and an encounter with celestial maidens.

Sagoromo Monogatari: 更衣物語 (The Tale of Sagoromo) *Tsukurimonogatari* in four parts describing the rise of Sagoromo, the son of the imagined Horikawa Chancellor of his day, from young man of decent rank to the position of sovereign. Written by Rokujô Saiin Baishi Naishinnô no Senji (1022?-1092) probably between 1058 and 1092.

Saibara: 催馬楽 (Horse-readying music) A folk music of the Nara period, which became more courtly during the Heian period.

Saiikiki: 西域記 Ch. *Hsi-yü Chi* (also *Daitô Saiikiki*, Record of a Journey to the West) Chinese Buddhist work in 12 volumes recording the Buddhist priest Hsüan Chuang's journey to India to obtain sacred scriptures.

Sandai Jitsuroku: 三代実録 (Actual Records of Three Reigns) One of the Six Dynastic Histories

(*Rikkokushi*), a historical record in *kambun* in fifty parts covering the three reigns of Seiwa (858-876), Yôzei (876-884), and Kôkô (884-887).

Sankashû: 山家集 (The Mountain Hut) Saigyô's (1118-1190) chief personal collection of *tanka* poems and an exchange with Fujiwara Toshinari.

Sankoku Denki: 三国伝記 (An Account of Three Lands) Mid-Muromachi *setsuwa* collection in 12 volumes with 30 Buddhist tales each from India, China, and Japan. Compiled by Gentô, ca. 1446.

Sansai Zu-e: 三才図会 Chinese illustrated encyclopedia of sorts, in 106 volumes with entries on an assortment of subjects. Compiled in 1607 by Wang Ch'i.

Sarashina Nikki: 更級日記 (The Sarashina Diary) Heian court diary by the daughter of Sugawara Takasue, ca. 1060.

Seikei Zakki: 西京雜記 Informal record of the lifestyle and activities of the emperor, empress, and other famous individuals at court at the former Western Capital at Ch'ang-an. By Kōhung (284-363).

Shakushi Yôran: 釈氏要覽 Sung period guide to Buddhist terms and ancient practices for beginners.

Shaseki Shû: 沙石集 (Collection of Sand and Pebbles) *Setsuwa* collection by mid-Kamakura priest Mujû Ichien, ca. 1279-1283.

Shibun Yôryô: 紫文要領 (Essentials of Murasaki's Writing) Motoori Norinaga's first discussion of the *Genji Monogatari*, in two volumes, 1763. Through an analysis of Murasaki Shikibu's style, Norinaga focuses on the importance of the concept *mono no aware* in her writing.

Shindaiki: 神代記 (also *Sumiyoshi Taisha Shindaiki*) A *rekishi engi* written by Tsumori

Shimamaro and Tsumori Morito after 950 and before 1000 recounting tales of the gods

Uwatsutsu no o (表筒男), Nakatsutsu no o (中筒男), and Sokotsutsu no o (底筒男).

Shinreki Kô: 真曆考 *Kokugaku rekigaku* national learning study of the native calendar system

using seasonal progressions and phases of the moon before the Chinese system arrived.

By Motoori Norinaga, 1782.

Shinsarugakuki: 新猿楽記 Fujiwara Akihira's account of *sarugaku* entertainment and its social

setting, 1058-1065.

Shintô Shû: 神道集 (Shinto Stories) *Setsuwa* collection of fifty stories in ten parts on mostly

Shinto and animistic legends. Written in *hentai kambun* and compiled about 1358-1361 by preachers at Agui, a Tendai temple.

Shirin Saiyôshô: 詞林採葉抄 (The Flora of Words) Commentary on place-names, pillow words

(*makura kotoba*), and vocabulary as well as poets and poetic works and collections. 10 volumes by Yûa, 1336.

Shoku Nihongi: 続日本紀 (The Nihongi Continued) Historical record in forty parts dealing with

the reigns from Mommu (697-707) to 791.

Shoku Nihon Kôki: 続日本後紀 (Later Records of Japan Continued) One of the Six Dynastic

Histories (*Rikkokushi*) in twenty parts, covering Nimmyô's reign (824-833).

Shûchû Shô: 袖中抄 *Waka* poetry collection and study in 20 volumes by Kenshō, ca. 1183.

Shûi (Waka) Shû: 拾遺(和歌)集 (Collection of Gleanings [of Japanese Poems]) Official poetic

anthology (*chokusenshû*) in 20 parts ordered by Emperor Kazan (r. 984-986). Compiled chiefly by Fujiwara Kintô between 1005 and 1011.

Sôjin Ki: 搜神記 Ch. *Sou-shên chi*. 4th century Chinese work of historical fiction. Collection of

tales of the gods of wind, rain, earth, and water, as well as miraculous births and marriages and other unusual happenings.

Sumiyoshi Monogatari: 住吉物語 (The Tale of Sumiyoshi) Kamakura period tale of the

suffering of a young girl at the hands of a wicked stepmother. Probably early to mid-13th century.

Taihei Kôki: 太平廣記 Ch. *T'ai p'ing kuang chi*. Chinese collection of fairy tales, folktales, and

legends of people and fantastic things compiled by Li Fang and others in 978.

Tama no Ogushi: 玉の小櫛 (The Jeweled Comb) 1796 collection of Motoori Norinaga's lectures

to his pupils on the *Genji Monogatari* from 1758 to his fourth round of lectures on the subject in his final years. Consists of general analysis, chronology, and individual chapter analyses.

Tosa Nikki: 土佐日記 (The Tosa Diary) Considered the first example of *nikki bungaku* (diary

literature). Heian personal diary by Ki no Tsurayuki describing a journey during the years 934 and 935.

Uji Shûi Monogatari: 宇治拾遺物語 (Stories Gleaned at Uji) Early Kamakura *setsuwa* collection

of 197 stories for priestly didactic use, ca. 1190-1242.

Utsuho Monogatari (also *Utsubo Monogatari*): 宇津保物語 (The Tale of the Hollow Tree) Early

Heian *tsukuri monogatari* in twenty parts, and the first *chôhen* (long) *monogatari*.

Attributed to Minamoto Shitagô of the late tenth century.

Wakan Rôeishû: 和漢朗詠集 Influential collection of verse in Japanese and Chinese by Fujiwara

Kintô (966-1041) between 1004 and 1012.

Wamyô(ruijû)shô: 和名(類從)抄 First work to appear in Japanese combining the features of a

dictionary and encyclopedia. Compiled by Minamoto no Shitagô, ca. 931-937.

Yamai no sôshi: 病草子 (Book of Illnesses) Late Heian - Early Kamakura scroll painting

depicting different diseases, with explanations. Artist unknown.

Yamato Monogatari: 大和物語 (Tales of Yamato) Heian poem-tale (*utamonogatari*) in 170 poetic episodes. Date and authorship unknown but possibly Ariwara Shigeharu or Kazan (r. 887-897) after 950.

Yoha no Nezame (also *Yoru no Nezame*): 夜半の寝覚 (夜の寝覚) Late Heian *monogatari* in five extant parts, named for the central female figure. Author unknown, probably end of the twelfth century.

Zoku Hakubutsu Shi: 続博物志 Sung period collection of Chinese legends by Li Shih. Modeled after the *Hakubutsu Shi*.

Tales of Yamato (Mildred M. Tahara, pp. 44)

77

Yoshitane also sent Princess Katsura this poem:

Nagaki yo o	All through the endless night,
Akashi no ura ni	The smoke from the salt fires
Yaku shio no	Along the Bay of Akashi
Keburi wa sora ni	Rises into the heavens.
Tachi ya noboranu	

When Princess Katsura and Yoshitane were still seeing each other in secret, Teiji no In made arrangements for a moon-viewing banquet on the night of the fifteenth of the eighth month. Teiji no In had personally commanded that Princess Katsura be present, therefore she felt obliged to make an appearance. However, Yoshitane tried his best to detain her, for he knew very well they could not see each other at the palace. He entreated her, saying, "Please don't go -- not tonight of all nights!" Nevertheless, the Emperor himself had summoned her. Thinking it would not do to remain with Yoshitane, Princess Katsura hurried off to the banquet. After her departure Yoshitane composed this poem:

Taketori no	Like Princess Kaguya
Yoyo ni nakitsutsu	Whom the Bamboo-Cutter
Todomoken	Tried to detain by weeping piteously,
Kimi wa kimi ni to	You leave me tonight
Koyoi shimo yuku	To go to His Majesty.

APPENDIX 3

Nihongi (Aston, pp. 283-4)

Nintoku Tennô: 16th year, Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. The Emperor, indicating Kuhada no Kugahime, a lady of the Palace, to his personal attendants, said: -- "It is our desire to bestow affection on this damsel, but, harassed by the Empress's jealousy, we have not been able to become united to her. Many years have passed. Why should she waste her years of bloom?" So he made a song, saying: --

Who will nourish

The daughter of the Omi

That sweeps along the bottom of the water?

Then Hayamachi, the ancestor of the Miyakko of the province of Harima, advanced alone and made a song saying: --

I, Hayamachi of Harima,

(Where the dreadful tides are)

Though full of awe,

Like rocks tumbling down,

I will nourish her.

That same day Kugahime was given to Hayamachi. On the evening of the next day Hayamachi went to Kugahime's house. Now Kugahime would not comply with his wishes, but he persisted in approaching the curtained space. Then Kugahime said: -- "They handmaiden will end her life husbandless. How can she become my Lord's wife?" Now the Emperor, when he heard this, wished to accomplish Hayamachi's desires, so he sent Kugahime along with Hayamachi to Kuhada. But Kugahime straightway became ill and died on the journey. Therefore, there is to this day the tomb of Kugahime.