HANKAI

A TALE FROM THE HARUSAME MONOGATARI BY UEDA AKINARI (1734-1809)

Translated and Annotated by

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ABSTRACT

Ueda Akinari has already attracted the notice of a few Western scholars, but their studies to date have been concerned almost exclusively with his unchallenged literary masterpiece, Ugetsu monogatari (Tales of Moonlight and Rain). The thesis which follows is an attempt to introduce Akinari's next best known work of fiction, Harusame monogatari (Tales of the Spring Rain), to Western study.

The core of my thesis is a translation of "Hankai," the longest of the ten tales which comprise Harusame monogatari. It is preceded, as an introduction, by an essay of three major divisions: first, a note on the life and works of Ueda Akinari; second, a discussion of Harusame monogatari as a whole; and finally, specific remarks on "Hankai." Although Akinari's personal history is obscure, and will remain so until considerably more biographical research is done, I have tried to sketch his life using the pertinent items about him which are known to be, or at least are generally accepted as being true, and to explain how he fits into the overall picture of Japanese literature.

In translating "Hankai," an effort to keep the English rendition true to the original Japanese was sustained throughout, but though held to a minimum and used only as a last resort, some compromises were necessary in the interests of good English. In translating works of literature, one always encounters this problem of achieving the appropriate balance between remaining faithful to the original work and creating a piece that is readable. I must leave it to the reader

to judge the degree of my success.

"Hankai" is a tale with a moral theme. It concerns Daizō (later called Hankai), a wild and impetuous country youth who is able, due to his boldness and phenomenal strength, to live as he pleases with little thought for the consequences. At length his crimes force him to flee from his home and keep moving in order to avoid arrest. In the course of his wanderings, he has experiences which exert a maturing influence upon him and gradually bring his latent goodness to the surface. At last he foresakes his evil ways, enters the priesthood, and finally attains enlightenment. The tale portrays the Buddhist concept that man is basically good by nature and that through mastery of his passions he can determine his own destiny. But "Hankai" also contains a wealth of references to old Japanese life, history, geography, and literature. I have tried to clarify such points in a way that would prove informative and interesting to both the casual reader and the more serious student of things Japanese. Approximately one third of this thesis is devoted to footnotes.

Information for this study was gleaned from a variety of sources in both English and Japanese. Specialized dictionaries and encyclopedias--literary dictionaries, biographical dictionaries, historical dictionaries, Japanese language dictionaries, geographical dictionaries--proved extremely helpful. Collections of Japanese literary works, both in their original form and in translation, helped in clarifying the allusions to literature. Considerable information came from specialized studies in books and periodicals on such topics as Japanese history, philosophy, religion, customs, literature, and on

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the life and works of Ueda Akinari. Despite its limitations, it is hoped that this study will in some way prove helpful in introducing the literature of Japan to the West.

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INTRODUCTION

I. Ueda Akinari: His Life and Work

Ueda Akinari 上田秋成 (also 秋也) aspired to distinction as a classical scholar and waka poet, achieved it as a novelist, and is worthy of note as a writer of haikai and devotee of the tea ceremony. He has been called a good amateur.¹ In all his endeavors--his studies, writings, and way of life--he kept away from the general trend and so his works possess a flavor all their own.

As nearly as can be determined, although the evidence has been challenged, Akinari was born on July 25, 1734 in Sonezaki 曾根崎, the Osaka licensed quarter. According to tradition, he was the son of an unknown father and a courtesan surnamed Tanaka 田中.² Akinari entered the world during the administration of Yoshimune 吉宗 (ruled 1716-1745), the eighth Tokugawa shogun, who had already initiated the reforms that established the Edo government's authority over the Osaka region's commercial power and started Edo on the road to developing an economy and culture of its own. Culture in the Osaka-Kyoto area had reached its apex during the Genroku 元禄 Era (1688-1703), when creative writing was epitomized by the works of Matsuo Bashō 松尾芭蕉 (1644-1693), Chikamatsu Monzaemon 近松門左衛門 (1653-1724) and Ihara Saikaku 井原西鶴 (1642-1693). Now it was declining, and the next important period of literary production would be the Bunka 文化 (1804-1817) and Bunsei 文政 (1818-1829) Eras, the time of Takizawa Bakin 龍澤馬琴 (1767-1848) and

Santō Kyōden 山東京傳 (1761-1816), when Edo had become the center of culture. Akinari's life fell between these two periods of literary activity, which accounts in part for his importance in the history of Japanese literature. He was the last major writer of the Kyoto circle and influenced authors of the later period.

In 1737, young Akinari was adopted by Ueda Mosuke 上田茂助 of Osaka, a prosperous dealer in oil and paper. His shop, which was called the Shimaya 嶋屋, was situated in Dōjima Era-chō 堂島永来町, now the approximate location of the Osaka Mainichi Shimbun office. Nothing is known of the circumstances behind the adoption. One can infer that Ueda needed a son to carry on the family name, for his only natural child was a girl, but how he came to choose Akinari is a matter for speculation.

The year after his adoption, Senjirō 仙次郎, as he was called in childhood, contracted a severe case of smallpox that very nearly cut his life short. His foster father went repeatedly to the Inari 稻荷 Shrine in Kashima-mura 歌島村 on the northern outskirts of Osaka to offer prayers for his recovery. On one such excursion, it is said, the father fell into a doze during which the god of the shrine appeared in a dream and told him that his son had been granted a life of sixty-eight years. Shortly thereafter, the boy's health began to mend. The disease left him with a weakened constitution that would plague him throughout his life, and with his right middle finger and left index finger shortened and deformed. He remained sensitive about his resultant appearance and later used such pen names as Senshi Kijin 剪枝畸人 ("The Pruned Cripple") and Ueda Muchō (上田無腸 ("Ueda the Crab"³))

because of it. Nevertheless, his life had been spared. Believing the reports that his recovery had been the result of divine intervention, Akinari remained a faithful patron of the Kashima Inari Shrine all his life. In 1801, when he began his sixty-eighth year, he composed sixty-eight waka and dedicated them to the shrine in thanks.

Only a few miscellaneous items are known about the next quarter century of Akinari's life. His foster mother died shortly after his recovery, but Ueda soon remarried and the new mother was very kind to the children. When he came of age, his childhood name of Senjirō was changed to Tōsaku 東作 (also 藤作) -- Akinari was a nickname. His sister, whose name and dates are unknown, left home, apparently with a lover, in 1755, and was disinherited by her father. Because of his poor health, Akinari was pampered and allowed considerable freedom all through his youth, and until he was nearly twenty he appears to have received little formal education. Light minded companions, it seems, were often successful in luring him away from his studies and into the gay quarters or some other frivolous activity, but his father was determined to give him a good education, and sent him, in his late teens, to the Kaitokudō 懷徳堂, an Osaka school for merchant families.⁴ It was probably here that he was introduced to classical studies, very likely through contact with Goi Ranshū 五井蘭州 (1698-1762), a Confucian scholar and student of the national literature who wrote critical works on the Japanese classics. During his late teens and early twenties, Akinari read widely in popular fiction, and like many sons of merchant families, dabbled in haikai writing. In the latter pursuit, he had no formal teacher but asso-

ciated with several of the Kyoto-Osaka haikai masters, especially with Takai Kikei 高井几支 (1687-1761) of Kyoto, whom he met around 1756.

It was probably at this same time that he encountered Kikei's son Kitō 几董 (1741-1789), who was a student of the haiku master Yosa Buson 與謝 蕪村 (1716-1783). Through Kitō, Akinari was able to establish a friendship with the man.

Akinari married in 1760. His bride was Ueyama Tama 植山太夫 (1740?-1797), a native of Kyoto who had been adopted into an Osaka family. Tama won his respect and devotion and their marriage proved to be a happy, albeit childless one. Akinari now began to study literature more seriously, and in 1766 he published Shodō kikimimi sekenzaru 諸道 聴自世間猿, a collection of fifteen unrelated stories drawn from his own experiences, which present a witty and satirical picture of various aspects of society. This success was followed early the next year by Seken tekake katagi 世間妾形氣, which consists of twelve tales that are primarily concerned with the difficulties of keeping a mistress. Although droll and satirical in tone, the stories consider the feelings of concubines and the men who keep them, probing the dilemma of head versus heart. Both collections, written under the name of Wa Yakutarō 和譯太郎, and falling into the class of literature known as ukiyo-zōshi 浮世草子, show the influence of Ejima Kiseki 江嶋基碩 (1667-1738). As the last noteworthy ukiyo-zōshi, these works have historical significance, but Akinari is not remembered for his contributions to a dying genre.

About this same time, Akinari met Katō Umaki 加藤宇高俊 (1722-1777), who introduced him to the Mabuchi school of the kokugaku 國學 movement. Kokugaku, though hard to define precisely, was an effort,

through study of the Japanese classics, to clarify and understand the ancient language, spirit, and way of life before the advent of continental influences. The field included study of the national language and literature, ancient history, intellectual history, religion, and other areas.⁵ Interest in such study had been kindled by Keichū 契沖 (1640-1701) and continued and expanded by Kamo Mabuchi 賀茂真淵 (1697-1769) and others. Umaki had been a student of Mabuchi and was closer to him in character than was his more famous disciple, Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730-1801). Akinari had been independently studying the works of Keichū and his admirer Goi Ranshū, but now he learned from Umaki the spirit of Mabuchi's teachings. This helped him to shift from popular literature to serious literary scholarship. He remained on close terms with Umaki until the man's death, either through personal contact or correspondence. After Umaki died, Akinari returned to independent study, but he had fallen heir to Umaki's teachings and enlarged upon them, producing some deeply learned writings of his own. Acutely conscious of his position as an indirect disciple of Mabuchi, Akinari all his life paid deep respect to the memory of both Mabuchi and Umaki.

Akinari also studied for a time with the writer Takebe Ayatari 建部綾足 (1719-1774), whom he probably met in 1767. They agreed on matters of kokugaku at first, but their relationship deteriorated and Akinari developed feelings of rivalry toward the man. It is commonly believed that Akinari met Umaki through Ayatari, but the record is not clear on this matter.⁶

When his father died in 1770, Akinari suddenly found himself re-

sponsible for the family business. He may, however, have felt some relief when the establishment was destroyed by fire the following year, for he made no attempt to salvage anything or make a fresh start.⁷ Still, he had to find a means of livelihood. He chose medicine, and in 1773 he moved to Kashima-mura and commenced study under the Confucian physician Tsuga Teishō 都賀庭鐘 (1718?-1795?). But medicine was not all that he learned.

A new literary genre, the yomihon 讀本, was developing. Yomihon, as the term implies, were books to be read primarily for pleasure rather than instruction, though a didactic element was often present. In the beginning they were usually collections of short stories, often based on actual events or classical tales, and influenced by Chinese vernacular literature. Translation and study of Chinese colloquial novels had begun early in the eighteenth century, and interest in them was now reaching its peak. Many of the early yomihon were translations or close adaptations of Chinese literature, but later their authors grew more original in their presentation. From 1750 to 1800, most yomihon were written in the Kyoto-Osaka region, and from about 1800 until 1848, when Bakin, the last creative author of the genre, died, Edo became the center of productivity. Outstanding among early yomihon were Tsuga Teishō's Hanabusazōshi 英草紙 (1749) and Shigeshigaya 繁野話 (1766), and Takebe Ayatari's Nishiyama monogatari 西山物語 (1768) and Honchō suikoden 本朝水滸傳 (1773). Indeed, Teishō's adaptations of Chinese novels were largely responsible for starting a dialogue about a new style of literature. Though not a genuine academic Chinese scholar (his translations were aimed at financial

profit), Teishō was still a man of wide knowledge, and Akinari gained considerable learning from him as well as from Umaki and study of Mabuchi's writings.

After two years with Teishō, Akinari returned to Osaka and established his own medical practice. The following year, 1776, his masterpiece was published. This was Ugetsu monogatari 雨月物語, written under the name of Senshi Kijin. A collection of nine short tales of the supernatural, adapted from Chinese sources and written in an elegant and flowing style, Ugetsu is a work of eerie beauty. The preface is dated 1768, but the work is so pervaded by Chinese influences that it must have been drastically revised before publication, or else the date is incorrect. Historically, Ugetsu and the writings of Ayatari and Teishō formed the nucleus of the yomihon genre and helped provide the transition from early to late Tokugawa styles.

Akinari was a conscientious and successful physician, though it was hardly the ideal occupation for a man of his nervous temperament. He believed that working at one's trade was a duty, while scholarship and the arts were only a means of recreation, so he devoted himself to medicine in spite of the inner turmoil it must have cost him. His kindness and sincerity enabled him to acquire an extensive practice, and by 1781 he was prosperous enough to build a new house. But failure to alleviate suffering was a constant source of pain to him. His poor health forced many interruptions in his work and his sight began to weaken as well. Nor was he able permanently to suppress his literary inclinations. In 1788, when a young girl in his care died as a consequence of his mistaken diagnosis, he gave up medicine for a

life of study and writing. He moved to Awajishō-mura 淡路庄村, not far from Kashima-mura, taking up residence in a house which he called the Uzurai 鶯居. The period that he spent here determined his own peculiar scholastic position and the views on society that appeared in his writings.

After the publication of Ugetsu, which brought him acclaim among men of letters, Akinari seems to have turned away from fiction writing in favor of waka and more serious study of phonetics and the classics. His critical essays on old literary works contributed to the revival of interest in the Japanese classics, but the only works of fiction that he produced during this period were Kakizomeki genkai 書初機嫌海 (1787) and Kusemonogatari 病辭譚 (1791, pub. 1822). Both were merely sketches, sarcastic in tone, and quite different from Ugetsu, but they reflect his feelings at the time they were written. Akinari was prolific as a waka poet but never achieved excellence in this field, though his combination of fresh new expressions with conventional simplicity in subject matter earned him some praise. Not a poet of the court school, he wrote as a kokugakusha. His waka displayed the influence of Mabuchi and Umaki but had little popular appeal. He set down some of his views on haikai writing in Yasaishō 也哉抄, which he wrote under the name of Muchō, though his haikai name was Gyoen 漁翁 (also 御園). Written in 1774, this work boasted a preface by Buson, but Akinari withheld publication until 1787, feeling that haikai had no value aside from being a source of amusement. Even so, he continued to write haikai all his life.

The famous quarrel between Akinari and Motoori Norinaga began

about 1784 or 1785. The two men disagreed on certain aspects of ancient Japanese manners and customs, and with particular sharpness on the subject of phonetics in the old language. Norinaga maintained that the "n" (ン) sound was of foreign origin, that "mu" (ム) had been the original sound, while Akinari contended that both sounds had occurred anciently. He also challenged Norinaga's belief that the "p" sound was not native to Japan. Their dispute appears in such works as Kashōden 歌聖傳 (1785), Kakaika 呵刈霞 (1787), and Yasumigoto 安々言 (1792). Akinari's arguments were considered inadequate at the time, but in later years many scholars came to share his opinions. The depth of Akinari's learning and conviction fell short of Norinaga's but Akinari displayed a keen wit and a freedom of position. Despite his hot temper and eccentric words and actions, Akinari was a rationalist, and Norinaga took exception to the value which he placed on independence and freedom of emotion. The fastidious Akinari was equally displeased by the passionate faith, fanatically anti-Chinese position, complacent self-satisfaction, and apparent indifference to systematization of Norinaga, whose view of the world was taken from the classics. Nor should jealousy be discounted as a source of Akinari's displeasure.

Akinari's mother-in-law and stepmother both died in 1789, and the following year he himself lost most of the sight in his left eye. In 1793, perhaps motivated by grief over these losses, his wife became a nun. Her monastic name was Koren'i 胡蓮尼. Repeated publication had failed to produce any substantial income and his wife was lonely for her old home, so that same year, Akinari decided to try his for-

tunes in Kyoto. At first he and his wife took lodgings near the Chion'in 知恩院 Temple where he is known to have practiced the tea ceremony with a Murase Kōtei 村瀬桃亭 who lived in the vicinity. Akinari's liking for the tea ceremony led him to design articles for it and to write Seifū sagen 清風瑣言 (1794). A year after their arrival in Kyoto, Akinari and Koren'i transferred to quarters near the Nanzenji 南禪寺 Temple, and thereafter they continued to move frequently. For a short time they lived at the home of the poet Ozawa Roan 小澤蘆庵 (1723-1801), who had often visited them at the Nanzenji. Koren'i's death in 1797 was a great blow to Akinari, and perhaps influenced by his emotional state, his remaining eye began to fail. Even so, he eked out a living by copying manuscripts and continuing to write. Some of his best koku-gaku writings were produced during this period. They include annotated editions of Japanese classics and the works of Umaki and Mabuchi. Reigotsū 聖語通 (1797) enlarged upon Umaki's views on ancient Kana orthography.

After the death of Koren'i, Akinari was cared for by Mineko 峯子, his adopted daughter, and by Matsuyama Teikō 松山貞光, a nun from Osaka who came to assist. But Teikō died three years after Koren'i, and Mineko left shortly thereafter, possibly to get married. Akinari had always isolated himself and remained cool toward society, being self-conscious about his birth and physical deformity. As he became older, his personality grew progressively darker, and in his last years he was noted for being a sulking, self-scorning old man, bitterly sarcastic toward the world and its people, and feeling that the masses were full of lies and immorality. Disenchanted with his own times, he favored

the past and felt that the only proper course was to withdraw from the world and live a strict ascetic life. Outwardly he was irritable, foul mouthed, misanthropic, and stubborn, but though his hot temper and free speech bred dislike in many, others realized that he was simply high-strung. Ignoring his temperament, they applauded his wit, recognizing his irritability and keen insight as the sources of his literary talent. Such men watched over him unobtrusively, rather than risk his displeasure by offering assistance. Encouraged by them, he wrote Tsurabumi 藤筆冊子 (1802, pub. 1806), a collection of poetry and prose, including some posthumous works of his wife, and Kinsa 金砂 (1804), his longest work. A miscellany in style, it brings together all his previous studies of the Man'yōshū 萬葉集. It was followed the same year by a brief afterword, Kinsa jōgen 金砂乘言.

Certain actions in his last years suggest that Akinari felt his end approaching. In 1802 he designed his own tombstone, and in 1807 he dropped a number of his manuscripts down a well. He moved back to the Nanzenji in 1806, and it was here that he wrote Tandai shōshin roku 膽大小心錄 (pub. 1808), a general statement of his ideas. A miscellany of his opinions and experiences, it presents his views as he wanted them to be remembered. He wrote without deference to his superiors or old acquaintances, viciously attacking some while praising others. Tandai is a good key to his personality and tells us much about his life.

Akinari died on August 8, 1809 at the home of Hakura Nobuyoshi 羽倉信美, where he had been living since early that year. In accordance with his wishes his friends interred his remains at the Saifukuji 西福寺 Temple, near the Nanzenji, where his gravestone, inscribed with the

name "Ueda Muchō", can still be seen.

II. Harusame monogatari

From about 1800 until shortly before his death, Akinari was sporadically working on a collection of ten short tales which he called Harusame monogatari 春雨物語. At the time he began this work, he displayed considerable interest in political and cultural history, but later his concern shifted to social problems. These interests are reflected in the tales. Early manuscripts contain drafts of certain stories, all having historical settings and themes, that were subsequently excluded, and what appears to be the final version of Harusame (though Akinari probably was not yet satisfied with the result when he died) is a conglomeration of historical tales and human interest stories.

Serious study of Harusame was delayed until after the Pacific War, because no complete text was available. Although the tales circulated in manuscript form, they were never published until the late Meiji Period, when all but four complete tales and half of a fifth had been lost. Scholars knew that there had been ten stories in the original, so it was only natural that when interest in study of Akinari's works was heightened by the publication of Ueda Akinari zenshū 上田秋成全集 in 1918 and Akinari ibun 秋成遺文 in 1919, concerted efforts were made to find the missing portions. The complete text is now available. It consists of the following tales:

1. Chikatabira - 血かたむら

2. Amatsu otome 天津處女
3. Kaizoku 海賊
4. Nisei no en 二世の縁
5. Me hitotsu no kami 目ひとつの神
6. Shinikubi no egao 死首のゑがほ
7. Suteishimaru 捨石丸
8. Miyagi ga tsuka 宮木が塚
9. Uta no homare 歌のほまれ
10. Hankai 樊噲

Harusame was first published in 1907, through the efforts of Fujioka Sakutarō 藤岡作太郎, who took his version from the so-called Tomioka Hon 昌岡本, named for its owner, a Tomioka Kenzō 昌岡謙三 of Kyoto. This manuscript, now in the Tenri Library, consists of five scrolls in Akinari's own handwriting, and contains the preface to Harusame and the tales "Chikatabira," "Amatsu otome," "Kaizoku," "Me hitotsu no kami," and the first part of "Hankai." In order to meet the demands of the average reader, Fujioka freely substituted kanji where kana had been in the original, and added okurigana where he deemed it necessary for clarity. His version was subsequently included in Ueda Akinari zenshū and in the Yūhōdō Bunko 有朋堂文庫 collection of Akinari's writings. In order to supply a more scholarly version, Shigetomo Ki 重友毅, in 1939, published a text that corresponded to the original.

Another manuscript, the Urushiyama Hon 漆山本, provided a more complete version of Harusame. A transcription in one volume, made in 1833, it was discovered shortly after the Pacific War in the collection of Urushiyama Matashirō 漆山又四郎. It contained eight tales; the

copyist noted that he had decided not to include "Hankai" and "Suteishimaru." Finally, through the efforts of Maruyama Sueō 丸山 季夫, the first complete edition of Harusame was offered to the public. Maruyama had found a reference to a two-volume transcript copy of Harusame in the catalogue to the Sakurayama Bunko 櫻山文庫, the collection of Kashima Noribumi 鹿嶋 則文 who, in the late Tokugawa Period, had been a chief priest at the Ise Shrine. Kashima's son Noriyuki 則幸 turned the manuscript over to Maruyama, who published it in 1951.

Two other manuscripts, both now in the Tenri Library, deserve mention here. The Seisō Bunko Hon 西莊文庫本, a two-volume transcript copy from the Seisō Bunko, the collection of Ozu Keisō 小津桂定, contains all ten tales. Ozu Keisō (1804?-1858), a bibliographer and collector from Matsuzaka 松坂 in Ise, was a friend of Takizawa Bakin, and it was through this copy that Harusame came to be noted in Bakin's pioneer history of Edo literature, Edo sakusha burui 江戸作者部類, which in turn informed modern scholars that the complete work consisted of ten items. The Tenri Kansubon 天理卷子本 was preserved by the Matsu-muro 松室 family, into which Hakura Nobuyoshi's son Shigemura 重村 was adopted by marriage. It consists of three scrolls in Akinari's own handwriting, and contains the tales "Nisei no en," "Shinikubi no egao," "Suteishimaru," "Miyagi ga tsuka," "Uta no homare," and the second part of "Hankai," but there are many missing portions.

Although other manuscripts exist, modern scholars are primarily concerned with those mentioned above, since they represent the most polished versions of Harusame. The Sakurayama, Urushiyama, and Seisō manuscripts were apparently copied from the draft that Akinari wrote

in 1808, while in temporary residence at the Nanzenji Temple.⁸ The original is probably the manuscript said to be in the possession of a certain Hasegawa 長谷川 of Matsuzaka, but it has never been found. Notwithstanding their common origin, these three manuscripts are not uniform. Deciphering Akinari's handwriting is a formidable task even for a specialist in old manuscripts, so there are numerous disagreements in the use of kanji and kana, one often being substituted for the other, and a number of discrepancies in wording. Without the original manuscript it is impossible to say which copy is the most faithful rendition of what Akinari actually wrote.

The dates of the Tomioka Hon and Tenri Kansubon cannot be pinpointed, but comparison of them with the 1808 version reveals numerous differences in structure, organization, and wording. In general, the text is better organized and more polished and refined in the Tomioka Hon and Tenri Kansubon, so it is commonly assumed that Akinari wrote this draft of the tales in 1809, just before his death. Research has established that originally the Tomioka Hon and Tenri Kansubon were parts of the same manuscript, but efforts to uncover the latter's missing portions have failed. At present, therefore, the complete final draft of Harusame is not available. Some hope was provided by the discovery of part of the Tawara Hon 田原本, a copy made after Akinari's death by a waka poet of Kyoto named Tawara Shunsho 田原春所. This manuscript, now in the Tenri Library, contains the preface and the tales "Chikatabira," "Amatsu otome," and "Kaizoku," and they correspond to the version in the Tomioka Hon. Discovery of the remainder of the Tawara Hon, then, would probably supply Akinari's final rendition.

Harusame incorporates the knowledge that Akinari gained and the opinions that he formed as the result of his kokugaku studies. Although called a monogatari, it is partly a vehicle for the transmission of his ideas. Most of the stories are based on actual events or folk legends. Chinese background material, unlike Ugetsu, is spotty and insignificant. "Chikatabira" and "Amatsu otome" show Akinari's historical views. The former, a tale of treachery and its overthrow, portrays the pure Japanese spirit, symbolized by the emperor Heizei 平城 (reigned 806-809), and corruption, in the guise of Fujiwara conspirators. In the latter, Akinari attempts to show the effects of continental culture on the imperial court during the first half of the ninth century, the period of fascination with things Chinese, but he fails to bring the events and characters into clear focus.

Four of the tales feature criticism of scholarship or religion. "Kaizoku" uses as its setting the journey described by Ki no Tsurayuki 紀貫之 in Tosa nikki 土佐日記. The boat from Tosa is overtaken by a pirate who comes aboard and engages Tsurayuki in a debate on waka and politics. In "Nisei no en," a priest who had been buried alive long before, seeking the peace of the hereafter, is unearthed and revived. He marries into a poor family, lives by doing hard labor, and is constantly scolded by his wife. Apparently his previous religious actions have gained him nothing. In "Me hitotsu no kami," a man on his way to study at the capital encounters a group of supernatural beings, including a one-eyed deity, who drink with him and talk about waka writing and study in general. Stressing the need for self-study rather than instruction, they convince him to return home. "Uta no homare" is

a very short piece about the Man'yō poet Takechi no Kuroto 高市黒人, who, making a journey, dresses his wife in male attire and goes on his way with her, reciting waka.

Finally, there are four humanistic tales. "Shinikubi no egao" is the tragic story of a youth torn between his love for a girl and his duty to his father, who opposes the match. The girl is beheaded by her brother, and her lover carries her head away. Akinari based this story on an actual event, the same as that which formed the basis of Takebe Ayatari's Nishiyama monogatari. "Suteishimaru" begins in northern Honshū, where Suteishimaru, a servant, kills his master and runs away. Seeking revenge, the dead man's son finally traces the murderer to Kyūshū, but finds that he has repented and is constructing a tunnel as a service to the local inhabitants. Suteishimaru's reform drives all desire for vengeance out of the son's heart. The story is based on an old legend that Kikuchi Kan 菊池寛 (1889-1948) used as the source for his story "Onshū no kanata ni" 恩讐の彼方に. "Miyagi ga tsuka" is the sad tale of Miyagi, a girl who is patterned after a courtesan of whom Akinari heard while living in Kashima-mura. Miyagi is forced into prostitution by poverty. She finds a lover but he is poisoned by a jealous rival who then ravishes her. The sorrowing Miyagi is consoled by a passing priest and then drowns herself in the sea. "Hankai," which forms the basis of this study, is the story of a wild young man who commits all manner of crimes but ultimately mends his ways and becomes a great priest.

As indicated above, Harusame is a motley collection. Some of the tales are historical while others are set in no particular period. In

general, the tone of Harusame is dark, in keeping with the author's feelings in his later years. All of the tales have subjects worthy of this phase of his life. "Nisei no en" satirizes the Buddhist doctrine of finding peace in this world and the next. Criticism of scholarship appears in "Kaizoku," "Me hitotsu no kami," and "Uta no homare." "Chikatabira" and "Amatsu otome" are critical of historical figures. "Miyagi ga tsuka" portrays the misery of an innocent victim of evil. Man's better nature is often called into question, although the reformation of Suteishimaru and Hankai are cases of affirmation. A moralistic tone appears now and again. The world was not, to the aging Akinari, a place of beauty, and the society he depicts in Harusame is unattractive and more realistically portrayed than in his earlier works of fiction. Whereas in Ugetsu he escaped from reality into a dream world, in Harusame he seems to have decided to portray things as he saw them.

Critics naturally tend to compare Harusame with Ugetsu, usually to the former's disadvantage. Harusame, although it features Akinari's classic style and is a reservoir of his ideas and learning, lacks the eloquence and appeal of Ugetsu, being replete with difficult sentences and crude use of kanji. Also, Ugetsu is a unified whole, while Harusame is uneven in construction--some of the tales are skillfully organized and entertaining, while others are more like discourses. Even so, as a piece of high toned, learned writing, Harusame is on a par with Ugetsu, perhaps even surpassing it in research and classic style. While it may be inferior as a work of art, it stands as proof that Akinari, who loved study and research from his young manhood, continued in this spirit to his life's end.

III. Hankai

For my translation of "Hankai," I have used the text prepared by Nakamura Yukihiro which is printed in Ueda Akinari shū 上田秋成集, Nihon koten bungaku taikai 日本古典文学大系, LVI (Tokyo, 1968), 214-247. Nakamura wanted to provide the most up to date version possible, but since only the first part of the 1809 rendition of "Hankai" was available, he chose the 1809 version for Part I and the 1808 version for Part II. More specifically, he used the Tomioka Hon as the standard text for the first part, and for the second, the Seisō Bunko Hon, with reference to the Tenri Kansubon, Sakurayama Hon, and Urushiyama Hon. In order to make his text more comprehensible to the modern reader, Nakamura supplied punctuation, which is completely lacking in the original, and added some furigana. He also made certain minor changes and additions, either from reference to the non-standard manuscripts or from the context, but all such items are duly marked and their sources given. I was able to compare the NKBT text with the Koten Bunko 古典文学大系 edition, which was published from the Sakurayama manuscript.⁹ As one would expect, the second part of "Hankai" is almost identical in both editions, but there are numerous differences in the first part, though none sufficient to alter the story.

"Hankai" is Akinari's longest work of fiction. It is the tale of a young man who, though guilty of numerous crimes, is led to repentance through Buddhist virtue and ultimately attains enlightenment. The title derives from the name of a historical figure who died in 189 B.C. Fan K'uai, to give the Chinese reading of his name, was a faithful retainer of Liu Pang 劉邦 (247-195 B.C.), the founder of the Former

Han dynasty. A humble dog butcher by trade, Fan attached himself to Liu Pang early in that man's career and rose to a high position through military prowess and great strength. When Liu Pang met with his rival, Hsiang Yü 項羽, in 206 B.C., Fan K'uai saved his master from being assassinated. This was his most famous exploit and won him further honors. His name was well-known in Tokugawa Japan.¹⁰ Daizō 大藏, the central character of "Hankai," is a strong man worthy of the title, but Akinari seems to have drawn him more from Lu Chih-shen 魯智深, a key figure in the Chinese novel Shui hu chuan 水滸傳, than from Fan K'uai. Both Daizō and Lu Chih-shen are coarse and simple in their behavior, lacking in education, but endowed with sufficient strength and reckless courage to do whatever they please. Both men flee from the law after killing someone, and personal descriptions are circulated for their arrest. Subsequently, both men become priests in order to avoid detection. Likewise, both become thieves, and both at last die peacefully after attaining Buddhist enlightenment.

Daizō, or Hankai, as he is called through most of the story, is a young man¹¹ whose home is the traditional environment for producing a delinquent. Being the second son, he is subordinate to his brother, and probably resentful of this fact. His father and brother, who think only of finances and reputation, lack sympathy and understanding, qualities that his mother and sister-in-law have in abundance, with a corresponding lack of discretion. Such a home situation bears comparison with the tale in Ugetsu, "Jasei no in" 蛇性の姪, in which the younger son is similarly indulged by his mother and sister-in-law, while being scorned by his father and brother. In Akinari's own home as well, the

father was steadfast, but the stepmother pampered the children, which may have influenced the daughter's flight from home.

"Hankai" begins with the phrase, Mukashi ima wo shirazu むかし今を
しらず, which indicates an indefinite time in the past, but the society portrayed in the tale appears to be a peaceful feudal establishment such as existed in Japan during the Tokugawa Period. This stands to reason, for Akinari was concerned about corrosion of values in his own day. The society in "Hankai" is not a good one. Daizō is raised in a home where utilitarian values replace human feelings. Money is the cause of most of his wicked acts. Nearly everyone he meets, seemingly good people included, sacrifice their moral principles for material gain. It is a priest who does not desire money who brings Hankai to his senses. Akinari was impoverished when he wrote "Hankai," which probably caused him to despise monetary greed all the more. But there is not complete negation of society. True, Hankai is driven to crime by a bad social environment, but it is good social elements that reform him. There is good in the world as well as bad. This duality, the coexistence of good and evil, is the story's principal theme.

Hankai is first portrayed as a youth who has little for a guide except the world around him. He is amoral and uneducated. Life, to him, is something one conquers by his own strength--the proverbial "might is right" outlook. As he uses his strength, his belief in it grows. Early in the tale he is punished by a god, but this is defeat at the hands of a supernatural power. He feels no need to change his behavior toward humans, and so the experience, terrifying though it was, has no lasting affect on him. Paradoxically, his first move

toward real moral awareness comes when he begins his life of crime. Having committed murder, he has to flee for his life. Even though he remains arrogant and adds to his list of crimes with no apparent reflection, he is now on his own and has to become serious. Gradually the good side of Hankai's character emerges. He frustrates the scheme of the dishonest merchant. Later he discovers his own musical talent and brings pleasure to others through his performance. On several occasions he displays considerable generosity. But until he meets his match in the old temple, he is fundamentally unchanged. Coming at a time when he is most sure of his physical prowess, his defeat amounts to shock treatment. And it is the warrior's strength, not his words, that makes the lasting impression. Through this experience, though it neither reforms him nor weakens his courage, Hankai comes to see the limits of his power and is prepared for the experience which does change his heart. When he meets the priest who saves him, Hankai, silhouetted against a blazing fire in a lonely and terrifying place, must present a fearsome spectacle, yet the priest, who is no physical match for him, passes by unmoved. His strength lies in a different realm. It is Hankai, having only physical prowess, who is disturbed.

"Hankai" is filled with entertaining episodes and sidelights, but its main purpose is to illustrate the Buddhist concept of Ten'aku seizen 轉惡成善, "Reform evil and create good." The Buddha nature is present in everyone, no matter how wicked he may be. Evil is not the basic nature of man, but merely the dust which covers his true character. Such a view denies the popular concept of evil as being unchangeable and irreversible. Man longs for virtue and purity, and he who is acquainted

with evil will treasure these qualities all the more. In other words, evil serves as a mediator for good and exalts the man who triumphs over it. Man, in "Hankai," is not at the mercy of fate, but responsible for his own actions. There is no employment of Buddhist incantations in order to escape from destiny, nor is there any talk of being reborn in paradise, or much religious talk of any kind, for that matter. Salvation is the peace of mind which can be found here and now through one's own efforts. It is self-discipline, then, or the lack of it, that determines what a person becomes. And so it is with Hankai. When used indiscriminately, his strength and courage are the source of considerable wrongdoing, but when his heart is turned in the right direction, these same qualities help him to attain Buddhahood.

HANKAI

I

In a former time, in the province of Hōki,¹ there lived a fearsome deity upon the sacred mountain of Daichi Daigongen.² Needless to say, people came down from this mountain at night, but it is told that in the daytime as well, after the hour of the monkey,³ even the priests would descend, and only those monks who were assigned to worship through the night would remain until dawn.

In the village below, there was a house⁴ where a quarrelsome group of roistering youths would gather each night to pass the time drinking and gambling. One particular day, the labor in the fields and hills having been called off because of rain, they assembled about the hour of the horse.⁵ Among those who were making merry with idle conversation was a man who pounded his fists and spoke without restraint.

"You talk boastfully," one of his comrades said in scorn, "but I dare you to climb the sacred mountain at night and leave your mark there."⁶ If you don't, we'll know that for all your strength, you're a coward at heart," and so shamed him before the crowd.

"That's nothing at all," the man replied. "I'll go there tonight and certainly leave my mark." Having eaten and drunk his fill, he put on a straw raincoat and sedge hat, because of the drizzle, and started off without delay. One of his friends, who was older and sympathetic, cried out with troubled countenance, "It's a senseless thing to do. The god will surely pick him up and cast him away," but he made no effort to run after his friend or to restrain him.

Being very swift of foot, this Daizō, as he was called, reached the precincts of the temple hall⁷ while the sun was still high, but while he was walking about, twilight approached, the wind began to blow with an eerie sound, and the groves of cypress and fir trees soughed in the breeze. Proud that only he was there in the darkness, he thought, "Nothing's going to happen here. It's an idle tale that the mountain priests have made up to scare people." The rain having ceased, he flung his hat and raincoat aside and struck a light for his tobacco.⁸ By then it was completely dark. "Well, now for the upper shrine,"⁹ he said, and making his way through the woods and kicking the fallen leaves aside, he continued to climb. The distance was said to be about a mile and a quarter.¹⁰ Upon reaching his destination, he thought, "What shall I do for proof?" when his eye fell on a large offering box.¹¹ "I'll carry¹² this down," he said. He swung the heavy box aloft with ease, but as he did so, it began to move of its own accord. Then, sprouting hands and feet, it effortlessly drew Daizō along with it up into the sky. Now his courage gave way. "Let me go!" he cried. "Help!" But there was no reply, and as the box flew on, he could hear the roar and rumble of waves. Very distressed, and fearing that he would be thrown into the sea, Daizō clung to the box for dear life.¹³

When at last the night had ended, the deity cast the box down upon the earth and departed. Daizō opened his eyes to find himself on the seashore. Here too there was a shrine, built in the midst of stately pines and cedars. A priest approached. He was dressed in worn robes, with an eboshi¹⁴ on his greying head, and he bore the

morning offerings to present at the altar. Seeing Daizō, he questioned him, saying, "Where did you come from? You're a suspicious looking fellow."

"I climbed Daisen in Hōki," Daizō replied, "and the god has punished me by dropping me in this distant place with this box. The god has now returned."

"Strange indeed. You're a fool, and you've done a stupid thing. Be grateful that at least your life was spared. This is the shrine of Takubi Gongen, in the province of Ōki."¹⁵

At these words, Daizō's eyes and mouth opened wide in amazement. "I have a mother and father," he said. "Please let me cross the sea and return to my village."

"We have laws for those who come from other provinces for no reason," the priest replied. "Wait here for a while. When I have finished with the offerings, come to my house."

In order to confirm Daizō's story, they went before the local official,¹⁶ and the priest explained: "Last night I dreamed that as I was raising my voice in prayer and presenting this morning's offerings, something fluttered down onto my hand, whereupon I closed the door of the shrine and returned home. When I awoke, I hurried to get the offerings ready, and upon reaching the shrine, I found a stranger standing under the pines. When I asked where he came from, he declared himself to be a man of Hōki Province, and said that for doing a certain deed he had unintentionally come here. Thereupon, I took him to my home, and now I lay the matter before you."

Having heard the circumstances, the magistrate said, "It was the

fault of the god that he came here. Since he is not a man of this province, there appears to be no reason for us to punish him."

On a ship that was awaiting the evening tide, they sent Daizō to the province of Izumo¹⁷ on the opposite shore. Being a ship of eight hundred koku¹⁸ capacity, it was no small vessel, and with favoring winds it travelled rapidly, though nothing like the wings of the god on the previous night. They embarked on the ninety-three mile¹⁹ crossing at the hour of the dragon,²⁰ and arrived in Izumo early in the hour of the monkey.²¹ Here a port inspector²² questioned Daizō and established his intentions. "Truly, the rascal of the world!" he said, and spat in Daizō's face as he gave him a travel permit.²³ "Disgusting!"

Escorted by two guards, Daizō passed through the villages one by one until on the seventh day of the month, at the hour of the horse, he reached his home town. Here he was dragged before the officials. As his offense was not a serious one, they beat him fifty strokes with a shimote staff.²⁴ Then, having summoned the village headman, they turned Daizō over to him. When the news was heard in the village, people ran ahead to his home crying, "Daizō has returned!"

"How?" exclaimed his mother and sister-in-law.²⁵ As they stood waiting in the doorway with mingled joy and grief, Daizō appeared, his guards on either side. The women welcomed him and bustled about saying, "Have something to eat! Wash your feet!" His father, however, sat before the family altar with his legs crossed and his knees drawn up high, blowing smoke into the air. The elder son picked up his sickle and carrying pole and said that he was going to the mountains.

"Strange that you've come back alive," he said to his brother. "I don't want to hear about it," and glaring fiercely in Daizō's face, he went out.

Daizō's friends in the village gathered and expressed their joy at his return. "We had better stop such contests," they said. "It's fortunate that the god didn't tear you apart." After they had gone, Daizō went to his quarters and slept soundly until noon the following day. Saying that hereafter he would pay heed to his parents, he went with his elder brother to work in the mountains. People said, "Crossing over to Izumo and returning from the islands of Oki is like a criminal's receiving amnesty," and so they ceased to call him Daizō and nicknamed him Taisha, or The Pardoned One.¹⁶

After some days had passed, Daizō said to his mother, "The deity has spared my life. As my heart is purified, I shall now pay a visit to the shrine."

Full of anxiety, his mother restrained him, saying, "If you have purified your body and changed your heart, are not Amida and the god one and the same? It's enough to pray to Amida and show your respect. Then return to work in the mountains with your brother."

His father, overhearing, said, "If the god had thought ill of you, would he have spared your life? Quickly, go and worship where you wish."

"Then you must accompany him, please," the sister-in-law begged her husband, but the brother sneered, "What Father says is right. Let him go alone. The gods and Buddhas should be well aware of his change of heart," and he refused to escort Daizō.

Being bold by nature, Daizō left the house saying, "I'll go by myself, offer my apologies, and come back." He returned shortly, not hurt in the least. "I presented the money that you gave me to the god and worshipped," he said to his mother, "and I have brought back the hat and raincoat that I left under the trees that night."

"Now then, behave yourself and don't get punished again," his mother urged. "People said that you had been torn apart and cast away, but the god has deigned to send you home unharmed." Thankful, she brought food to him.

From that time, Daizō was a changed man. He followed after his elder brother, cut down trees, and returned bearing firewood. Not only did he win the love of his parents, but being a man of great strength, he surpassed his brother at cutting wood. His mother and sister-in-law heaped praise upon him and rejoiced at the money he earned. By the year's end, Daizō had saved thirty kammon²⁷ from his labors--more than ever before. "This was a good year," the father and the elder son said with satisfaction. The mother and daughter-in-law agreed, and they made a new padded kimono for Daizō.

After the New Year, when the spring days grew warm, Daizō again took to playing at his old haunts, where he gambled and lost. Being pressed to pay his debts, he naturally felt ashamed and stayed away for a night or two. At length he asked his mother for money, saying, "My friends and I are going up the mountain for our New Year's worship."

"Come back early," his mother said on her way to the storeroom. "It's terrifying after the hour of the monkey."

"Please, I need a lot," Daizō said, following after.

"If you're going to the mountain shrine, what would you do with so much?" she replied. "This is all that you may have." Raising the lid of a chest, she took out a little more than a hundred mon in loose coins and said, "Take this and go." But as she was replacing the lid, he caught sight of a bundle of twenty kammon²⁸ inside the chest.

"I've lost my money, playing as we do every New Year," he said. "My friends keep demanding that I pay up. Please give me that money for a little while. I can work in the mountains and save up as much as before. I'll go into the mountains tomorrow," he wheedled in an exasperating manner.

"Goodness me!" the mother sighed. "I thought you had changed your ways, but you still haven't stopped gambling. The officials warn us about such evil things every New Year."²⁹ You make even the gods despise you. This is the money that your brother put away. I can't do anything without his permission." So saying, she attempted to lock the chest, but Daizō's heart was overcome with greed. He seized his mother and held her fast.

"Don't cry out," he ordered. "You'll wake Father from his midday nap." With his free hand, he raised the lid and grabbed the twenty kammon. Then, shutting his mother up in the chest, he shouldered the money and went away, staggering under the load.

His sister-in-law saw him and cried out, "Where are you going with that money? That's my husband's savings! Father, wake up! Daizō has gone bad again!"

The father awoke. "You thief!" he cried. "I'll never forgive you!" Seizing his cane, he rushed out to the garden and struck his

son sharply from behind, but Daizō's bones were solid. Laughing in scorn, he disappeared through the gate. His father pursued him, cursing, but Daizō ran away as though with the feet of Idate.³⁰ "Catch that man!" the father shouted as he ran on behind.

The elder son was returning home and met Daizō along the way. "You!" he cried. "Where are you taking that money?" He attempted to snatch it away, but Daizō evaded his hands and kicked him down. The father had fallen behind, for his legs were weak, but now at last he overtook his son and gripped him securely from behind.

"You old men think you're tough," Daizō said, "but you can't hurt me." With one hand, he pulled his father around in front of himself and threw him aside. The road was narrow, and the father rolled over into a pool, where the ice had freshly melted.

"What have you done to your father?" the elder brother cried, but while he was helping the old man to get up, Daizō ran far ahead of them. The father, himself a woodcutter, was stout of heart. Drawing his wet clothing up around his loins, he resumed the chase.

At a place where the road crossed over a ravine, Daizō encountered one of his friends, who stood directly in his path and seized him firmly. He was a powerful man, but Daizō hit him in the face with all the strength he could muster. When his adversary appeared to waver, Daizō delivered a kick that sent the man tumbling to the bottom of the ravine. It was that time of year when the water was very cold; not even a stout-hearted man could crawl out. "It was you who hounded me to pay my gambling debts," Daizō said. "I'm running away because this is my father's money." He kicked down a large rock that lay on the bank

and it landed on the very spot where his friend was struggling to extricate himself. The man fell into the deep stream along with the rock, and this time he made no effort to get out.

Daizō's father and brother, who had been unable to overtake him, at last arrived on the scene. Desperately they tried to retrieve the money, but Daizō was mad with rage by now. Kicking both father and brother into the stream below, he fled out of sight, running like the wind to he knew not where. Numbed with cold, the man and his son sank into the depths and perished.

The villagers had risen in disordered pursuit, but when they witnessed these deeds, they ran to the officials and told everything that had happened. "He's a despicable criminal indeed," said the officials. "We must catch him and punish him severely. But being so fleet footed, surely he is no longer in this province." In order to apprehend Daizō, they decided to draw and circulate a sketch of him, but then the village headman pointed out, "There is no one in this village who can draw pictures. Just write down what the culprit looks like, give an account of his crimes, and send that out."

"Very well," said the authorities. "He is five feet, eight inches tall.³¹ He has a face like a demon. He is broad and sturdy and likes to talk." They wrote down a full description and proclaimed it throughout the land.³²

Having made good his escape, Daizō now crossed over to far away Tsukushi,³³ where he sojourned for a time at the port of Hakata.³⁴ Here he fell in with a party of gamblers, and by a stroke of good fortune he won a considerable sum. But the order to apprehend the arch

criminal had been proclaimed even here, and these rogues realized that Daizō was the man. Seeing the look in their eyes, he got away quickly, but as his winnings were too heavy, he discarded them at the foot of a tree, saving only five gold pieces³⁵ on which to get along.

In the guise of a traveller, Daizō wandered to the port of Nagasaki, where he moved in with a poor and lonely widow. Through assiduous practice of gambling, he won repeatedly. "I'm a rich man!" he boasted, and making the widow bring him wine, he lay drunken day and night. Terrified at his recklessness, the woman fled to a brothel³⁶ in Maruyama,³⁷ found employment as a seamstress, and begged to be hidden.

When Daizō awoke from his wine, he called for his mistress, but she was gone. "Well," he said to himself, "she can't stand my acting like this, so she's run away. She was always talking about going to visit somewhere in Maruyama. Most likely she's there," and he went after her. Cursing violently, he shouted, "Give back my woman!" The master of the house and his servants, as well as those who were lodged there, all raised a clamor, crying, "What's going on? Has a demon come here?"

Meanwhile, Daizō kicked down all the shōji doors as he stormed hither and thither. "Well, I'm almost sober now," he thought, and picking up some abandoned sake cups, he drank deeply. He gathered up fish and rice and other things to eat, and as he gulped them down, he swelled with renewed vigor. "Bring out my woman!" he roared, running about as though insane.³⁸ He burst into an interior room which a Chinese guest³⁹ was occupying with a woman, and kicking over the screen, he sat down with a thud, crosslegged, in front of the man.

Startled and terrified, the Chinese cried out, "It's Fan K'uai! He's smashed the door!"⁴⁰ Please let me go. I don't know anything at all."

The master of the house entered to see if his guest had been injured. Then he entreated Daizō, saying, "Your wife did come here, but she has run away somewhere else. Calm yourself, please. She must be hiding nearby. I will go and help you find her. I dare say you'd like some wine." So saying, he brought out delicacies from the mountains and the sea, foods that rivalled bear paws and ostrich feet,⁴¹ and offered them to Daizō, at which gesture, Daizō's wrath subsided. As he was eating and drinking, he reflected, "I like the title 'Hankai' that the Chinese gave me." Pleased, he decided, "From now on, I'll make it my name."

At daybreak a party of well-armed guards came to the house and Daizō heard them say, "Bring out the man Daizō of Hōki, who slew his father and brother. We want to take him into custody." There was no escaping, so Daizō steeled his nerve and leaped out saying, "I didn't kill my father." He acted as if to submit, but then suddenly he snatched a staff from the foremost guard, beat his would-be captors down indiscriminately, and fled away without being apprehended.

From here, Daizō wandered about aimlessly, sleeping on the moors and hiding in the hills until he fell ill with a fever⁴² and collapsed in a mountain recess. As he moaned like a howling wolf, passers-by were terrified, and none stopped to investigate. At length his fever subsided, but having eaten nothing during his illness, he was unable to stand. Crawling up to the road, he waited for someone to pass that way. After night had fallen, a man came by. In the moonlight,

he heard Daizō's groans and asked, "Who are you?"

"I'm a traveller," Daizō replied. "I've been sick here for several days. I've recovered somewhat, but I'm so famished I can't get up. Please give me something to eat."

When the man examined him by the light of the lamp that he held, Daizō, his form wasted and his hair tangled and disheveled, appeared like a demon. Other than, "Give me something to eat," he could say nothing. Satisfied that he was human, the man took pity and decided to help him. Taking some cooked rice from the food pouch⁴³ at his waist, he gave it to Daizō, who merely raised it to his head in token of gratitude and ate in silence. "I am much indebted to you," he said after he had consumed his fill. "I shall always be grateful."

The traveller laughed. "You're an interesting one," he said. "What can you do when you've sunk so low? Make your living as a robber. Come and work under me."

Now Daizō laughed. "Thief, it's fortunate that we ran into each other," he said. "I'm a good gambler. That's why I came into the countryside. Gambling and theft are the same crime,⁴⁴ but if a gambler starts losing, he can't use his power. A thief can always rely on his sinews."

"You have a lot of spirit," the traveller said. "Do you happen to be the man who fled from Hōki after killing his father and brother?"

"I am," Daizō replied. "I'll never be safe mixing with people in the towns. Working under you in the moors and mountains will be good," and he rejoiced at his great fortune.

"Some travellers will pass this way tonight," the man said. "They

have a horse loaded with baggage, and there's nobody to stop us but one old footsoldier. We'll kill the groom along with him. There appears to be gold in the baggage, so it will be a good job. Come on now, show me what you can do."

"That will be quite simple," Daizō said, "but let me go down this mountain and have some wine to restore my strength."

"I'm cold myself," the man replied, and they descended about two thirds of a mile⁴⁵ and knocked on the door of a roadside inn,⁴⁶ saying, "We want to buy wine." Although it was still dark, those within answered and opened the door.

"Bring out your best wine and fish and whatever else you may have," the man said, as though in a hurry. "Since we're travelling by night, we'll pay in advance." He took out one gold bu⁴⁷ and threw it down.

The master of the house moved briskly. "There is tuna cooking in the house next door," he said, and while the sake was being warmed, he went to fetch some. Then he brought out sliced and pickled⁴⁸ blowfish and warmed up a pot of bean curd soup. The two men expressed approval and ate and drank their fill. Then, saying, "We'd best be on our way before it gets too late," they departed.

After they had gone, the proprietor said, "That tall man is a notorious robber. I've never seen the man with him, but he's working for him, no doubt." So saying, he ate up the remainder of the fish and drank up the rest of the sake and retired for the night.

Having found a good place to hide, the two bandits waited beneath the trees until their ears caught the sound of the horse's bells.

"Look sharp now, or we'll gain nothing," the leader said.

Daizō pulled up by the roots a pine tree nearly ten feet⁴⁹ tall, and waved it about laughing, "All right! All right! Bravely now!"

The horse's hoofbeats reached their hiding place. Without a word, Daizō brandished the pine tree and struck down both the horse and the groom.⁵⁰ The old footsoldier gave a shout of surprise, and looked as though he did not know how to draw his sword. Confused, he tried to run away, but Daizō overtook him. "You're a chicken heart!"⁵¹ he said, and threw his victim down where he thought the gorge was deepest. "Perhaps you think that I can't kill the horse too," he said, and trod heavily on the beast's abdomen until it whinnied as though it would die. "I can't be bothered untying the ropes on the baggage," Daizō swore as he tore at them, muttering. "There!" he exclaimed.

"Good! Well done!" said his companion, for when the baggage was loosened, just as expected, they beheld a pile of a thousand gold ryo.⁵² "Why bother with the rest?" the leader added. "The horse will betray us if it comes to." He put the box on Daizō's back and they sped down the mountain lightheartedly. It was still dark when they reached the seacoast. "Waves, come in."⁵³ Are you on the shore?"⁵⁴ the leader called.

A reply came. Then a boat⁵⁵ was rowed to shore and two men got out and stepped forward. "How did things go tonight?" they asked.

"I brought a good man into our service," the leader replied. "He did a fine job. Let's have a drink to celebrate."

"Good," said the men. "We've been fishing." They set out a dish of sea bream and sawara.⁵⁶ that they had made.

"I am called Hankai," Daizō said. "From now on consider me your brother." He drank down a few cups of sake in quick succession, and scratched his head with pleasure. "I've run into good luck," he rejoiced, and the thieves looked on in fear at the way he consumed food and wine. At length Daizō said to the leader, "You haven't told me your name yet."

"I am called Muragumo," the leader replied. "I used to be a sumō wrestler, but I was involved in a dispute and banished, even though my crime was insignificant,⁵⁷ and I was too ashamed to go back to my native village. Then I decided to become a thief and live dangerously. For the past three years I've hung out in the moors and mountains, or sailed the seas. Taking people's riches is quite simple, so I've had no need to go to the eastern provinces. I've rowed my boat to the Sanyōdō and to the nine provinces of Tsukushi on the opposite shore of this sea, and to Iyo, Tosa, and Sanuki⁵⁸ as well. I keep out of the authorities' hands. We're in the province of Iyo now. It's no place for spending a thousand ryō, but we can pass the time at the Nigitazu spa⁵⁹ until spring. The wine is good and so is the seafood."

When the day dawned, they rowed to their destination. "Two of us will stay here for a few days," Muragumo said. "Wait for spring in the provinces on the opposite shore, so as not to get caught. I'll give you money, so don't steal anything. Disguise yourselves as merchants and wait for me at the port of Shikama."⁶⁰ Then he divided up the money and sent the boat away.

Muragumo had given Hankai a hundred ryō. When people asked where he came from, he would reply, "I've come to follow the path of Kūkai,"⁶¹

but I thought it best to rest up in the baths while it's so cold and then continue on my way."

When the innkeeper heard this, he said, "Even among the pilgrims who praise the name of Kūkai,⁶² there are some with whom it is difficult to associate," but nonetheless the man let him remain.⁶³

Daizō reflected, "'Hankai' is a high sounding title. Besides, no matter where I go, that incident⁶⁴ will have been noised abroad, and may well prove my downfall. I'll disguise myself as a monk." Knowing there to be a temple on the peak of a nearby mountain, he went and saw how the monks lived. An old priest, bent over with age, was chanting, "Praise be to Kūkai," ever so quietly. Being ushered into this man's presence, Hankai said to him, "I come from the vicinity of the capital. I have been travelling about Shikoku⁶⁵ with my mother, but yesterday, as we were boarding a ship, she missed her step and fell into the sea. I called for help, but the boatmen told me, 'These waters are deep and inhabited by crocodiles that swallow men and devour them. They must have eaten your mother by now. There's nothing we can do.' I have carefully thought my situation over. I have no father, and my elder brother is a shrewd man. If I should return home and explain how I lost my mother, he surely would despise me and drive me away. I am a youth without a trade. I want to become a monk, journey everywhere Kūkai went, and then make a pilgrimage through the sixty-six provinces.⁶⁶ The hair on my head vexes me. Be so kind as to shave it off and give me a set of old robes." Taking a single ryo from the hundred which Muragumo had given him, he presented it respectfully. The mountain priest, who, other than the flowers that bloomed in the spring,⁶⁷ saw

no yellow glitter, accepted it, raised it reverently to his head and said, "You may receive the commandments." But Hankai replied, "No. I find anything but praising the name of Kūkai to be bothersome." Clasp-
ing his hands, he chanted loudly. As his hair was being shaved off, he said with joy, "My heart has become pure." The priest took out a set of tattered grey robes and put them upon him. They were makeshift ^{garments} ~~robes~~ and fitted so tightly that he could scarcely get his hands through.⁶⁸ Even so, he expressed his gratitude and offered his respects before going down from the temple and returning to the inn at the spa. Thinking that Muragumo would be tired of waiting, he hurried on his way.

"Well, well ! You're an august priest," Muragumo said when he saw Hankai. "I'll buy you a set of good robes." He talked with the land-
lord, had him sew grey robes that were somewhat larger, and gave them to his comrade.

"Clothes that fit him make him look still fiercer," said the land-
lord.

"Make yourself look smaller and go around practicing austerities," said Muragumo. "If I happen to find a portable shrine,⁶⁹ I'll buy that for you too."

"No," Hankai replied. "What would I put in it to carry with me? I'll place all my trust in the Buddha. Praise be to Kūkai," he chanted in a loud voice.

"Well, we can't stay here forever," Muragumo laughed, and they em-
ployed a ship to take them to Harima⁷⁰ on the opposite shore. "I have an aunt at the port of Shikama," said Muragumo. "We'll go there first

of all." They went to the aunt's home, and upon entering, they asked how she had been.

"My rice and money have run short," the aunt replied, "and all because you haven't come to visit me. Hand over your gifts--lots of them." Muragumo hurried out to buy some wine.

After about twenty days in this place, Hankai said, "Since I haven't seen the eastern provinces yet, I'll travel around and practice austerities." Placing a bundle⁷¹ on his back, a sedge hat on his head, and girding his close-fitting robes up around his loins, he bade Muragumo farewell.

"In the village called Ōsakayama,⁷² on the road that ascends eastward from the capital, they make pictures⁷³ and sell them at every house. One of them shows a demon striking a gong and saying the Nembutsu.⁷⁴ He looks just like you," Muragumo said, laughing, as he gave Hankai a boisterous sendoff.

Having eaten and drunk his fill, Hankai thought, "If I follow the main road, I may be recognized. I'll take the path that goes along the foot of the mountains." On and on he went, until the sun descended on the lonely moors. There was no inn at which he could spend the night, but at length he discovered a single dwelling, where he asked for lodging. He was a terrifying priest, but even if he were a robber, the lady of the house had nothing for him to steal.

"Tomorrow is the anniversary of my husband's death," she said. "My son has gone to buy rice at the sōja.⁷⁵ He will visit the temple and read sutras in his father's honor."

"I understand," Hankai said as he entered the house. "It's

pleasant at your hearth," he added, warming his hands and feet.

"I have nothing to eat," the woman said. "You must wait until my son returns." So saying, she offered him potatoes cooked with salt, and Hankai assured her that this would suffice to fill his stomach. She gave him all he could eat, and while he was devouring the food with pleasure, a man who claimed to be the neighbor came in, supposedly from the dwelling across the mountain stream. A merchant followed him into the house.

"Hasn't your son come back yet?" the neighbor asked. "This merchant is the man who usually comes to trade in this area. He told me that you have gold in this house. I thought, 'That is strange. Perhaps it's counterfeit.'⁷⁶ They sell it at the Osaka Ebisu Festival⁷⁷ in the spring and at the Hatsutora worship at the Kurama Temple⁷⁸ in the capital. It's all fake. I ought to go and have a close look at it.' I was eating my supper, but I put my chopsticks down and came directly."

"Now where did my son put it?" the woman said. "It's a useless thing, so I should give it to no one, he told me." While she was speaking, the son came in, carrying the rice. "I'm putting a priest up for the night," his mother said. "We'll fix something special. Wash some rice. We'll cook that for him."

She began kindling a fire, but the man from across the stream interrupted, saying, "This merchant who travels ^{in the} ~~the~~ area has been waiting a long time to see your gold."

"It's right here," the son said, taking a bundle down from the household altar, and showing it to them. A dazzling glitter shone

through a rent in the paper. There was no need to handle it, and under the priest's fearsome gaze the merchant could not lie.

"This is real gold," he said, but then he added, "I could exchange it for copper at the rate of two kammon. Or if I had it and were converting it to rice, I would go to the shrine town and exchange it at the rate of three to."⁷⁹

Hankai grew spiteful. "I have some experience myself," he broke in. "Since I travel around the provinces, I hear all about prices. A ryō should buy a koku of rice or seven kammon of copper."

The neighbor made no reply to this intrusion, and the merchant could only say, "Well, really I don't know much about anything besides what I trade in," before the two of them fled away.

"That merchant is hardly a thief," said Hankai, "but if I hadn't been here, he probably could have talked you out of your gold. Be sure you don't show it to anyone. Now I should add a coin to that for tonight's lodging."

As he had used little of the hundred ryō, Hankai kept his eyes open through the night. In the morning the son said, "Cook rice, boil potatoes, and treat this priest kindly. He's given us gold for one night's lodging." Living in this place, apart from all the villages, he was like a man from before the time of Fu Hsi.⁸⁰

Hankai chanted, "Praise be to Kūkai," so loudly that woodcutters leaving their homes in the morning said, "Has a demon come to that house? It's a terrifying voice that we hear." They went to investigate, and said, "How reverent of them to employ a priest. It's their father's memorial day. How splendid are the prayers."

Hankai spent a pleasant time there, and when he took his leave, his hosts said kindly, "Please come again. We'll prepare wakame⁸¹ from Akashi Bay, mushrooms, and chilled bean curd, and offer them at the sōja." Nodding approval, Hankai departed. Being swift of foot, he crossed over the moors, and following the mountains he reached Naniwa⁸² by the close of day. This was the largest port in Japan, and when he heard that ships from all regions were anchored there, he feared lest someone who knew him be in town. Rather than take lodgings at an inn, he lay down in the gate of a temple on the moors and slept until morning. Awakened by the singing of birds, he once again donned his hat, gripped his staff, and made himself look as small as possible. As he passed through the market streets, he found the numbers of people frightening. Without stopping even to see such spots as the Sumiyoshi Shrine⁸³ or the Tennōji Temple,⁸⁴ he passed through Kawachi, Izumi,⁸⁵ and the Kii Highroad,⁸⁶ wandering all through Yamato,⁸⁷ until he came to the capital. Though nothing like the bustle of Naniwa, there were still many people about, and so he decided to spend the winter amidst the snows of Mikoshi⁸⁸ and travel around the eastern provinces in the spring. He was in no hurry, yet he moved on, uneasy at heart. Looking across the Sea of Ōmi⁸⁹ on his right, he set his feet towards the provinces of Koshi.⁹⁰

II

Hankai asked the way to the port of Tsunuga,¹ and since it was a good night for travelling, he made his way over the barrier mountain

of Arachi.² From atop a boulder a small man hailed him, saying, "Where are you going, Priest? I've nothing in my purse. Leave me the price of a drink."

Another man came up from behind and deftly seized Hankai's pack. "This monk has a lot of gold," he said, with a look that showed no mercy.

Hankai took off his pack and dropped it. "Yes, I have plenty of gold," he said. "Take it if you can," and sitting down to the left of the rock, he struck his flint and lit himself a smoke.

"Ah, he's a brave one," the thieves jeered. They counted the money in the pack and found that it amounted to eighty ryō.

"Give me a share too," Hankai said with a scornful laugh. "I'll treat you children to some girls."³

One of the thieves sprang at him crying, "That's enough out of you!" but Hankai leaped to his feet and kicked him, whereupon the man collapsed face up. In a flash Hankai seized the other man and held him as though he were a baby. "You boys want to steal," he said, "but with no strength, how can you live long? Come and work for me. I'll let you have this much gold all the time." When the men had agreed, he said, "I'll call the little man Kozaru,⁴ and as for you, who look as though you've had your kettle stolen tonight,⁵ I'll name you Tsukiyo.⁶ Now, my plan is to hole up for the winter in the snow country and enjoy ourselves. Take me to a good place."

When they had arrived in the province of Kaga,⁷ the men said, "People gather at Yamanaka⁸ until spring to take cures in the hot baths. Let us stay there and enjoy the snow." Hankai had Kozaru and

Tsukiyo show him the way, and they obtained lodgings. The master of the hot spring recognized the two men as thieves, but when he saw how the priest treated them as if they were children, he felt at ease and let them remain. Hankai forbade his companions to do anything untowardly, and so their host trusted him implicitly.

"The snow is very deep this year," the guests at the hot spring said, as it fell day after day. A priest came down from a mountain temple, bringing with him a flute, which he played in order to pass the time. Hankai listened with interest and asked, "Won't you teach me?" Pleased at having found a good companion, the monk commenced by teaching him a melody called Kishunraku.⁹ Rhythm and tone came naturally to Hankai, and his powerful breath made a strong sound on the flute. Delighted, the priest said, "You are Myōonten¹⁰ appearing in the form of a demon."

Hankai replied, "Among the servants of the celestial nymphs there must be demons such as I," looking just like a demon when he laughed.

"This has been a pleasant winter vacation," the priest said, "but now I must return to my temple for a time. I'll get things ready for the spring, and then I'll come back. But first let me teach you another melody."

"No," Hankai declined. "One tune is enough. Learning any more would be burdensome."

"Be sure and visit my temple for the New Year," the priest said as he left. "What a waste of talent!"¹¹

Hankai wrote on a piece of paper, "Presented to our good visitor

in farewell," and in appreciation for the single melody, he wrapped up a gold piece and sent it with Tsukiyo. Thus the priest returned to his mountain, having received far above his highest expectations. Hankai went around with his flute, playing it even in the baths. Then, all the other guests left, because the snow was so heavy, and he grew lonely. "Isn't there any livelier place than this?" he asked.

"There are also hot springs at Awazu,"¹² he was told. "Many people visit the place because it is near the castle town of Kaga."¹³

"We'll stay there then," he said, and giving the host sufficient to please him, they departed. Many people from the provinces had come to the new place as well; it was gayer by far, and Hankai amused himself day and night by playing his accustomed Kishunraku melody.

"My, what beautiful music!" said a man from the castle town. "And how strange that he stops at just one melody." To Hankai he said, "I play the side flute myself," and producing his own instrument, he joined in concert. "Your melody is good and your notes are strong. I've yet to hear anything like it. Come and spend a few nights at my house," he requested.

The day after this man had gone home, his servant came to meet Hankai and his comrades, who accompanied him, finding the man's dwelling to be large and spacious. Obviously it was the home of a wealthy person. "Kozaru," Hankai ordered. "Look the place over well. This house has been keeping a treasure for us." Hankai was invited to the interior of the house. His friend entered with a flageolet, and repeatedly they played together.

"Lovely music," they agreed, bowing their heads in appreciation.

Then the host set out wine, hot broth, and cooked meat, and urged Hankai to eat, saying, "Are you a follower of Ikkōshū?¹⁴ At the spa I saw you partaking freely." Hankai, having grown quite drunk, took out his flute and blew upon it. "By earnest devotion to Ikkōshū you have learned a beautiful melody," his host said, and listened over and over without growing weary, but rather seeming deeply moved.

Thus the first month went by. On the third day of the second month, Hankai and his companions took their leave and travelled about the inlets of Noto, but when they discovered how cold it was, Hankai said, "We have heard the plovers on this strand saluting the reign of countless ages."¹⁵ Now let us visit the hell on the sacred mountain in the middle province,"¹⁶ and so they set out to climb the peak. The summit was very high and the snow still deep. "Where is the hell?" Hankai asked Kozaru and Tsukiyo.

"It's so terrifying we've never visited it," they replied. Letting their feet take them where they would, the men wandered on, crossing over the peaks and through the valleys, but saw nothing unusual.

"I've heard that it's just a tale," Hankai remarked as he brushed the snow from a rock. While they were resting, however, several shadow-like forms appeared and stood before them, looking reproachful. "They are probably hungry ghosts," said Hankai. "Let's feed them,"¹⁷ and he gave the shades all the food he had hanging at his waist. The creatures gathered around and ate, and when they appeared to have satisfied themselves, Hankai drew out his flute and blew a strong note, at which the ghosts gave a start and vanished in a twinkling. "It is good to practice austerities on Tateyama," Hankai remarked as they descended.

Although the Jinzūgawa River¹⁸ was swollen with water from the melting snows, they were able to cross by means of the pontoon bridge. To their surprise, as they stood watching in midstream, a large up-rooted tree came floating down from Tateyama and struck the span. I've found a good staff," said Hankai, as he took the tree up with little effort, and pounding it on the bridge, proceeded across. From here they decided to go and see the floating islands of Ōnuma.¹⁹ On the way, they ran into Muragumo, and he and Hankai inquired as to the other's fortunes.

"The authorities discovered me while I was living on a ship," Muragumo said. I was wounded but I got away with my life."

"I spent the winter in the spas in the mountains of these northern provinces," said Hankai, "but I was getting out of shape, so I took to the road again." Then he turned to Kozaru and Tsukiyo. "Get lodgings down at the foot of the mountain and wait for me," he said, and he and Muragumo climbed on together.

When they reached their destination, they saw a flock of waterfowl playing noisily in a large swamp, and two islands floating in their midst. In order to view the scene more clearly than from the shore, Hankai pulled his friend forward, saying, "Let's take a ride. We'll drift about and enjoy the place," but as Muragumo leaped into the boat, Hankai gave it a powerful shove away from the shore.

"What are you doing?" Muragumo shouted, but Hankai made no reply, merely taking out his flute and loudly playing the Kishunraku, while Muragumo cried again and again, "What are you doing?" Still Hankai answered nothing, but went away laughing at his friend's expense.

When Hankai left his room the next morning, he encountered Mura-gumo, who said to him, "You ungrateful wretch, you've forgotten that I saved your life, gave you a hundred gold ryō, and told you to trust in me like a father. Instead you cast me adrift on the water. I shouldn't forgive you, but I can let bygones be bygones this time," and he went along with the three.

They arrived at the castle town. "This area is ruled over by a certain lord, and the province is very wealthy and heavily populated," said Tsukiyo. "This particular house used to be related to the lord's family, but the master is now a commoner and has become very prosperous. There is no one in the Hokurikudō who can vie with him, they say." There was a huge stone wall, glittering white, and a high gate through which the men looked in at the spacious grounds. "I haven't stolen anything since I first became a thief," Hankai said. "We'll get into this place tonight and give it a try."

After thoroughly looking the place over, the men entered a wine shop. "Warm up some sake. We'll buy a to for the four of us," they said, bringing out their money and paying in advance. The shopkeeper was amazed, but they had payed his price, so he warmed the wine that they had ordered and served it to them.

"Do you have any fish?" the men asked.

"We have food from the mountains," the shopkeeper replied, and he roasted rabbit and wild boar's flesh together and set the meat before them.²⁰

While they were eating and drinking their fill, the sun set. "Let's go," said Hankai, and once again they set out for the house. In the

moonlight the wall appeared higher and more glittering than in the daytime. They took council on how it was best to make entry.

"That building you see over there must be the treasure house," said Hankai. "It's separated from the living quarters, but a passageway appears to lead from the house. Kozaru, you're of small build. Come here." Hankai stood at the base of the high wall and raised Kozaru to his shoulders, thus enabling him to grasp the pine branches hanging over from the inside. "Swing down into the garden on those branches and open the side gate," he instructed.

Kozaru dropped into the garden as he was told and attempted to open the gate, but then he called from within, "The entrance is fastened in two places. This iron chain is so firm that I can't open it."

"These stones were piled by men and that chain was fashioned by human hands," Hankai said. "Can you call yourself a thief when you only glean after the reapers? Tsukiyo, you swing down on the branches and give Kozaru a hand." So saying, he raised Tsukiyo to his shoulders, letting him grasp the lower branches, and sent him inside. But not even the strength of two men sufficed to budge the chain. By now an hour²¹ had passed, and Hankai was furious. He thrust his hands into a large crack in the stone wall, which was partly filled with dirt, and with one mighty grunt he opened it wide. "Follow me, Muragumo," he said, and in he crept.

What they supposed was the treasure house was sturdily constructed, and they had to consider where and how to enter. "I have an idea," Hankai said after a while. Grasping one of the pillars of the passageway, he climbed up to the roof, and then, like a flying bird or a

or a springing beast, he leaped from the eaves to the roof of the treasury. "Two of you climb up on the pillar and come over here," he called from above, and then he added, "You won't be able to jump over here. Catch hold of my priest's staff,"²² and he thrust it down to them. Being thieves and lightly built, the two men ascended to the roof of the passageway, and with the aid of the staff, got over to the treasure house. Hankai, as though he were tearing paper, ripped away four or five tiles and pulled up the boards that lay against the roof beam. "Now a man should be able to enter," he said. "Get in,"²³ and seizing the two men, he flung them down.

It was late at night and they had made considerable noise, but they were far from any place where people were sleeping, and no one awoke or came in pursuit. On the roof, Hankai struck a light for a match-cord and flung it down after the men. Tsukiyo and Kozaru looked around. Without a doubt, this was the treasure house. When they had gone down on a ladder from the second floor, they beheld an abundance of stacked boxes containing gold and silver. "It's gold that we want," they said, and each man shouldered a box and climbed back to the second floor; but then they cried out, "Now what shall we do?"

"Isn't there a rope or anything down there?" Hankai asked.

Looking about, they discovered a coil of thick hempen rope. "Here is some," they said.

"One of you fasten that tightly around you and climb up here on something," Hankai ordered.

Kozaru twined the rope securely about himself and had Tsukiyo pull the ladder up to the second floor. Then, propping the ladder

against the wall, he ascended. "Just a little bit more," he called. Once again Hankai extended his priest's staff to the impatient man and pulled him out.

"Send the boxes up with this rope," Hankai called to Tsukiyo.

"All right," Tsukiyo replied, and he bound the boxes tightly.

"Now," he said, and Hankai lifted them ever so gently, as though he were drawing water in a bucket. When they had opened the boxes, they found a total of two thousand ryō. Tsukiyo brought up a third box, and then they tied the containers together and lowered them to the earth, where Muragumo, who had been waiting below, loosened them. Then once again Kozaru and Tsukiyo crossed over to the roof of the passageway, while Hankai himself, being impatient, jumped down from the roof of the treasury. Not hurt in the least, the four men shouldered the boxes of gold and crept out through the hole in the wall.

"Hankai, you look as though you've done this sort of job many a time," said Muragumo.

Hankai replied as he took the gold from the boxes, "After you had the kindness to feed me cold rice and give me a hundred gold ryō, you had to brag about saving my life. Here's the hundred ryō, of course, and you may take another thousand for the price of the rice. You two take five hundred each, and I'll take the same for myself."²⁴ Then for the first time, and without regret, Muragumo prostrated himself before Hankai.

They were far from any village when day broke. "Four men traveling together are likely to be questioned," said Hankai. "You two head for Edo. What will you do, Muragumo?"

"I've never been as far as Tsugaru,"²⁵ Muragumo replied. "I'll go that way."

"That's just what I was thinking," said Hankai, and they entered a wine shop and passed around the cup of parting. Hankai, becoming drunk, said, "I am told that when the Chinese say farewell, they break a willow branch. Let's do the same." There was an old willow tree on the river bank which Hankai pulled up with one mighty heave.²⁶ "What they do next, however, I don't know," he said, and he flung the tree away on the main road. Terrified, the keeper of the wine shop remained silent.

When they had eaten and drunk to their satisfaction, Kozaru and Tsukiyo set out for Edo. Muragumo said, "I accepted that thousand ryō but now I wish I hadn't. I'll give half of it back to you."

"What would I do with so much?" Hankai replied. "Stealing is a very easy matter. If we're hungry, we eat. If our purses are empty, we take someone's treasure. It's a bother to have too much on hand," and he would not accept. Together they put their gold into straw wrappers and proceeded, carrying it on their backs.

At length the sun went down. There was no village at which to spend the night, but on the top of a hill stood a dilapidated temple to which they went and asked for lodgings. A young and sickly priest received them²⁷ and said, "Someone is staying here already, and we have nothing to feed you. Walk on for about two thousand paces²⁸ and you will come to a good inn."

"We don't mind not eating," they replied, "nor do we care about sleeping. Rather than make us lose our way on a strange road, just

let us spend the night here," and pushing their way inside, they looked around. They heard a cough behind the worn shōji doors, perhaps from the guest.

A servant came in from outside. "I have brought the rice," he called as he put the bag down.

"We'll pay a good sum for your rice," said Hankai and Muragumo. "Sell it to us," and they threw down a gold ryō.

"No," the servant replied. "This rice belongs to the guest. You offer less than it is worth. One of you should go and buy your own at the way station. My master sent me to get this rice."

The men acceded and the servant went into the temple. When he opened the shōji doors, they saw a warrior of fifty some odd years, who said with a laugh, "You're a sound looking pair. Come and stay with me. I'll pass the night listening to your stories. The head priest here is my nephew. He has always been sickly and weak-hearted. My servant will cook rice and I'll share it with you. You needn't buy your own."

Relieved at these generous words, Muragumo and Hankai sat and talked, drinking hot water and smoking. The warrior said, "You're a savage looking priest and you have a fierce expression. This big fellow, I notice, has two sword cuts on his forehead, for some reason. Paying a gold ryō for just some rice is not becoming to men of wealth and honor on a journey. Are you hot-headed gamblers, or robbers on the loose?"

"We are robbers," Muragumo replied. "Last night we met with good luck, and we have a pile of money in our straw wrappers. It's a bother

to carry so much around, though, so we're trying to use it up somehow."

"It looks that way," said the warrior. "When you see a manly looking priest, take him for a scoundrel. You men storm around and look upon life as dust and ashes. If this were a time of disorder you could win fame, take over a province, and cause your foes to tremble. You are brave."

"Even for a thief, life is difficult," said Hankai. "Wealth is easy to come by, but life is hard to preserve."²⁹ If you know a way to steal a hundred years of life, teach us."

The warrior laughed. "Does the man exist who is not angry when his riches are stolen?" he said. "The authorities have facilities to capture men like yourselves. People who have done a lot of killing and stealing don't merit a hundred years of life as their reward. I have heard that a thief who is aware of his crimes shall not return to society, but must expect to be punished in his youth according to his offence. Does your case differ from this? In a lawless world, you would be the great men, but when stability reigns, thieves are sentenced for their crimes. Even should you change your ways, if your offences are major ones you will be taken in the end. Do you jest and make fun of me?"

Glaring at the warrior, Hankai said, "I have more than enough strength in my body. Men have failed to catch me many times already. If the life that heaven has granted me is long, I can get away notwithstanding my crimes."

Muragumo added, "You're an old man. You ought to be saying the Nembutsu and hoping to be reborn in paradise. When I learned that the

head monk was your nephew, I recalled hearing that when one man enters the priesthood, nine clans will be taken into heaven. In order to get your share of the blessings, you ought to be saying prayers while you're here," and he laughed in derision.

"I may be old, but I am still a warrior," the samurai replied. "I have no desire but to serve my lord faithfully. My life I leave up to heaven. What matter if it be long or short? If I were to ask for a hundred years of life and then run here and there to hide, with no place to rest, I would be the same as one who dies in his youth."

"It is useless to argue," said Hankai. "Let us see the prowess of one who is faithful to his lord." He raised his fist to strike the warrior in the face, but before his hand could fall, he was pulled over. "Well, so you are an able man," he said. Rising to his feet, he aimed a kick at his opponent, but this time the warrior seized his foot, flung him sideways, and with a loud cry, hit him such a solid blow in the ribs that he was unable to get up. Now Muragumo arose and struck at the man with Hankai's priestly staff, but the warrior snatched it away, gripped Muragumo's right hand, and held him fast.

"Those two sword wounds on your face mark you as an inept thief who has met many a hard time," the warrior said. "Try and escape from my hands. There are many such as I among the authorities. We could capture you easily." So saying, he threw Muragumo down. Muragumo's hand was numbed, and there was no fight left in him.

"My bones are broken, you wretch," Hankai moaned, but despite the wrath in his voice, his strength was exhausted.³⁰

"Well now, supper's ready," the warrior said with a laugh. "I'll

feed you," and pulling Hankai up with a grunt, he kicked him in the back, whereupon he recovered.

"My hand is sprained," Muragumo muttered. The warrior grasped his arm and manipulated it, and the place he thought had been hurt returned to normal.

The servant and the abbot entered, carrying the evening meal. "I'll give you one bowl apiece," said the warrior. "Imagine yourselves in prison." He gave them each a heaping bowl of rice, but they were too humiliated to eat. At length the night grew late, and each man went to his sleeping quarters.

When Hankai and Muragumo arose in the morning, the old warrior gave them ointment, saying, "Put this on the sore places." The thieves accepted gratefully and applied it. The warrior had eaten his breakfast and was about to leave. "Listen," he said. "The head priest here is a young man, but sickly. Still, being a warrior's son, he has some training, though he conceals it well. He'll probably leave you alone, but when your injuries have mended, thank him and get out quickly." With these words, he departed through the gate.

The abbot went along to see him off. "Those thieves are like birds in a cage," he said. "I'm sick and run down, but I can still break their bones if they try anything. Don't worry about leaving me."

Seeing that Hankai and Muragumo still looked unwell, and that the time had passed noon, the young priest brought them dirty rice gruel, but when to pay for their lodging they took out the gold ryo that they had previously tendered, their host said, "Do you offer stolen money to a priest?" and without so much as a glance at it, he turned to

throw wood on the fire. The two men became fearful, and left without saying a word.

"For some reason my heart has grown faint since I left the sea," Muragumo said at length. "I'm going back to my home in Shinano³¹ to recuperate. In Edo I fear that I'd be recognized from my sumō days," and so they parted company.

Feeling lonely, Hankai reflected, "Now I'm by myself, and there is no one to see the extremities of Ōu³² with me. I'll go to Edo and play around," and promising to meet again, they went their separate ways.

Hankai arrived in Edo but felt uncomfortable wherever crowds would gather. One day when a light rain was falling, he visited the Sensōji Temple,³³ but even on such a day as this it was not peaceful. Pulling his sedge hat down low, he went to a wine shop and got drunk, though not to the point of satisfaction. Then he went through the Kaminari Gate³⁴ and found the people in an uproar. "Thieves!" was the word in everyone's mouth. "Are Kozaru and Tsukiyo in trouble here?" he thought, and went to make certain. Sure enough, he found them with blood on their hands, swinging their swords in combat. Five or six young samurai, who themselves bore wounds, had surrounded the pair. Men from the market place and the temple precincts as well, each one bearing a staff, had grouped around them.

"This is unfair," thought Hankai. "I'll give them a hand." As he pushed through the attackers, he inquired of a stranger, "What sort of dispute is it?"

"Those two thieves, drunken with wine, were caught stealing the samurai's purses," the man replied, "so we took them to our lord's

mansion³⁵ and spoke of killing them. In a bid to escape, they drew their swords and wounded a man. We all joined in the chase and have been fighting with them, as you see by this blood."

"Well," said Hankai, drawing nearer, "it's now a pointless quarrel. Let's talk things over." Gaining courage from this aid, Kozaru and Tsukiyo took up positions under a tree, with swords unsheathed.

But none of the samurai would agree. "Never," they said. "Wounded as we are, there is no way for us to go home. We will cut off their heads and then return and apologize to our lord. Don't get yourself killed, you peacemaking priest."

"Their heads belong to them," Hankai retorted. "If they return what they stole, let them go. Misbehaving and then letting thieves injure you is your own misfortune. I can't agree with you." He swung his priest's staff and struck down two or three of them.

"My goodness! The thieves' leader has come!" said some, running away in a body, but the rest clustered around, their staves more dense than a bamboo thicket, some shouting, "Knock him down!" and others, "Kill him!"

"Have you no eyes?" said Hankai. "I am a priest. Hear the facts and judge, rather than take a man's life. I'll beat you all down if you're so thoughtless." With his priest's staff he struck at the seven or eight who stood before him, and then, crying, "Ah!" he felled everyone. Now the samurai were thrown into confusion, and fled.

"You come with me," Hankai said to his friends, and taking one under each arm, he strode away. There was only the sound of people's chatter, and no one came in pursuit. He escorted them to an open

place and let them wipe away the blood and wash their faces, hands, and feet. Then, without speaking a word, they ran on. When they were beyond the limits of Edo, they noticed that Hankai's straw bundle of gold was missing. "I must have dropped it," he said, "but we'll never find it even if we go back. This happened on account of you fellows. Don't you have anything left from what I gave you?"

"We lost some at gambling, and used up the rest in the gay quarters and for wine," they replied. "Today we stole those samurai's purses, and now we're here. We have a little money, but just enough for a drink." A search produced only one gold bu, with which they bought some sake and enough blowfish soup to quell their hunger.

"It won't be safe to go to Edo," they decided, and so they travelled eastward, until the sun went down on the Nasuno Moor of Shimotsuke.³⁶ "The road on this moor branches off in many places,"³⁷ said Kozaru and Tsukiyo. "The night is dark, and we have already lost our way. Rest here for a while. We will go and ask directions," and they ran on ahead.

Hankai kindled a roaring fire beside the broken down fence that surrounded the Sesshōseki,³⁸ a rock said to be poisonous. A lone monk came by, but passed without even a glance. Hankai found his manner offensive. "Oh Priest," he called out. "If you have any food, let me eat. If you have money for your journey, leave it here. You can't pass by for nothing."

The priest halted and said, "Here is a gold bu. Take it. I have no food." Placing a bare coin in Hankai's hand, he proceeded without looking back.

"There should be two young men in the way ahead of you," Hankai

called after him. "Tell them you met Hankai and gave him something." The priest murmured a reply and quietly walked on, but within an hour, or so it seemed, he returned.

"Is Hankai there?" he asked. "Ever since my religious awakening I have never told a lie, but in a moment of greed I kept back one bu, and my heart is not pure. This too I will give you," and he handed over the coin.

As the gold passed into his hand, a chill crept into Hankai's heart. Standing before this upright priest, he began to meditate on how wretched he had been to slay his father and brother, cause loss to many people, and pass his days as a thief. Facing the monk, he said, "Your virtue has changed my heart. Now I shall become your disciple and enter the way of the Buddha."

The priest was moved. "Very well," he replied. "Come with me," and he led him away.

Kozaru and Tsukiyo passed by. "Go where you wish and do what you please," said Hankai. "I intend to become this priest's disciple and practice austerities. Don't cling to me like the lice on my collar. We will not meet again." Looking at them no more, he parted from their company.

"It was wise to cast off the useless children," the priest said as he took the lead. "I will hear your confession³⁹ as we go along."

* * * * *

The story is told that in an old temple in Michinoku, the great abbot,⁴⁰ weakened by more than eighty years, announced on a certain day that he would die. He purified himself, changed his robes, and sat in

a chair with eyes closed and did not even repeat the name of the Buddha.⁴¹
His attendants and the wandering monks who were lodged in his temple
urged him, saying, "Oh Great One, give us a verse of your dying prayer."⁴²

"All deathbed verses are lies," the old monk replied. "I shall
end my life speaking the truth. I was born in the province of Hōki.
For various reasons I became a scoundrel. To this day I have brooded
over my actions. Now Shaka,⁴³ Daruma,⁴⁴ and myself are of one heart,
and the clouds have cleared away." And with these words he died.

It is said, "If we control our passions, anyone can attain the
heart of a Buddha; but when we release them, we become monsters."⁴⁵
Such is the tale of Hankai.

ABBREVIATIONS

- KK Kokugo kokubun 國語國文
- KKK Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō 國文學解釋と鑑賞
- MN Monumenta Nipponica
- NKBT Nihon koten bungaku taikai 日本古典文學大系
- TASJ Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan
- YB Yūhōdō Bunko 有朋堂文庫
- ZTB Zoku teikoku bunko 續帝國文庫

FOOTNOTES

Introduction

1. Nakamura Yukihiro 中村幸彦, ed., Akinari 秋成, Nihon koten kanshō kōza 日本古典鑑賞講坐, XXIV (Tokyo, 1966), 3.

2. For the views on Akinari's parentage, see Takada Mamoru 高田衛, Ueda Akinari nempu kōsetsu 上田秋成年譜考説 (Tokyo, 1964), pp. 1-3.

Although the matter presents an interesting puzzle, it was the dark circumstances of his birth rather than the identity of those responsible for it that affected Akinari's future life. His real parents had little time to influence him, but he was very sensitive about his apparently illegitimate origin.

3. Originally this nickname probably referred to his deformed hands, which seem to have borne a slight resemblance to a crab's pincers. In his later years, it was used in connection with his vituperative disposition. "Muchō" can also be interpreted to mean "gutless," but I have found no evidence that the name was ever applied in this sense.

4. This school was established in 1726 by the Confucian scholar Nakai Shūan 中井履庵 (1693-1758) under orders from Yoshimune, and continued until 1869 as a center for instruction in neo-Confucian studies and the national history and literature.

5. One Japanese scholar has summed up his attempt to define kokugaku by calling it the study of "something" with the classics as

the principal reference work. See Uzuki Hiroshi 鵜月洋, "Akinari no shisō to bungaku" 秋成の思想と文藝, Nakamura, ed., Akinari, pp. 249-258, N.B. p. 251.

6. See Takada, Akinari nempu, pp. 53-55.

7. I have presented the orthodox view here. It is commonly assumed that losing his source of income forced Akinari to look more seriously and perhaps more pessimistically at life, thus introducing a more serious tone to his writings. However, there is convincing evidence that his father died in 1761. See Takada, Akinari nempu, pp. 32, 33. If so, Akinari would have been managing the business during his early classical studies and first literary successes. This challenges the idea that his initial literary pursuits were made possible by financial support from his father, but supports the view that he was not conscientious in handling the business.

8. All three manuscripts have the postscript, Bunka go nen haru sangatsu, Zuiryūzan-ka no rōin tawamure ni kaku, toki ni sai nana-jū-go. 文化五年春三月、瑞龍山下の老隱戯れに書く、時に歳七十五。 "Written for amusement, Bunka, fifth year [1808], third month, in aged seclusion under Mt. Zuiryū when seventy-five years old." See Nakamura Yukihiro, "Harusame monogatari," Nakamura, ed., Akinari, pp. 196-245, N.B. p. 196.

9. Harusame monogatari, ed. Maruyama Sueo (Tokyo, 1951).

10. It appears, for example, in Chikamatsu Monzaemon, Kokusenya kassen 国性爺合戦, Chikamatsu jōruri shū ge 近松幸瑠璃集下, NKBT, I (Tokyo, 1959), 227-292, N.B. p. 267.

11. The 1808 version gives his age as twenty-one. See Harusame, ed. Maruyama, p. 168.

Hankai I

1. Hōki 伯耆. One of the San'indō 山陰道 provinces, now that part of Tottori-ken 鳥取縣 which encompasses Tōhaku 東伯, Saihaku 西伯, and Hino 日野 districts (gun 郡).

2. Daisen 大山, an extinct volcano in Saihaku-gun, Tottori-ken. Sometimes called Hōki Fuji because of its resemblance to Mt. Fuji when viewed from the western side, Daisen is the highest peak in the San'indō (alt. approx. 1713 m.). Today, Daisen and the lesser peaks that surround it comprise Daisen National Park.

Daichi Daigongen 大智大權現 was one of the names of the deity enshrined on the mountain. Gongen refers to a Buddha who appears on the earth in order to bring salvation to men, or it may be the honorific title appended to the name of a Shinto deity that is regarded as a manifestation of a Buddha or Bodhisattva.

The Daisenji, an old temple of the Tendai 天台 sect, is located about halfway up the northern slope of Daisen. The temple seems to have been founded during the Yōrō 養老 Era (717-723) by the monk Konren 金蓮, who, upon having a religious awakening, turned his dwelling into a temple dedicated to Jizō Bosatsu 地藏菩薩 (Sansk. Ksitigarbha). During the time of the Empress Shōtoku 孝德 (reigned 764-770), the temple became a shrine, and Jizō Bosatsu became known as Daichi Myōjin

大智明神。 One should bear in mind that there was no sharp distinction between Buddhist and Shinto institutions at that time. The Daisenji was quite powerful by the late Heian Period, and continued so until the latter half of the sixteenth century. After a period of decline, it began to flourish once again during the Keichō慶長 Era (1596-1614), and came to draw a revenue of 3,000 koku. It remained prosperous until the Meiji Restoration, when its estates were confiscated. The temple still exists, but it is only a fraction of its former size.

The Ōkamiyama Jinja大神山神社 (also called Daichi Myōjinja) was situated southeast of the Daisenji. Built in early Heian times, it honored the gods Ōnamuchi-no-kami大穴牟遲神 and Susa-no-o-no-mikoto素戔鳴尊. Later it came under the auspices of the Daisenji and was used as a place for ascetic practices, with Daichimyō Gongen as the enshrined deity. In 1868, the shrine became independent and was moved to nearby Otaka尾高. The structure on Daisen remains as a subsidiary of the principal shrine.

3. About 4:00 p.m. In this system of telling time, the day was divided into twelve periods of roughly two hours each.

4. Yado宿. Probably an inn, though other possible meanings in this context include a post station, a private dwelling, or a brothel.

5. Approx. 12:00 noon.

6. This challenge is reminiscent of the Noh drama Rashōmon羅生門, by Kanze Kojirō観世小次郎 (d. 1516), in which Tsunamune, a retainer of Minamoto no Raikō源頼光, questions the truth of a rumor that a demon

is living at the Rashōmon. He goes alone at night to investigate, and leaves a mark on the gate to prove that he has actually done so. See Yōkyoku taikan 謡曲大観, ed. Sanari Kentarō 佐成謙太郎, 7 vols. (Tokyo, 1964), V, 3345-57.

7. The Daisenji.

8. Tobacco was introduced into Japan as an article of commerce by Portuguese traders sometime during the administration of Hideyoshi 秀吉 (ruled 1582-1598) and around 1605 the Japanese began to plant and cultivate it themselves; the use of tobacco became so popular that shogunal edicts prohibiting it proved ineffective. Richard Cocks, in the August 7, 1615 entry of his diary remarks, "It is strange to see how these Japans--men, women and children--are besotted in drinking that herb, and not ten yeares since it was first in use." Quoted in James Murdoch, A History of Japan, 3 vols. (London, 1926), II, 702.

Ejima Kiseki comments on the popularity of smoking in his Seken musume kataki 世間娘容気 : Mukashi wa onna tabako nomu koto yūjo no hoka wa kega nimo nakarishi koto naru ni ima tabako nomanu onna to shōjin suru shukke wa mare nari 昔は女煙草の事遊女の外は怪我にもなかりし事俗に今煙草のまぬ女と精進する出家は稀なり . "Smoking, for instance, used to be unknown as a feminine practice, except among courtesans; yet today women who abstain are as few as monks who fast," Hachimonjiya hon goshu 八文字舎本五種 , YB (Tokyo, 1932), p. 219; trans. Howard Hibbett, The Floating World in Japanese Fiction (New York, 1959), p. 105.

The comments of Captain Golownin of the Russian Navy, who was held prisoner on Hokkaidō from July, 1811 (just two years after Akinari's

death) to October, 1812, illustrates the degree to which tobacco growing had developed:

"I saw various kinds of prepared tobacco among them, from the most agreeable to the most unpleasant. They cut both the good and the bad tobacco very small, as the Chinese do: in the manufacture of the better sort, they use sagi to moisten it, and sell it in papers which weigh about a Russian pound....

"The Japanese manufacture tobacco so well, that though I was before no friend to smoking, and even when I was in Jamaica, could but seldom persuade myself to use a Havannah cigar, yet I smoked the Japanese tobacco very frequently, and with great pleasure....

"The Academician, our interpreters, and the guards, all smoked, and used different kinds of tobacco, according to their respective tastes or means," Vasilii Mikhailovich Golownin, Japan and the Japanese, 2 vols. (London, 1853), II, 163-165.

Daizō is probably smoking the smaller variety of kiseru 火煙管筒, a slender pipe five or six inches long and made entirely of metal, usually brass, though iron, silver, and various alloys were also used. A longer type, which sometimes exceeded three feet in length, consisted of a metal bowl and mouthpiece connected by a length of bamboo tube.

9. The Ōkamiyama Jinja.

10. Eighteen chō 丁. One chō was roughly 119 yards. Akinari's distance agrees with that given in Yoshida Tōgo 吉田東伍, comp., Dai Nihon chimei jisho 大日本地名辭書, 7 vols. (Tokyo, 1938-39), II, 1007.

All measures of distance, weight, and volume in this study are taken from Andrew Nathaniel Nelson, The Modern Reader's Japanese-English Character Dictionary (Tokyo, 1967), pp. 1029, 30. Since the native system of measurements was not standardized until 1891, the equivalents given for measures before that time can only be approximate.

11. Nusa taimatsuru hako ぬすたいまつる箱. Probably equivalent

to the modern term, saisenbako 賽銭箱, a box for monetary offerings at a Shinto shrine. Nusa 幣 is generally taken to mean Shinto offerings of cloth, rope, or cut paper, but it also applies to anything offered to a Shinto deity, or even to a guest. Note that the character for nusa can also be read zeni (cf. zeni 銭).

12. The word for "carry" is written with the characters かっきて in the text. It is uncertain whether Akinari meant kazukite--to carry (or wear) on the head--or katsugite--to carry on the shoulder.

13. A similar case of a man being carried into the sky by a supernatural power occurs in the tale "Kito wa nadekomu tengu no habōki" 祈禱はなでこむ天狗の羽帯, in Shodō kikimimi sekenzaru. See Ueda Akinari shū, YB (Tokyo, 1931), p. 102.

14. Eboshi 烏帽子. A kind of headgear worn by adult males, known in Japan as early as 683, but apparently derived from a piece of clothing worn in China around the fourth century A.D. At first, eboshi were worn by government officials, the shape and color varying according to the wearer's rank and office, but during the late Heian Period they became a common piece of clothing worn by the upper and middle classes, and even by the masses, when going out of doors. Eboshi were originally made from silken gauze or other soft fabric, but from the time of the emperor Toba 鳥羽 (reigned 1107-1123) they were made from paper and hardened by a coating of lacquer.

15. Oki 隠岐. A Santindō province, now part of Chibu-gun 知夫郡, Shimane-ken 島根県. On Takibi-san 焼火山, on the island of Nishi no

Shima西の嶋, there are two shrines dedicated to Takubi Gongen, who is locally revered as god of pacification and preservation of life on the sea. Daizō is probably at the Hinamachi-hime-no-mikoto Jinja比奈麻治比賣命神社, located near the seashore at the foot of the mountain's western slope.

16. Mokudai 目代. During the Heian and Kamakura Periods, a man who went to govern an area in place of the man who was actually appointed; from Muromachi times, a chief administrator or local governor. Mokudai of the Tokugawa Period were administrators of lands under direct control of the shogunate.

17. Izumo出雲. Another San'indō province, adjacent to Hōki on the east, now part of Shimane-ken.

18. Koku 石. The standard unit of volume in Tokugawa Japan. About 44.8 U.S. gallons.

19. Thirty-eight ri 里. A ri was about 2.44 miles. The place of landing is not specified, but it must have required considerable skirting of the coastline to amount to such a distance.

20. About 8:00 a.m.

21. Saru no jōkoku 申の上刻 (also上刻). It was customary to divide each hour into three parts. Jōkoku, then, is the first third of a two-hour period.

22. Sakimori 番守 (usually 防人). This term originally referred to men, usually from the eastern provinces, who were appointed for three-year periods to guard the coasts of Kyūshū, Iki壱岐, Tsushima對馬, and

certain other points against encroachments by foreign enemies. The first recorded instance of the office is A.D. 646, and it was discontinued after 795 except for the islands of Iki and Tsushima. See Nihon reki-shi daijiten 日本歴史大辭典, comp. Kawade Takao 河出孝雄, 22 vols. (Tokyo, 1956-61), IX, 23, 24. The term appears in such eighth century writings as the Man'yōshū and Nihon ryōiki 日本靈異記. For the former, see the texts in NKBT, VI (Tokyo, 1960), 445, kan 15, no. 3569, and NKBT, VII (Tokyo, 1962), 157, kan 16, no. 3866. For the latter, see the text in NKBT, LXX (Tokyo, 1967), 179, kan 2, no. 3. Akinari's use of the term suggests a government official at a port.

23. Kashobumi 過書文 (also 過所文). A paper issued by a government official, authorizing the bearer to pass through the barriers that he encountered enroute to his destination. The practice was adopted from ancient China. Evading a barrier was a serious offense, often punished by death. See John Carey Hall, "Japanese Feudal Laws III: The Tokugawa Legislation, Part IV," TASJ, XLI, 4 (1913), 683-804, N.B. p. 707.

The above mentioned article, which has been my principal source of reference for Tokugawa laws, is little more than a translation of the Osadamegaki hyakkajō 御定書百個條, which was the second part of the Kujikata osadamegaki 公事方御定書. Compiled in 1742 by the order of Yoshimune, it was an attempt to select and arrange into a codified form as a guidebook for judges, the important decrees and precedents in the legal records which had accumulated for over a century. It is a compendium of legal procedure and penal law that was in force during most of the Edo Period. Even though compiled after the mid-point, it embodied customs that had been in force from the beginning of the Tokugawa regime.

The edict was revised and amended in 1790 by Matsudaira Sadanobu 松平定信 (1758-1829), who was chief administrator under the eleventh shogun, Ienari 家齊 (ruled 1787-1837). It was directly operative only in the shogun's own domains, but in general it guided judicial procedure in the fiefs of all daimyō who recognized Tokugawa suzerainty.

24. A slender wooden rod, specifically designed for flogging. Fifty blows was the normal number; severe flogging, a hundred. Corporal punishment was administered in public, the blows being struck on the offender's shoulders, back, and buttocks, care being taken to avoid the spine, lest he be knocked unconscious. In the case of a countryman, the head of his village was required to witness the punishment and take charge of him afterwards. See Hall, "Laws," TASJ, LXI, 799.

25. Aniyome 兄嫁. Literally, "the wife of his elder brother."

26. From the Heian Period, the Oki Archipelago was used as a place of exile, and many noted persons were banished to this spot--among them the emperors Gotoba 後鳥羽 (reigned 1183-1198) and Godaigo 後醍醐 (reigned 1318-1339). One required an amnesty, of course, to return from this exile--hence the nickname.

27. Kammon 貫文. The mon was the smallest unit of copper currency, and a thousand mon (later 960) was called a kan. The mon coin had a hole in the center, and it was customary to string them on a piece of rope called a zenisashi 銭差.

28. These coins are strung on a zenisashi, unlike those that the mother offered him.

29. Gambling for stakes was an offense punishable by fines, banishment, or other penalties. See Hall, "Laws," TASJ, XLI, 748-752.

30. Idaten 韋馱天. Sansk. Skanda. A swiftly running heavenly being who watches over monks and monasteries, protects children from sickness, and acts as guardian of Buddha's doctrine. He is said to have pursued and overcome a demon who had stolen the ashes of Buddha.

31. Five shaku 尺, seven sun 寸. A shaku was roughly .994 feet; a sun, 1.2 inches.

32. By this act, the authorities place Daizō in a special category of criminals.

"As regards a treasonable conspirator against the government,

"A murderer of one's master,

"A murderer of one's parent,

"An infringer of a government barrier,

"Any one who knowingly keeps in concealment, or takes into his employ in any sort of service, and fails to report to the authorities, a criminal of any of the above kinds for whom a search is being made by means of a published personal description, is to be decapitated and his head gibbeted," Hall, "Laws," TASJ, LXI, 777.

This incident calls to mind the episode in Shui hu chuan in which Lu Ta 魯達 accidentally kills Cheng T'u 鄭屠 and flees, whereupon the authorities send out a proclamation ordering his arrest. See Pearl S. Buck, trans., All Men Are Brothers, 2 vols. (New York, 1933), I, 57-63.

33. Tsukushi 紫雲. The old name for Kyūshū.

34. Hakata 博多. A port in Kyūshū, now that part of Fukuoka on the east side of the Nakagawa 那珂川.

35. Five ryō 兩. The ryō was the standard unit of currency in Tokugawa Japan. See note 52, below.

36. Ageya 場屋. Not a brothel in the usual sense, but an establishment to which courtesans were summoned to entertain the customers.

37. Maruyama 丸山. The Nagasaki gay quarter. During the Tokugawa Period its prosperity was comparable to that of Shimabara 島原 in Kyoto or Shin-Yoshiwara 新吉原 in Edo.

38. Daizō's behavior under the influence of alcohol is not unlike that of Lu Chih-shen in Shui hu chuan. See Buck, trans., Brothers, I, 77, 78.

39. As Nagasaki was the port to which foreigners had to come during the Tokugawa Period, Maruyama became noted for its visitors from other lands. It is quite natural for Daizō to encounter a Chinese here.

40. It is said that when Liu Pang was failing, he shut himself up in the palace and refused admittance to everyone, but Fan K'uai forced his way in and discovered his master asleep, pillowed upon a eunuch, whereupon he burst into tears and reminded the emperor of Chao Kao 趙高, the eunuch who had tried to seize power after the first Ch'in 秦 emperor died in 210 B.C. This story probably inspired the episode in which Daizō bursts into the bedchamber.

41. Yūshō datei 熊掌馳蹄. Flesh from the palm of a bear's paw and from between the claws of an ostrich's foot.

42. Eyami 疫也林 (or 疫病). In modern Japanese, ekibyō or yakubyō. Refers to any severe contagious disease. In premodern times, besides this general meaning, it referred specifically to an attack of chills and fever, or okori 瘧. Okori often meant malaria, but the context of the story does not justify diagnosing Daizō's illness as such.

43. Ebukuro 餓 3:くろ. Originally a kind of bamboo basket carried on falconry expeditions as a container for the bird's food. Later it came to denote a pouch used by travellers for carrying food on a journey. For a sketch, see Kindaichi Kyōsuke 金田一京助 and Kindaichi Haruhiko 金田一春彦 comp., Kogo jiten 古語辭典 (Tokyo, 1966), p. 1088.

44. Daizō apparently means that gambling and theft incur the same penalty, but the punishment for theft was usually death, whereas exile was the maximum penalty for gambling. See Hall, "Laws," TASJ, XLI, 748-755. Possibly the death penalty was invoked for extreme or habitual gambling offenses, however.

45. Ten chō. See above, note 10.

46. Mizu umaya 水うまや (or 水驛). Originally an inn on a water route, but the term later included a roadside rest house where a man could obtain food and drink for both himself and his horse.

47. Bu 分. A gold coin, worth one quarter the value of a gold ryō.

48. Namasu 脍. Raw fish, thinly sliced, and seasoned with soy sauce and vinegar.

49. One jō 丈, roughly 3.31 yards.

50. The whole account of this robbery is too brief to be clear. Presumably the groom is killed by the blow, since he is not mentioned again.

51. Kubi hosoki yatsu 首ほそき奴. Literally, a "thin necked fellow." For this expression, see Murasaki Shikibu 紫式部, "Hahakigi" 帯木, Genji monogatari 源氏物語, NKBT, XIV (Tokyo, 1958), 102.

52. The box is a senryōbako 千兩箱, a wooden box containing a thousand ryō in paper-wrapped bundles of fifty or a hundred. The weight of a gold ryō varied with the era of coinage, but those issued in both the Gembun 元文 (1736-1740) and Bunsei 文政 (1818-1829) Eras weighed 3.50 momme 匁. See Mitamura Engyō Edo seikatsu jiten 三田村鳶魚江戸生活事典, ed. Inagaki Fumio 稲垣史生 (Tokyo, 1959), p. 95. A momme was about .1325 ounces. A senryōbako at that time, then, would have weighed roughly twenty-nine pounds plus the weight of the wood.

53. Nami yosuru 波よする. Probably a password referring to his own arrival. Cf. shiranami 白波, which means both "white crested wave" and "robber."

54. Kishi ni ari ya 岸にありや. In previous editions, this passage was printed as Yama nigori ari ya 山濁りありや, and thought to be a part of the password. Nakamura, however, believes this to be a misinterpretation that arose from the upper and lower portions of the character for kishi being inadvertently written quite far apart in the

original manuscript. See NKBT, LVI, 226, note 5.

55. Tomabune 苫舟 (or 葛舟). A boat with a roof of thatched rushes. Robbers calling to a boat from the shore may have been suggested by similar actions at Liang Shan P'o 梁山泊 in Shui hu chuan. See Buck, trans., Brothers, I, 187.

56. Sawara さわら (鰯). A salt-water fish, similar to the tuna in appearance, found in the waters around southern Japan, especially in the Inland Sea (Seto Naikai 瀬戸内海).

57. "Any one who behaves in a disorderly manner and so raises a tumult in town or in other places is to be expelled from his domicile," Hall, "Laws," TASJ, XLI, 773.

58. Iyo 伊予, Tosa 土佐, and Sanuki さぬき (讃岐). Three of the four provinces of Shikoku, today respectively Ehime 愛媛, Kōchi 高知, and Kagawa 香川 Prefectures.

59. Nigitazu にぎたず (熱田津). Now the Dōgo Onsen 道後温泉 in Matsuyama-shi 松山市, Ehime-ken. Visits to this place by such proto-historical figures as the emperors Keikō 景行 (traditionally d. 130 A.D.) and Chūai 仲哀 (traditionally d. 200 B.C.) are reported, and it is mentioned in early literature. See, for example, Man'yōshū, NKBT, IV, 15, kan 1, no. 8; 173, kan 3, no. 323; and Murasaki Shikibu, "Utsusemi" 空蝉, Genji, NKBT, XIV (Tokyo, 1958), 112.

60. Shikama しこま (師磨). From ancient times an important port on the Inland Sea. Formerly independent, it is now part of Himeji-shi

姫路市, Hyōgo-ken 兵庫縣。

61. Kūkai 空海, or Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師 (774-835), the founder in Japan of the Shingon 真言 sect of Buddhism. Called simply "Daishi" in the text. Hankai is referring to the pilgrimage described in the religious ballad Namudaishi 南無大師, which summarizes the life of Kūkai. "From China he brought to Japan the soil upon which the eight pagodas [i.e. the eight stupas built in India over the relics of Sakyamuni, whose ashes were divided amongst eight tribes] had stood. This soil he divided amongst eighty-eight places (in Sanuki), so that they who suffer from illness, as the result of Karma either in the past life or present, might go round them on pilgrimage and so be cleansed from their sins," Arthur Lloyd, The Creed of Half Japan (London, 1911), p. 250. The "eighty-eight places" are known as Shikoku hachi-jū-hakkasho 四國八十八箇所, or Shikoku fudajo 四國札所. For their names, see Shimmura Izuru 新村出, ed., Kōjien 廣辭苑 (Tokyo, 1967), p. 925.

62. Pilgrims who go on their way reciting Namu daishi henshō kongo 南無大師遍照金剛, "Glory to the universal light and mighty power of the great teacher."

63. "For giving a night's lodging to scoundrels knowing them to be such, or for taking them in as lodgers for five or seven days at a time, medium deportation. If the scoundrels are afterwards sentenced to crucifixion the person who gave them shelter is to be punished with death," Hall, "Laws," TASJ, XLI, 753.

64. Probably the episode at the brothel in Nagasaki.

65. Shikoku meguri 四国めぐり. A pilgrimage to the "eighty-eight places." See above, note 61.

66. Japan consisted of sixty-six provinces around A.D. 1000. The number varied after that, due to administrative changes, but the term "sixty-six provinces" continued to be used in reference to the whole country.

67. Yamabuki 山吹, a variety of rose, golden in color. The word sometimes refers to gold or gold coins.

68. This episode was probably suggested by the one in Shui hu chuan in which Lu Ta becomes a priest in order to avoid arrest, and receives the name of Lu Chih-shen. See Buck, trans., Brothers, I, 69-74.

69. Oi 篋. More accurately, a kind of creel, carried by itinerant priests as a container for food, clothing, altar accessories, and so on. For a sketch, see Kindaichi, Comp., Kogo jiten, p. 179.

70. Harima 播磨. One of the Sanyōdō provinces. Now a part of Hyōgo-ken.

71. Tsutsumimono つつし物. Probably an oi, since it later becomes clear that he is carrying one. In the 1808 version, he requests an oi when he begins this journey. See Harusame, ed. Maruyama, pp. 175, 176.

72. Ōsakayama 大坂山 (or 逢坂山). A small mountain on the western outskirts of Ōtsu-shi 大津市, on the border between Kyoto-fu and Shiga-ken 滋賀県. It was the site of the Ōsaka barrier, which was the

gateway from the capital region to the eastern provinces.

73. Muragumo is referring to Ōtsue 大津繪, pictures drawn and sold as souvenirs of the area by the descendants of artists who had come into the towns after losing their patrons in the civil wars of the late Muromachi Period. Being commercial objects, Ōtsue aimed at popular appeal rather than artistic achievement, and so they were simple in design and drawn on crude paper. Ōtsue began to appear around the Kan'ei 寛永 Period (1624-1643), and reached their peak between the Kambun 寛文 (1661-1672) and Genroku (1688-1703) Eras.

74. Nembutsu 念佛. Originally, meditation on the mercy of a Buddha; later, calling upon Amida Buddha, usually with the words, Namu Amida Butsu 南無阿彌陀佛. This invocation has come to be known as the Nembutsu. The picture that Muragumo describes is one of the more famous Ōtsue scenes.

75. Sōja 惣社 (also 総社). A shrine dedicated to the deities of a number of other shrines for the convenience of worshippers. Most provinces had at least one. In Harima, the Idate Hyōsu Jinja 射橋兵主神社 and the Iwa Jinja 伊和神社, both in Himeji-shi, were sōja.

76. "A coiner of false gold or silver money is to be led around for public exposure and crucified," Hall, "Laws," TASJ, XLI, 762.

77. Ebisu matsuri 戎 (also 恵比須) 祭り. Commonly called Tōka Ebisu 十日戎. A festival held on the tenth day of the New Year at the Ebisu Jinja in Osaka in honor of Ebisu, the god of commercial prosperity.

78. Kurama no hatsutora mode 鞍馬の初寅まりで . The Kuramadera, built in 796, is a temple of the Tendai sect on Mt. Kurama, on the northern outskirts of Kyoto. It was customary to visit the temple on the first day of the tiger (hatsutora) in the New Year and offer prayers for happiness and prosperity.

79. That is, two kammon of copper or three to of rice for one ryō of gold. A to 斗 was one tenth of a koku. See above, note 18. In 1808, a gold ryō was valued at 66.2-66.7 momme of silver; a koku of rice at 55-56 momme of silver. The equivalent in silver of 1000 mon in 1807 was 9-9.2 momme. See Dokushi biyō 讀史備考, comp. Tokyo Teikoku Daigaku Shiryō Hensan-jo 東京帝國大學史料編纂所 (Tokyo, 1933), p. 772. According to these values, a gold ryō would have been worth well over a koku of rice or more than seven kammon of copper. The merchant is assessing the gold at less than a third of its value.

80. Gikōjō no hito 義 (correctly 義) 皇土の人 . A man who lived before the time of the legendary Chinese emperor Fu Hsi 伏羲 (traditionally 2852-2738 B.C.), who is said to have taught his people how to fish and raise cattle, and to have invented writing. Gikōjō no hito means a person of simple and honest disposition.

81. Wakame わかめ (also 若布). A variety of edible seaweed, common to the coasts all around Japan.

82. Naniwa 難波. Osaka and district.

83. The Sumiyoshi Jinja 住吉神社, also called Sumiyoshi Taisha 大社,

in Sumiyoshi-ku, Osaka, dedicated to the gods Sokotsutsu-o-no-mikoto 底筒男命, Nakatsutsu-o-no-mikoto 中筒男命, and Uwatsutsu-o-no-mikoto 表筒男命, revered from ancient times as protectors of sea travellers; and to Jingū Kōgō 神功皇后 (traditionally A.D. 201-269).

84. Popular name for the Shitennōji 四天王寺 in Tennōji-ku, Osaka, dedicated to Nyōirin Kannon 如來輪觀音 and the Four Heavenly Kings. The temple is said to have been established in 593 by Shōtoku Taishi, but it has been destroyed by fire and rebuilt several times.

85. Kawachi 河内 and Izumi 和泉. Provinces to the east of Osaka, both now part of Osaka-fu.

86. Ki no michi 紀の路. The road through the province of Kii 紀伊, now part of Wakayama 和歌山 and Mie 三重 Prefectures.

87. The province of Yamato 大和, now Nara-ken 奈良縣.

88. Mikoshiji みこし路 (also 三越路). Refers both to the Hoku-rikudō 北陸道 and to the Hokurikudō provinces of Echizen 越前, Etchū 越中, and Echigo 越後. Also the name of the road leading to those provinces.

89. Ōmi no umi 近江の海. Biwa-ko 琵琶湖, or Lake Biwa.

90. Koshi no kuni 越前の國 (also 高志國). The Hokurikudō provinces.

Hankai II

1. Tsunuga つねが. Now Tsuruga-shi 敦賀市, Fukui-ken 福井県. For the name "Tsunuga," see Man'yōshū, NKBT, IV, 183, kan 3, no. 366.

2. Arachi no sekiyama あらし の 乳 (also 有乳 or 愛發) の 關山. A mountain in Fukui-ken, in ancient times the site of the barrier between the provinces of Ōmi and Echizen. The barrier appears to have been established in 764 and abolished in 789 or shortly thereafter. See Yoshida, comp., Chimei jisho, III, 1862.

3. Hana motasetsuru 花もたせしむ. In modern Japanese (hana wo motasu 花を持たす), to award the victory or honors to one's opponent. In the Kyoto-Osaka area, however, hana used to refer to the money paid to a prostitute. See Daigenkai 大言海, comp. Ōtsuki Fumihiko 大槻文彦, 5 vols. (Tokyo, 1932-1937), III, 880.

4. Kozaru 小猿. "Little Monkey."

5. Alluding to the proverb, Tsukiyo ni kama wo nukareru 月夜に釜をぬかれり, to have one's kettle stolen on a moonlit night. Refers to a very neglectful person. See Suzuki Tōzō 鈴木棠三 and Hirota Eitarō 廣田榮太郎, ed., Koji kotowaza jiten 故事ことわざ辞典 (Tokyo, 1962), p. 627.

6. Tsukiyo 月夜. "Moonlit Night."

7. Kaga 加賀. One of the Hokurikudō provinces, now part of Ishi-

kawa-ken 石川縣.

8. Yamanaka 山中. A hot spring in Enuma-gun 江沼郡, Ishikawa-ken, said to have been discovered by the monk Gyōki 行基 (668-749). However, the spa fell into disuse until, in 1186, Hasebe Nobutsura 長谷部信連 (d. 1218) was enfeoffed in the area by Minamoto Yoritomo 源賴朝 (1148-1199). Nobutsura is said to have seen a white heron bathing its injured foot in the spring, and recognizing the spiritual healing powers of the water, he reclaimed the area and stationed his retainers to guard it.

9. Kishunraku 喜春樂. See Murasaki, "Wakana ge" 若菜下, Genji, NKBT, XVI, 414. A piece of ceremonial court music, Chinese in origin, accompanied by a dance which was usually performed by four persons, though sometimes by two or six. It was often performed on occasions such as the crown prince's coming of age ceremony or the dedication of a new shrine. Neither the melody nor the dance are known today.

10. Myōonten 妙音天. Sansk. Sarasvati. Usually called Benzaiten 辨才天 or Benten 弁天. Sometimes considered male, but usually a female deity who brings joy to all living things through her beautiful music. Also regarded as the goddess of eloquence and learning and the bestower of riches and the Sanskrit language and letters.

11. Atara Myōon Bosatsu nari あたり妙音ぼさつなり也. Perhaps, "What a waste of Myōon Bosatsu!" Although the priest speaks as though Myōonten and Myōon Bosatsu are one and the same, Myōon Bosatsu is in fact identified as the Bodhisattva Gadgadasvara.

12. Awazu 粟津. A hot spring in what is now Komatsu-shi 小松市, Ishikawa-ken, said to have been discovered during the Yōrō Era by the monk Taichō Daishi 泰澄大師 (683-767). It is the oldest hot spring in the Hokuriku area.

13. Kanazawa.

14. Ikkōshū 一向宗. The Jōdo Shinshū 浄土真宗 sect of Buddhism, founded by Shinran 親鸞 (1173-1262), who believed that salvation was solely dependent upon the grace of Amida Buddha, and therefore monastic disciplines such as celibacy, sobriety, and a vegetarian diet, were unnecessary. The sect was called Ikkōshū because its adherents meditated on the mercy of Amida with singleminded devotion (ikkō isshin 一向一心).

15. Sashide no iso no chidori no koe, yachiyo to naku さし出の磯の千鳥の聲、八千代と啼く. Cf. the following from the first imperial collection of waka, Kokin wakashū (comp. 905):

Shio no yama
Sashide no iso ni
Sumu chidori
Kimi ga miyo oba
Yachiyo to zo naku.

しほの山
さし出のいそに
すむ千鳥
きみかみよをば
やちよとぞなく

The plovers that nest
Upon Mt. Shio
And upon this strand
Cry out for thee
A reign of countless ages.

See the text in NKBT, VIII, 169, kan 7, no. 345.

16. Naka no kuni 中の國 . Etchū, the middle "Etsu" province. He wants to visit Jigokudani 地獄谷, an old volcano crater that still discharges sulfur smoke and gases. The "sacred mountain" is Tateyama 立山. Although "Tateyama" refers generally to a series of peaks in what is now Toyama-ken 富山縣, it specifically indicates Oyama 雄山 (alt. 2992 m.) and the subsidiary peaks, Jōdozan 淨土山 (2872 m.) and Betsuzan 別山 (2885 m.). The Oyama Jinja, dedicated to the deities Tajikara-o-no-mikoto 手力雄命 and Izanagi-no-mikoto 伊弉諾尊 is located on the top of Oyama. Boys of the area used to climb the mountain as part of the rites of attaining manhood. The Oyama Jinja attracted worshippers from all over Japan--so many that Tateyama came to rank with Hakusan 白山 and Mt. Fuji as a center for religious practices.

17. The 1743 work, Shokoku rijin dan 諸國里人譚, reports that shadowlike spirits of dead persons had been seen on Tateyama, and also that during the Genroku Era, three men who were returning from a pilgrimage to the mountain were given food by such beings. See the text in Kikōbunshū 紀行文集, ZTB, XX (Tokyo, 1900), 869-970, N.B. pp. 917, 918. Such a report may have suggested this incident, even though in this case it is mortals who feed the spirits.

18. Jinzūgawa 津又川 (神)通川. A river (length approx. 126 km.) that flows through central Toyama-ken. During the Tokugawa Period, it was bridged at Toyama-shi by sixty-four boats which were bound together and covered with boards. See Yoshida, comp., Chimei jisho, III, 1965.

19. Ōnuma no ukishima 大沼の浮島. Ōnuma is a small lake, about ten feet deep, in Nishi Murayama-gun 西村山郡, Yamagata-ken 山形縣.

Ukishima, floating clumps of hardened earth mixed with vegetation, are found in other parts of Japan as well, but those of Ōnuma are the most famous. Reports of their number vary from sixty-six to twenty-four or so. See Yoshida, comp., Chimei jisho, V, 4413.

20. Very similar to the incident in Shui hu chuan in which Lu Ta, Shih Chin 史進, and Li Chung 李忠, go into a wine shop and order food and drink. See Buck, trans., Brothers, I, 53.

21. Toki nakaba 時なかば(半). Half of a two-hour period.

22. Shakujo 錫杖. Sansk. khakkara. A wooden staff with a piece of tooth or horn affixed to the bottom and the upper part made of metal with several rings suspended. For a sketch of the head, see Shimmura, ed., Kōjien, p. 991. This staff was originally used by travelling priests in India for making a noise to drive off insects, but it later came to be used for announcing one's presence or marking time when reading sutras.

23. The text reads, Hito iru bekarazu. Kaere 人入るべからず かわれ. "No one should be in here. If you are, leave." However, Nakamura cites a Yamamoto Shigeru 山本茂 who sees this speech as a mistaken reading of Hito ibekariki. Haire 人入へかりき. はいれ, which I have used for my translation. See NKBT, LVI, 238, note 2.

24. This leaves 400 ryo unaccounted for. The passage is vague, but probably Hankai gives Muragumo 500 ryo as his share, even though he speaks of his act as returning the hundred that Muragumo had previ-

ously given him.

25. Tsugaru no hate 津軽の果. The Tsugaru Peninsula, now a part of Aomori-ken 青森県.

26. Lu Chih-shen performs a similar feat in Shui hu chuan. See Buck, trans., Brothers, I, 124, 125.

27. In Shui hu chuan, Lu Chih-shen goes to a ruined temple in search of shelter and finds the priests ailing and wasted from lack of food. See Buck, trans., Brothers, I, 107, 108.

28. Twenty chō. See above, note 10.

29. Perhaps a reference to the proverb, Inochi ni sugitaru takara nashi 命に過ぎたる宝無し. "There are no riches more precious than life." See Suzuki and Hirota, ed., Kotowaza jiten, p. 83.

30. This episode may have been suggested by Lu Chih-shen's defeat at the ruined temple (see above, note 27). See Buck, trans., Brothers, I, 111, 112.

31. Shinano 信濃. A Tōsandō 東山道 province, now Nagano-ken 長野県.

32. Ōu 奥羽. The provinces of Michinoku 陸奥 and Dewa 出羽. The Tōhoku 東北 region.

33. Sensōji 浅草寺. Popularly called Asakusa Kannon 浅草観音, a Tendai temple in Taitō-ku, Tokyo. In 628, it is said, two brothers who were fishing at the mouth of the Sumidagawa 隅田川 brought up a golden

image of Kannon in their net. Their master installed this statue in his home, but later a small shrine was built on the present site in order to accomodate the numerous worshippers who came from far around. The subsequent prosperity of the Asakusa area has been attributed to the grace of Kannon.

34. Kaminari Mon 神鳴 (also 雷) 門. The main entrance to the Sensōji, formerly flanked by images of the gods of wind and lightning.

35. Many daimyo of the Tokugawa Period built their Edo residences in the Asakusa area.

36. Shimotsuke no Nasuno no Hara 下野の那須野の原. Shimotsuke, a Tōsandō province, is now Tochigi-ken 栃木縣. Nasuno no Hara (now called Nasunogahara) is a moor extending from the foot of Nasudake 那須岳 in the northern part of the prefecture. Situated in a volcanic area, the moor was dry and had shallow topsoil. Efforts to cultivate it succeeded only after the Meiji Restoration, so it would have been sparsely settled at this time.

37. Matsuo Bashō was told when travelling in this area, Kono no wa iu ni wakarete, uneuneshiki tabibito no michi fumitagaen 此野は縦横にわかれて、うねに旅人の道ふみかへん. "This moor branches off and zig-zags in every direction. A traveller will lose his way." See Matsuo Bashō, Oku no hosomichi 奥の細道, Kikōbunshū, ZTB, XX, 971-996, N.B. p. 973.

38. Sesshōseki 花生石. A rock near the Nasu Hot Spring. Both Oku

no hosomichi and Shokoku ri jin dan state that poisonous gases strong enough to kill birds and insects were emitted from the immediate vicinity. See ZTB, XX, 900, 975. According to legend, there was a fox that took the form of a beautiful woman by the name of Tamamo-no mae 玉藻前, and won the favor of the emperor Toba. When her true identity was discovered, she fled from the capital, but was overtaken on the Nasunogahara and slain, whereupon her spirit took the form of this rock and caused harm to all who came near. During the time of the emperor Go-Fukakusa 後深草 (reigned 1246-1259), the monk Genno 玄翁 passed by and heard the story. After saying prayers for the repose of Tamamo-no-mae's soul, he struck the rock with his staff, splitting it in two. The spirit appeared and told the monk that his prayers had cured her of all desire to injure people. The Noh drama Sesshōseki is based on this legend. See Sanari, ed., Yōkyoku taikan, III, 1633-46.

39. Zange 懺悔. Repentance, contrition, or confession of sins. The first character is interpreted as confession, and the second as repentance and reform.

40. Oshō 和尚. Sansk. upadhyaya. A priestly teacher of Bhuddist doctrine; also a monk who has performed considerable ascetic practices. The reading oshō indicates the Zen 禪 sect. The same characters are read kashō by the Tendai sect and washō by the Shingon.

41. In the 120 chapter version of Shui hu chuan, Lu Chih-shen goes through a similar procedure in preparation for death. See Richard Gregg Irwin, The Evolution of a Chinese Novel: Shui hu chuan, Harvard Yenching Institute Series, X (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), 184.

42. Ige 遺偈. A poem of praise to Buddha, recited at the hour of death as a legacy to those who remain on earth.

43. Shaka 釋迦. Sansk. Sakya. The historical Buddha.

44. Daruma 達磨. Sansk. Bodhidharma. The twenty-eighth Buddhist patriarch, generally regarded as the founder of the Zen sect. Said to be the son of a king in southern India, he arrived in China in A.D. 520 and settled in Loyang, where he engaged in silent meditation for nine years. His doctrine and practice disregarded ritual and sutras, but emphasized his belief that each individual has direct access to Buddha through meditation.

45. Kokoro osamureba dare mo busshin nari. Hanateba yōma 心納むれば 誰も佛心也、故ては妖魔. Cf. the following passage from the Ugetsu tale, "Aozukin" 青頭布: Kokoro yuruseba yōma to nari, osamuru toki wa bukka wo eru 心放せば妖魔となり、収むる則ち佛果を得. "He who gives in to his passions becomes a demon; by controlling them he obtains the Fruit of Buddhahood," NKBT, LVI, 126; trans. Dale Saunders, "The Blue Hood," MN, XXI (1966), 196-202, N.B. p. 199.

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