Genre and Transgenre in Edo Literature: an Annotated Translation of Murai Yoshikiyo's Kyōkun hyakumonogatari with an Exploration of the Text's Multiple Filiations.

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GENRE AND TRANSGENRE IN EDO LITERATURE: AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION OF MURAI YOSHIKIYO’S KYŌKUN HYAKUMONOGATARI WITH AN EXPLORATION OF THE TEXT’S MULTIPLE FILIATIONS

A Thesis Presented

by

YUMIKO ONO

Submitted to the Graduate School of the University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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ABSTRACT

GENRE AND TRANSGENRE IN EDO LITERATURE: AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION OF MURAI YOSHIKIYO’S KYŌKUN HYAKUMONOGATARI WITH AN EXPLORATION OF THE TEXT’S MULTIPLE FILIATIONS

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In conjunction with raising some questions regarding “genre” in Edo literature, the purpose of this thesis is to introduce a complete annotated translation of Kyōkun hyakumonogatari 敎訓百物語 (One Hundred Scary Tales for Moral Instruction) by the Shingaku teacher Murai Yoshikiyo 村井由清 (1752-1813). Published in 1804 and reprinted several times, this text was intended as a guide to self-cultivation and ethical living based on Shingaku 心学, a philosophico-religious movement of great importance in the latter half of the Edo era. The translation is complemented with a transcription into modern script based on publicly available (online) digital images of an 1815 xylographic edition. Considering the work as one example of transgenred literature, in the introduction I explore the intellectual and historical contexts of the work, paying special attention to the contemporary category of textbook called ōraimono 往来物. I also consider for reference a kibyōshi 黄表紙 called Shingaku hayasomegusa 心学早染草, published in 1790 by Santō Kyōden 山東京伝, as another example both of transgenred
literature itself and of literary responses to the same socio-intellectual moment, specifically the Edo world in the aftermath of the Kansei reforms (1787-93).
PREFACE

In this thesis Japanese names are written in their traditional way, which means the family name precedes the personal name. The dates in parenthesis after their names are the years of their birth and death. Basically, their last names are the ones used in this thesis; however, in the cases when the noted person’s first name is most commonly known in other scholarly works and Japanese tradition, I adopted that. The names of Chinese Confucian scholars used in this thesis are given in their Japanese readings as well as the same way the original text, Kyōkun hyakumonogatari of Bunka 12 (1815) adopted them.

The first chapter of this thesis quotes translated passages from Japanese into English; unless otherwise indicated in the footnotes, all translations are my own. The second chapter consists of transcription into modern script the historical orthography and translation into English of the woodblock-printed text of Kyōkun hyakumonogatari. I have adopted the original text’s phonetic guides for readings of kanji. In the translation, there are some expressions which were rearranged due to inevitable difficulties to turn them into understandable English phrases. I have mentioned some of those cases in footnotes; however, the commentary is not thorough. Additionally, I have divided the original text into fifteen chapters because it doesn’t have any clear chapters, which causes readers some difficulty to read through the original. The divisions are basically made based on the flow of the contents. For reference, I mention what pages in the original text are contained in each chapter. Capital L and P represents line and page respectively. For instance, “Transcription and Translation (L1 P2-L3 P4)” means the section treats transcription and translation from line 1 on page 2 until line 3 on page 4. I have used the
following abbreviations for the footnotes in the Chapter 2 because the full-lengths of many of the chapter names are too long and confusing.


   DDSKJ: Dōniō dōwa shohen kan no jō, 29-40.
   道二翁道話初篇巻上

   DD3KJ: Dōniō dōwa sanpen kan no jō, 79-93.
   道二翁道話三篇巻上

   DD3KG: Dōniō dōwa sanpen kan no ge, 94-107.
   道二翁道話三篇巻下

   DDZSKJ: Dōniō dōwa zokuhen shohen kan no jō, 229-38.
   道二翁道話續編初編巻之上


   SDKC: Shōō dōwa kan no chū, 32-41.
   松翁道話卷之中

   SD3KJ: Shōō dōwa sanpen kan no jō, 89-98.
   松翁道話三篇巻之上

   SD3KG: Shōō dōwa sanpen kan no ge, 111-21.
   松翁道話三篇巻之下

   SD4KG: Shōō dōwa yonpen kan no ge, 146-57.
   松翁道話四篇巻之下

   SD5KJ: Shōō dōwa gohen kan no jō, 159-70.
   松翁道話五篇巻之上

   SD5KC: Shōō dōwa gohen kan no chū, 171-82.
   松翁道話五篇巻之中

NKD: *Nihon kokugo daijiten* 日本国語大辞典
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Kyōkun hyakumonogatari and the Problem of Genre in Edo Literature

...nothing was at all neat or categorized, with pictures and texts jostling one with the other, genres bleeding into other genres, and multiple names of every stripe freely entangled among themselves.\(^1\)

The literature of the Edo period (1603-1867) included a great variety of genres classified in standard scholarly taxonomies according to the social context, form, the readership, etc., of a work. But as Haruko G. Iwasaki points out, genre in Edo literature has not functioned very successfully as an analytical tool for scholars. Because of their highly fluid nature, many Edo literary works seem unable to be restricted to just a single category, but instead claim multiple identities simultaneously.

The primary aim of this thesis is to introduce to scholars and general readers a single Edo text through transcription into modern type, translation into English, and annotation. However, in the process of charting its historical context and describing its author by way of an introduction to the translation, I have unavoidably encountered some broader questions about “genre” itself in the Edo period. In addition to setting out the historical context for the work translated, therefore, I would like to highlight here and later in the essay this one particular problem that seems vital, especially in the context of prior and current scholarship on Edo literature and culture: the matter of genre, or how to approach any specific text in the complicated tangle of texts that makes up kinsei

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bungaku 近世文学, Japanese literature of premodern era. I will suggest the term transgenred literature as a way to conceptualize the unusual fluidity of genre in Edo literature, evident in the text I translated but also much more widely in the culture that produced it.

The text I have translated in this thesis, Kyōkun hyakumonogatari 敎訓百物語 (One Hundred Scary Tales for Moral Instruction), was written by Murai Yoshikiyo 村井由清 (1752-1813, Hōreki 宝暦 5-Bunka 文化 10) and published in 1804 (Bunka 1) and consecutively republished afterwards. The work has not been translated or annotated before, although its content was apparently popular and valuable enough to get republished up to the early Meiji period, even being transcribed from the woodblock original editions into modern typeset editions. The work is classified by the Hiroshima University Library Textbook Collection 広島大学図書館教科書コレクション as part of the ōraimono 往来物 genre, which were writings used as textbooks for elementary education in the late Edo period. However, one well known ōraimono scholar, Koizumi Yoshinaga 小泉吉永, excludes the work from his ōraimono database due to its topic and content. According to Koizumi, “if the topic and content don’t relate to the educational purpose which ōraimono is supposed to possess, which are for reading, writing, and calculation, I argue that the work should not be considered as ōraimono.”

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2 Kyōkun Hyakumonogatari 敎訓百物語: My translation.


4 Koizumi Yoshinaga 小泉吉永, e-mail message to author, November 3, 2008.
Certainly, the topic and content of *Kyōkun hyakumonogatari* are not narrowly about any of the three educational purposes above. The subject matter concerns Shingaku 心学, or “learning of the mind (or heart).”⁵ Koizumi states, “If the topic is about Shingaku, the work should be classified into a *shingaku-sho* 心学書 (textbooks for students of Shingaku).”⁶

My interest in genre as it pertains to Murai’s text originally started with this disagreement over the categorization of *Kyōkun hyakumonogatari*. In addition to the genres proposed by scholarship, ōraimono and *shingaku-sho*, the text’s title and illustrations suggest entertainment: it is included in an anthology of Edo era ghost stories, another genre possibility. What are the arguments for each of these differing classifications, and can any one of them satisfactorily explain Murai’s text as a whole? In the introductory essay I address these questions and consider the applicable categorizations of the work while setting out its historical context.

In the next section I begin by tracing the evolution of Shingaku to show how *Kyōkun hyakumonogatari* is first and foremost a product of that particular cultural stream of the later Edo era. Shingaku was a school of thought founded in Kyoto by a dry goods clerk, Ishida Baigan 石田梅岩 (1685-1744) in 1730.⁷ Shingaku teaching evolved throughout the course of its history in tandem with social and historical events; it declined greatly in the Meiji era, though it survives institutionally in Japan even today. During several decades of the late eighteenth century, Shingaku teaching became popular

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⁶ Koizumi Yoshinaga, e-mail message to author, November 3, 2008.

among people of every class due to the distinctive devotion earned by a number of eminent Shingaku teachers. I trace the school’s historical evolution through three distinctive Shingaku teachers: Baigan, Tejima Toan 手島堵庵 (1718-1786), and Nakazawa Dōni 中沢道二 (1725-1805), and then I introduce Murai Yoshikiyo, the author of Kyōkun hyakumonogatari, as one of the Dōni’s disciples; and finally I discuss the contents of the work itself.

Following this, I move on to the potentially applicable genres that Kyōkun hyakumonogatari has been categorized into, especially shingaku-shō and ōraimono. As Shingaku teaching was popularized throughout Japan, many kinds of shingaku-shō were developed and utilized in its history, especially a type known as “Talks on the Way” (dōwa 道話), a subgenre seen as characteristic of the Shingaku school that contributed greatly to the pervasion of the teaching. Kyōkun hyakumonogatari treats Shingaku doctrine as its subject matter and has been anthologized as an example of dōwa. I discuss the characteristics of basic types of shingaku-shō according to recent scholarship and show how Kyōkun hyakumonogatari has characteristics particular to Shingaku dōwa. Following this discussion of shingaku-shō, I then consider the characteristics of ōraimono as a genre through its historical evolution, types, and more importantly, how ōraimono functioned in the society in the time. I argue that Kyōkun hyakumonogatari’s circulation pattern and receptions justifies its identification as an ōraimono, and conclude that Murai’s work is in the end transgenred rather than existing in a single genre.

Finally, as a contemporary example of transgenred literature related to Shingaku teaching, I briefly discuss a kibyōshi 黄表紙 by one of the best known and most widely

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8 Shingakusha 心学者: My translation.
studied Edo authors, Santō Kyōden 山東京伝. In 1790 (Kansei 宽政 2), the shining beacon among kibyōshi authors, Kyōden incorporated Shingaku into his literary work, *Shingaku hayasomegusa* 心学早染草 (Fast-Dyeing Mind Study). Although it has been conventionally considered as a lesser work in the kibyōshi genre because Shingaku’s didactic aspect is unsuitable for kibyōshi, I suggest reconsidering the work as an example of transgenred literature.

At the present time, the primary aim of this my study is to introduce for other scholars an Edo era Shingaku text in as complete a way as possible, with transcription, translation, and annotation. However, as noted above, in the course of giving its historical context in this introductory essay I have had to consider some broader questions about “genre” itself in Edo literature. The problem of “genre” in Edo literary works remains for other scholars to pursue, but I hope even my initial reflections on the topic will have some value for the future study of transgenred literature and this point of view will produce a new aspect to research late Edo literature. Even more than this, however, I hope that my translation will make the relatively unexplored world of Edo didactic texts accessible to more readers.

The Shingaku Tradition

Murai Yoshikiyo’s *Kyōkun hyakumonogatari* teaches its readers to be vigilant regarding the growing greediness that appears as soon as their newborn innocence is lost. According to Murai, although all are innocent when born, people steadily lose their newborn innocence and become subject to greed. It is therefore vital, he asserts, to seek a

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way to recover that initial innocence: the way he advocates in Kyōkun hyakumonogatari is called “knowing the original mind” (honshin o shiru 本心を知る). This moral forms the core of the entire work: as I will show, it is firmly grounded in the philosophical tradition known as Sekimon Shingaku 石門心学.

Despite very humble beginnings, the philosophico-religious movement known as Sekimon Shingaku grew to become a signal feature of late Edo culture and society. It was a synthesis that blended elements from traditional systems of ethics and belief with new realities from the urban merchant society of the chōnin 町人. Like the literary forms of haikai 俳諧 and ukiyozōshi 浮世草子, it was a bottom-up movement, a new idea without official sanction that eventually attracted the interest of people from all social strata. Yet Shingaku was also useful to the ruling class, those who managed society from the top down. It served to give the lower classes a sense of who they were and how they could play a part in a society that might otherwise seem threatening or demeaning for them. It championed modesty and the value of family and social ties without the taint of government orthodoxy, and it incorporated a religious element (complete with a Way and certifiable enlightenment) that yet operated outside the state sanctioned Buddhist temple networks. It thus filled a void for its followers, giving ordinary people a sense of control and a sense that they had a worthwhile place in society. Most importantly, it was available at a time of crisis, offering to people from all classes a model of how to behave in the troubled post-Kansei reforms era.

Ishida Baigan and the Origins of Shingaku

Robert N. Bellah has stated, “Shingaku is a movement which began when Ishida Baigan 石田梅岩 (1685-1744) hung out his shingle and gave his first public lecture in
1729 (Kyōhō 14).” As Bellah implies, then, Shingaku is generally used to refer to Sekimon Shingaku 石門心学, that is to say, the Ishida school of Shingaku. Shibata Minoru 柴田実 notes that there were many teachings called Shingaku in circulation before Baigan, but Baigan’s ethical thought, which integrates Shinto, Confucianism, and Buddhism, was the most distinctive and made important achievements in the Japanese philosophical tradition and also had significant sociological impact. Therefore, when I use the term Shingaku I too will take it to refer to Sekimon Shingaku. After Baigan’s lifetime, from the late Edo period up to the early Meiji period, Shingaku became a methodical and disciplined social movement, extending to people of all classes through a wide area of Japan. When Kyōkun hyakumonogatari was published in 1804 (Bunka 1 文化元年), the Shingaku movement had already spread east from the Kamigata area (Kyoto and Osaka) to the burgeoning urban center of Edo. Murai Yoshikiyo, Kyōkun hyakumonogatari’s author, was one of the Shingaku teachers who contributed to the further diffusion of Shingaku westwards towards the Chūgoku 中国, Shikoku 四国, and Kyūshū 九州 regions.

In the remainder of this section, after introducing the fundamental concepts behind the Shingaku movement, I will provide an overview of how that movement historically changed from the time of its great founder Baigan up to the time that the


12 Shibata, Shingaku 心学, 6.

provincial Shingaku teacher Murai Yoshikiyo wrote his *Kyōkun hyakumonogatari-One Hundred Scary Tales for Moral Instruction*.

It is generally said that Baigan’s ethical thought consisted of a blend of Shinto, Confucianism, and Buddhism elements. He was certainly open to all these teachings and utilized them for the pursuit of his own ethical thought to help people.\(^\text{14}\) Baigan stated the reasons behind his studies in one of his most well-known works *Tohi mondō 都鄙問答* (1739).

My intention is studying is to teach the Way for those people who come after me. ...the Way means to know one’s nature (sei o shiru 性を知る) if I don’t know my nature, I will lose my paths and also lead the people astray.\(^\text{15}\)

For Baigan, what really matters is that the student should come to know his or her nature and then to put into practice in the wider social situation the moral obligation clarified through knowing his or her nature. The three major traditional teachings were important, but Shingaku did not focus on adhering to any of them exclusively.\(^\text{16}\)

Baigan’s original expression “knowing one’s nature” differs slightly from the expression “knowing the original mind” mentioned in regard to Murai’s work. This is because the latter expression was invented by Baigan’s preeminent disciple Tejima Toan 手島堵庵 (1718-1786), based on Baigan’s advocacy. Moreover, Baigan himself did not call his teaching Shingaku: rather, the term gradually came into use during the decades following his death when Toan organized and regulated Baigan’s thought and followers. In her 1993 study, *Confucian Values and Popular Zen: Sekimon Shingaku in Eighteenth-

\(^{14}\) Shibata, *Shingaku*, 34-35.


\(^{16}\) Shibata, *Shingaku*, 34-35.
Century Japan, Janine Sawada notes that Shingaku developed from a relatively obscure ethical teaching into “a system for cultivating the mind that became popular in the less-educated sectors of Tokugawa society.”\(^{17}\) To describe how Baigan’s advocacy became systematized afterward, it may be helpful to begin with a providing sociopolitical overview of Baigan’s era.

When Baigan started giving lectures in 1729, Japan was going through the Kyōhō Reforms 享保改革 (1716-1736) under the eighth shogun, Tokugawa Yoshimune 徳川吉宗 (1684-1751). The Kyōhō Reforms was carried out in order to reconstruct shogunal finances by promoting frugality. As a result of their economic influence the merchant class in particular labored under extreme legal controls.

Though the merchants were considered at the bottom of the social strata according to the mibunsei 身分制 status system, the economic infrastructure of the country was nonetheless reliant on their power, a fact that greatly bothered the ruling class.\(^{18}\) The eminent Confucian philosopher, Ogyū Sorai 萩生徂徠 (1666-1728) even proposed to Yoshimune that the merchant class was really good for nothing due to its excessive economic power. At the same time, the possible disruption of the social structure by the merchant class due to this economic power was becoming a major concern of the merchant class itself, too. To give one example, Mitsui Takafusa 三井高房 (1684-1748),

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\(^{17}\) Sawada, Confucian Values and Popular Zen, 1.

\(^{18}\) For a fuller treatment of this period, see Horie Yasuzu 堀江保蔵, “Keizai seikatsu to ningen sonchō: Chōnin no riyō to yokuatsu 経済生活と人間尊重: 町人の利用と抑圧,” in vol. 2 of Tokugawa jidai ni okeru ningen sonchō shisō no keifu 徳川時代における人間尊重思想の系譜, ed. Miyazaki Hiroshi ミヤザキ・ヒロシ [Tokyo: Fukumura Shoten 福村書店, 1961], 468-74.
the fourth head of the great Mitsui merchant family, indicated the merchant class should consider the proper role of the merchants adequately in the light of their social rank.19

Although policies such as “endorsing farmers and restraining merchants” (kan’nō yokushō 勧農抑商), or “valuing crops and despising money” (kikoku senkin 貴穀賎金) were supposed to be the bedrock of the shogunal administration, in reality, the power of the thriving merchant class could not be ignored: without the merchants’ economic power, Tokugawa society would have been unable to pay its way. The samurai ruling class realized that merchants were a necessary evil that had to be managed.20 Taking this social context into consideration, it is not surprising that Baigan, once he had experienced life in a merchant family, searched for solutions to the problems faced by the merchant class as it struggled under the retrenchment of the Kyōhō Reforms.

Baigan was born in 1685 (Jōkyō 貞享 2) in Tanba 丹波 region, a rural region just outside the then capital, Kyoto. His family occupation was farming but originally they belonged to the Samurai class, so his family lived by no means in poverty. Nevertheless, according to customs of the countryside in those days, Baigan was sent to apprentice in a merchant’s household in Kyoto at the age of eleven. His first apprenticeship ended relatively soon because the merchant had financial difficulties. After staying in his home village for a while, he started the second apprenticeship at a dry goods store in Kyoto at the age of twenty-three. Shibata has noted that on account of his relatively advanced age, it would have been difficult for Baigan to be promoted in the normal fashion.21 It is

19 Shibata, Shingaku, 15-16.


unknown whether this circumstance forced him to seek another way to make his living; however, according to his biographies, during this second apprenticeship he read enthusiastically the Confucian classics, Buddhist scriptures, and textbooks on Shinto, and attended lectures on a wide range of topics whenever he found the time. Whatever the reason, it is apparent that Baigan’s experience as a clerk in two merchant households had a profound effect on both his interest in learning and in his teaching afterwards. In fact the shogunate affected his livelihood directly when it implemented strict price controls on dry goods, which were often considered luxuries, in 1724 (Kyōhō 9); it is therefore not surprising that his thought developed a close relationship to the problems faced by the merchant class.22

Baigan advocated frugality and honesty as significant elements in his ethical teaching, and thus it is sometimes asserted that Baigan was proposing a “Way of the Merchants” analogous to bushidō, the “Way of the Warrior.” However, as Shibata has indicated, the main contribution of Baigan’s thought is his insights into those principles that are applicable to the whole nation regardless of what social stratum one belongs to.23 In fact, when Baigan started giving lectures at his residence no one had to pay money or show letters of references to attend them, as Baigan felt that lectures should be open to whoever wanted to learn, regardless of their social position. This rule was followed afterwards as representative of a fundamental aspect of the Shingaku movement, that is to say, that every person should be able to learn Shingaku.24

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22 Ibid., 22-23.
23 Ibid., 17.
Baigan kept giving his lectures by request up until his death at age sixty in 1744 (Enkyō 延享 1). The area he covered with his lecture tours extended not only to Kyoto itself but also to the Kawachi 河内 and Izumi 和泉 regions (both in present day Osaka prefecture). Besides his lectures, he also held meetings in his residence with his direct disciples three times a month to discuss hypothetical problems. The meetings were subsequently named Kaiho 会輔 by Tejima Toan and preserved for many decades as the main opportunity for teaching and learning about Shingaku. The problems were assigned by Baigan and treated practical matters from everyday life such as adoptive marriage, clearing off debts, inheritances, and so forth. Through discussing the best way to solve those problems, the teacher and his disciples were able to contemplate and verify the Way, and thus to “know their natures,” leading them to identify the moral contribution they could make for the society. It seems clear also that through these regular meetings with his disciples, the ideas that Baigan advocated were becoming more clearly organized, and made more practically applicable to the wider social context.

One of Baigan’s disciples at these meetings was Tejima Toan: as mentioned, above, he became Baigan’s successor and a great systematizer of Shingaku teachings and method. In the next section I will introduce Toan’s role in the pervasion of Shingaku movement through to much wider regions of Japan and consider also his creation of the expression “knowing the original mind.”

Tejima Toan and the Development of Shingaku

Tejima Toan was born into a wealthy merchant family in Kyoto in 1718 (Kyōhō 享保 3). He began studying Shingaku under Baigan at age eighteen, apparently in part

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because of his father’s influence. Toan’s father, Uekawa Muneyoshi 上河宗義, was as a wealthy and successful merchant who wrote a guide book on running a family business, *Night Talks for Merchants (Akindo yawasō 商人夜話草)*.\(^{26}\) Although the book was not published in Muneyoshi’s lifetime, Toan issued it on the thirty-third anniversary of Muneyoshi’s death in 1727 (Kyōhō 12).\(^{27}\) It may even be that Muneyoshi himself attended some of Baigan’s lectures and then recommended them to his son.

Toan was apparently a good learner, as it was recorded that he reached the point of “discovery of the original mind” in less than three years.\(^{28}\) He devoted himself to the development of the Shingaku movement up until his death in 1786 (Tenmei 天明 6) at the age of sixty nine. His achievements included writing many *shingaku-sho* 心学書 (textbooks for students of Shingaku), in which he employed the same casual style and simple language (appropriate for relatively uneducated women and children) as he did in lectures. He also established Shingaku schools for students and teachers. These activities formed the basis that led to the popularization of Shingaku throughout Japan.

Building upon Baigan’s teaching of “knowing one’s nature” (*sei o shiru 性を知る*), Toan taught people to “know their original mind” (*honshin o shiru 本心を知る*).\(^{29}\) As Sawada has stated, the use of the word *honshin* is “the reformulation of Baigan’s own

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\(^{26}\) Akindo yawasō 商人夜話草: Sawada’s translation.

\(^{27}\) Shibata, *Shingaku* 47.

\(^{28}\) Ibid. *Discovery of the Original Mind* is Sawada’s translation of *Hatsumei 発明*. For more detailed information, see Sawada, *Confucian Values and Popular Zen*, 74-82.

teaching and Baigan’s lifelong religious goal, ‘knowing the nature.’” 30 In one of Toan’s works, *New Dialogues in Asakura* (*Asakura shinwa* 朝倉新話; 1780), the teacher explains to his audience that “original mind” (*honshin* 本心) does not differ from “nature” (*sei* 性) as follows. 31

When it comes to *honshin*, it is not really different from *sei*. *Sei* is the essence of the mind and it accords with Heaven, therefore, they call this natural laws... one’s *sei* possesses natural laws innately... when it comes to one’s mind, there are two of them the evil mind and good mind, but when you come to know *honshin*, it appears as the embodiment of *sei*. So there is nothing different between *honshin* and *sei*. 32

The adoption of his expression “knowing the original mind” is considered one of the chief accomplishments of Toan’s work. The use of the name Shingaku for the teaching became widespread because of this particular expression. Through his reformulation of Baigan’s motto and constant explanation of the principles behind it, Toan contributed to popularizing Shingaku by making it more accessible to a variety of people.

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31 *Asakura shinwa* 朝倉新話: My translation.

Toan’s method centered on demonstrating how Shingaku principles could be utilized in one’s everyday life. As I mentioned above, he published many textbooks and booklets: some of the better known titles are *My Walking Stick* (Waga tsue 我つえ; 1775), *Maintaining One’s Fortune as a Townsperson* (Chōnin: Shintai naoshi 町人身体なをし; 1777), *New Teaching of Words of Truth* (Shinjitsugokyō 新実語経; 1781), *Boys and Girls: Waking up from Sleep* (Jijo: Nemurisamashi 児女ねむりさまし; 1773), among others. Most of those textbooks and booklets adopted and adapted existing popular forms, including those of textbook for writing practice (*tenarai-bon* 手習本), collections of popular songs known as *dodoitsu* 都都逸, and books of Buddhist prayers. Toan’s textbooks were used as resource for Shingaku lectures and were distributed widely among students at no cost. As Shibata has argued, “it need scarcely be said that those adaptations facilitated the wide dissemination of the Shingaku teaching.” The textbooks Toan wrote served as primers for Shingaku students.

As the Shingaku movement expanded, Toan found he needed to establish a systematic hierarchy and method for Shingaku teachers. During Toan’s lifetime, twenty Shingaku schools were established in fifteen different regions. The schools were called Kōsha 講舎 (lecture halls). Originally, they were meetinghouses for Shingaku students and teachers, who gathered for the aforementioned practice of *kaiho*, or discussions and lectures on Shingaku. Though Toan and other leading members of the school offered

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34 The titles are Sawada’s translation.
35 *Dodoitsu* 都都逸; a Japanese popular love song in the 7-7-7-5 syllable pattern.
36 Shibata, *Shingaku*, 52.
their residences for kaiho, as the numbers of Shingaku students increased, it became necessary to establish proper schools. The first school, Shūseisha 修正舎 was founded in 1773 (An’ei 安永 2) and the second one Jishūsha 時習舎 followed in 1779 (An’ei 8). These two schools and the third school founded in 1782 (Tenmei 天明 2), which was called Meirinsha 明倫舎, all in Kyoto, are considered as the headquarters of the Shingaku movement.\(^{37}\)

Using these schools as springboards, Shingaku rapidly spread into provincial regions. However, since learning Shingaku was dependent on each individual’s discovering of his or her original mind, with no fixed training methods, there was a risk that both students and teachers could fall into the pitfalls of misunderstanding, leading to deviation from the spirit of Shingaku.\(^{38}\) As Sawada notes, “Toan’s anxieties about the quality of Shingaku talks thus increased significantly in his last year.”\(^{39}\) After 1781 (Tenmei 1), he even began to regulate one of the fundamental teaching practices, the giving of lectures known as Talks on the Way (dōwa 道話). This was partly caused by the Gidō incident, which resulted in an official edict in 1782 that banned Shingaku throughout the castle town of Takatsuki 高槻, which lies between Osaka and Kyoto.\(^{40}\) Wakisaka Gidō 脇坂義堂 (?-1818), who was one of Toan’s disciples and was known for his eloquence, incurred the displeasure of the Confucian scholars in the Takatsuki domain

\(^{37}\) For more detailed information about Shingaku headquarters, see Shibata, *Shingaku*, 63-66.

\(^{38}\) Ibid., 72.

\(^{39}\) Sawada, *Confucian Values and Popular Zen*, 149.

\(^{40}\) After the incident, Gidō was not allowed to give his Shingaku lectures officially and had no choice but to live the life of an exile. It was only much later, thanks to Nakazawa Dōni that Gidō was able to work as a Shingaku teacher again, this time in the Tsukudajima workhouse under the protection of Dōni. For more detailed information about the incident, see Shibata, *Shingaku*, 123-26.
by his partisan preaching of Shingaku. Gidō was expelled by Toan and had to wait more than thirty years after Toan’s death to receive an official pardon.

The considerable effort made by Toan led to the widespread popularity of Shingaku among the people. During his lifetime, he had been careful concerning Shingaku’s relationship with the authorities because Shingaku was still considered a threat to the public order due to its considerable appeal among the lower classes.41 The relationship changed greatly under Toan’s disciple, Nakazawa Dōni 中沢道二 (1725-1805), who was sent to Edo in 1779 (An’ei 8) by Toan to spread the teaching in the shogunal capital.

Nakazawa Dōni and the Prosperity of the Shingaku Movement

Dōni was born to a family of weavers in Nishijin 西陣, Kyoto.42 Before he started learning Shingaku under the direction of Toan, he was like the rest of his family a follower of the Nichiren sect. While working as an apprentice, he reportedly suffered from poor health and he sought a cure or some other solution through religion. As Ishikawa Ken 石川謙 notes, his religious quest derived from personal anguish.43 At the age of forty one, after more than twenty years of searching for a religious cure, he found his answer in Baigan’s teachings. Dōni began learning Shingaku from Fuse Shōō 布施松翁 (1725-1784), who was already considered as one of Toan’s most respected disciples at that time. Sometime later, Dōni became a direct disciple of Toan himself.

42 Nishijin 西陣: Nishijin is a well known area for the textile industry in Kyoto.
It was not long before Dōni began traveling to various places to give his own “Talks on the Way” (dōwa 道話).\(^44\) In 1779 (An’ei 8) at age fifty five, he was sent to Edo as a proxy for Toan. From then until he died at the age of seventy nine in 1803 (Kyōwa 3), he worked tirelessly to give lectures throughout the shogunal capital region, including not just Edo but also the nearby provincial towns. He also established Sanzensha 参前舎, the first Shingaku School in Edo, and used it as his operational headquarters. He wrote no books, but his Shingaku dōwa 心学道話, as he called his lectures (coining a term that then entered widespread use), had a profound effect on the spread of the Shingaku movement in the Edo region.

Dōni’s dōwa employed well-known verses from philosophers and wise men of ancient times as well as proverbs to attract his audience’s attention, and then he employed simple metaphors and images to ingeniously facilitate their full comprehension of Shingaku principles.\(^45\) Though the dōwa itself originated in Toan’s time, Dōni was the first major Shingaku teacher who utilized dōwa as his primary teaching material. As Sawada puts it, Dōni became “the key figure in the development of the dōwa.”\(^46\) In his dōwa, Dōni repeatedly used particular expression to explain the Way to his audience. According to Dōni, the meaning of the Way is that one should find what he should be (道あるべきよう), according to his social status or occupation.

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\(^44\) Dōwa 道話: Sawada’s translation.

\(^45\) Shiraishi, ed., Tejima Toan shingakushū, 133.

\(^46\) Sawada, Confucian Values and Popular Zen, 143.
What is the Way? A sparrow twitters and a crow caws. A kite has his own way to live. A dove has his own way to live as well. A man of virtue says that one should perform one’s task according to one’s rank.47

Compared to dōwa in Toan’s time, Dōni made the contents of dōwa more closely and directly connected to one’s role in the society. Combined with his insistent use of repetitious colloquial expressions, easily learnt and remembered, this paved the way for a marked increase in followers of Shingaku in the late Edo period.48

Honda Tadayoshi 本田忠可 (1741-1795), a feudal lord in Yamazaki in Harima 播磨山崎, was initiated into Shingaku teachings under the direction of Dōni in 1781 (Tenmei 1) after listening to Dōni’s dōwa.49 Honda’s initiation was an epochal event for Shingaku, marking its entrance into the ruling class. Honda helped spread an appreciation for the teaching within this class, so that eventually some high level bakufu officials began to look to Shingaku to help establishing social ethics. One of these officials was Matsudaira Sadanobu 松平定信 (1759-1829), the young daimyo of Shirakawa who became the shogunate senior councilor (rōjū-shuza 老中首座) and masterminded the Kansei reforms (1787-1793), the second of the great retrenchment efforts the shogunate made to keep itself in business.50 For his part Dōni collaborated with the government, sometimes incorporating official shogunal edicts into his dōwa to explain the Way through them: in encouraging consideration of the feeling of others and enjoining hard

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47 Shibata, Shingaku, 81. The expression “A man of virtue says that one should perform one’s task according to one’s rank” is also contained in the eighth section of Kyōkan hyakumonogatari.

48 For a fuller treatment of the increase of the Shingaku learners by Dōni’s dōwa, see Shibata, Shingaku, 82, and Sawada, Confucian Values and Popular Zen, 143.

49 Harima-Yamazaki domain was an area in current day Hyōgo 兵庫 prefecture.

50 Ishikawa Ken, ed., Kōtei dōniō dōwa, 5.
work from all, no matter what one’s station, Dōni’s teaching supported Sadanobu’s goals. As Shibata notes, since Sadanobu’s reforms included directives on ethics for the samurai class and promoted the enlightenment of farmers and commoners, Dōni’s dōwa were a very suitable vehicle for his objectives.51

In one prominent example of this shogunal-Shingaku collaboration, Dōni and some of his colleagues in Edo were assigned to educate day laborers in Tsukuda-jima workhouse (Tsukuda-jima ninsoku yoseba 佃島人足寄場), which had been established in 1790 (Kansei 2) under the order of Sadanobu. There was a pressing need to deal with the growing number of criminals, homeless, and other undesired elements in the Edo region. Before the workhouse was established, vagrants were interned at a facility called Tamari溜, which however was more of a stopgap measure than a fundamental solution for the problem of outlaws and social dropouts.52 The first attempt to deal with the problems of Tamari came 1788 (Tenmei 8), immediately after Sadanobu’s appointment as senior councilor. After two years of trial and error, the Tsukuda-jima workhouse was established and the shogunate entrusted to Dōni, and Wakisaka Gidō (now pardoned for his earlier outspokenness), the responsibility of educating the inmates. According to Shibata, Shingaku was used as a means of rehabilitation in the facility throughout the time it was in operation, or approximately seventy years.53

As a result of Dōni’s efforts a fairly stable relationship had been reached between the ruling class and the shogunate in particular, and Shingaku by the time of his death in

51 Shibata, Shingaku, 84.

52 Tamari溜: a haunt. For more detailed information about the facility, see Minami Kazuo 南和男, Edo no shakai közō 江戸の社会構造 [Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō 壩書房, 1969], 79-92.

1803. Along with this success, however, “several voices were raised in criticism of the movement as it became better known, particularly among Confucian scholars.”

For example, Nakai Chikuzan 中井竹山 (1730-1804), the fourth head of the Kaitokudō 懐徳堂 academy in Osaka, presented his apprehensions about Shingaku to Sadanobu in 1789 (Kansei 1) and proposed that the teaching should be suppressed. Chikuzan’s intervention did not appear to affect shogunal policy toward Shingaku directly, but after Sadanobu’s authorization of the Kansei prohibition of heterodox learning in 1790 (Kansei 7), one of Dōni’s disciples was excluded from the examinations in the Shōheikō 昌平黌 college in 1794 (Kansei 6): Sawada suggests that this can be considered as a result of the prohibition, marking Shingaku as heterodox. However, the fact that Sadanobu went ahead and employed Shingaku teachers on government business suggests that the teaching was not seen in the same light as Confucian teachings for the samurai class, in part due to its utility and popularity among the less educated.

During Dōni’s lifetime, then, it is safe to say that despite some resistance Shingaku had proliferated through the nation, reaching both the ruling class and the commoners by its “simple, engaging manner of presenting the Way,” which functioned “an effective means of reaching the less educated,” that is to say, Talks on the Way.

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54 Sawada, Confucian Values and Popular Zen, 155.

55 Ibid., 156. Nakai Chikuzan 中井竹山: Chikuzan was a teacher of Chu Hsi’s learning (Shushigaku 朱子学) and succeeded his father, who was the second head of the academy. During Chikuzan’s time as the head from 1782 until 1797 (Tenmei 2-Kansei 9), he made the academy recognized as much as the Shōheikō 昌平黌 college in Edo, which became the shogunate’s official college for Chu Hsi’s learning in 1789, the same year of Chikuzan’s request to Sadanobu.

56 For a fuller treatment of the criticism of Shingaku, see Sawada, Confucian Values and Popular Zen, 155-59.

57 Ibid., 157.
In the following section, I will consider the author of *Kyōkun hyakumonogatari*, Murai Yoshikiyo, who was in Dōni’s linage and was a prominent Shingaku teacher in the Osaka region. Murai’s text, his only known work, was first published in 1804 (Bunka 1), perhaps coincidentally the year after Dōni’s death. It was then republished in 1811 (Bunka 8), and again after its author’s death in 1815 (Bunka 12). With the transition to moveable type printing and the new world of Meiji modernity, despite the decline in interest in Shingaku generally, it was republished twice in two different collections of representative *dōwa*, both released in 1893 (Meiji 26).\(^\text{58}\) Taking into consideration these repeated publications; it seems safe to say that Murai’s work satisfactorily fulfilled its mission of teaching learners the Shingaku Way.

**Murai Yoshikiyo: The Author and His Work**

In this section I will review what is known about the author of *Kyōkun hyakumonogatari*, Murai Yoshikiyo 村井由清 (1752-1813, Hōrei 宝暦 5-Bunka 文化 10), and outline briefly the contents and significance of his work. According to Ishikawa Ken, Murai played a pivotal role as a Shingaku teacher at Kyōkansha 恭寛舎, which became of the five major Shingaku schools in Osaka. Murai taught both at the school and at his residence, but he is also known for his role in diffusing Shingaku to the southwest, to the regions of Chūgoku 中国, Shikoku 四国, and Kyūshū 九州. A letter written in 1800 (Kansei 寛政 12) to his friend Sekiguchi Hosen 関口保宣 (1755～1830), also a Shingaku teacher, tells something of the fruit of his efforts.\(^\text{59}\)

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\(^{58}\) For more information about republished edition in Meiji, see appendix C.

\(^{59}\) Ishikawa Ken, *Sekimon shingakushi no kenkyū*, 411.
…While I keep learning Shingaku …I also give lectures on the teaching on the second day and seventh day every month…the learners are on the increase in these days. Since there are many shipping agencies in the area where I teach, the students are merchants coming from Geishū, Buzen, and Bungo regions …during their stay, they listen to Talks on the Way and keep learning in my residence, too…some of them are actually ready to inform the Shingaku headquarters in Kyoto of their Discovery of the Original Mind and ask for the Admonition.60

Before teaching at Kyōkansha, Murai studied at Sanzensha 参前舎 for six months in 1799 (Kansei 11); as mentioned above, this was the first Shingaku school in Edo, founded by Dōni, and had become the headquarters of established Shingaku. Murai gave the finishing touches to his acquisition of the principles of the teaching under the direction of Hosen, who had taken charge as a proxy of Dōni. Murai became one of the leading teachers at Kyōkansha, leading to be viewed in the same light as the founding schools such as Shūseisha, Jishūsha, and Meirinsha in Kyoto. As Ishikawa Ken has noted, Murai’s achievement suggests that the Shingaku movement in Osaka was very active.61 In order to clarify how Murai worked to develop this movement and spread Shingaku to the people of Osaka and regions west, I will next examine briefly the contents and significance of his only written work, Kyōkun hyakumonogatari.

To begin with we need to consider the title of Murai’s text: Edo literary culture placed considerable emphasis on both informative and catchy titles, often incorporating double meanings and multiple parts. Murai’s title consists of two parts, Kyōkun and Hyakumonogatari. The former refers to moral lessons for people, and was a common prefix for educational titles. The latter, hyakumonogatari 百物語, which translates

60 Talks on the Way (Dōwa 道話), Discovery of the Original Mind (Hatsumei 発明), and Admonition (Dansho 断書) are Sawada’s translations. For more detailed information, see Sawada, Confucian Values and Popular Zen, 141-45, 74-82, and 145-55, respectively.

61 Ishikawa Ken, Sekimon shingakushi no kenkyū, 412.
literally into “one hundred stories,” is known as a type of parlor game that developed in the Edo period and also refers to literary works that grew up around the game, these literary works are also sometimes called hyakumonogatari kaidanshū 百物語怪談集 (collection of one hundred ghost stories).

In the game hyakumonogatari (also called hyakubanashi 百咄), a group of people gathers in a room and members take turns telling ghost stories. At the beginning of the gathering, one hundred candles are prepared in an earthenware vessel and lit. The participants tell ghost stories and as each story is finished one candle is extinguished. When the last candle is extinguished and the room goes dark, assuming participants had the courage and patience to get that far, it was believed that a ghost would appear. Kim Young Ho 金永昊, in a study of several Edo texts including Murai’s, writes that at the time people believed strongly in the evocational power of hyakumonogatari. By way of an early example Kim cites, Otogibōko 御伽婢子, written in 1666 (Kanbun 寛文 6) by Asai Ryōi 浅井了意, who states, “After one hundred frightening stories are collected and told, something mysterious or terrible will happen.”

Although initially meant to test the courage of participants, the nature of the game gradually changed to focus on the simple enjoyment of ghost stories, which reminded people of their helpless nature and heartless behavior, or ingō 因業. As the change progressed, the literary works used for the game also took on new features. The

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hyakumonogatari books in the late Edo period were often collection of spooky but ultimately comic stories featuring ghost that represented one’s ingō, for which greed was often a motive. These later literary hyakumonogatari might include moral lessons regarding one’s ingō, that is to say, kyōkun. Since they were popular across social strata from the samurai class to the commoners, Kim even refers to the hyakumonogatari books published in the Edo period as “taishū bungaku 大衆文学,” or literature for the masses. At this point it is fair to ask how Murai’s Kyōkun hyakumonogatari fits into this hyakumonogatari tradition.

In his text Murai adapts the hyakumonogatari motif to tell the story of all of the failings in a man’s life, from birth to death. As these “one hundred stories” progress, one transforms from a newborn baby—represented by one hundred newly lit candles—to an inevitably corrupted adult, and family—the apparition as the last candle is extinguished—into a ghost or spirit (bakemono 化け物). Specifically, the child’s innocence is destroyed both by the lessons he learns from the adults around him and the growing greed within him that combine to extinguish one by one the “candles” of innocence within his heart. In the end, all of his newborn innocence is corrupted, represented by the darkness left by the death of the candles, and he becomes a spirit. The moral of the story, according to Murai’s Shingaku teaching is that we must be vigilant, particularly regarding greed.

Though the text includes such spooky characters as spirits (bakemono 化け物), white foxes (shirogitsune 白狐), demons (oni 鬼), and animated objects (tsukumo-gami 突喪神), they occur in the text not as ghostly apparitions, but rather figuratively to express

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64 Ibid.
Murai’s dominant themes of morality. In effect Murai uses the *hyakumonogatari* motif as an allegory for the progression of a man’s life.

At the start of his text Murai explains that *hyakumonogatari* based on Shingaku is intended to be easily understood by women and children, and its goal is to persuade them to be vigilant. Like his teacher Dōni he includes a wide range of well-known or easily remembered expressions such as popular sayings, proverbs, songs on the Way (dōka 道歌), and quotations from Chinese Confucian and Buddhist texts adapted or loosely translated into *yomikudashi* 読み下し Japanese. These expressions are often not part of the narrative, but function to mark transitions between the anecdotes (or sections of extended allegory) that constitute the “hundred stories” Murai is telling. They occur mainly at the end of particular anecdotes to represent the moral value that Murai has expounded therein. Murai marks the breaks between these anecdotes or sections in another way by using signal words. He generally begins a new anecdote or section with one of two words, *Sate* さて “By the way” or “Well now” and *Mata* また “On the other hand.” However in the edition transcribed there is no typographical representation of these divisions (a convention which is maintained in the Meiji moveable type editions). Given modern conventions and the length of the text, this is somewhat awkward, and so I

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have divided the whole work in my transcription and translation, into fifteen of these identifiable sections, using those two keywords as a guide.

To explore in a little more detail how one of these “sections” is composed, I will discuss briefly below the fifth section according to my division scheme (p. 10 line 11 ~ p. 12 line 18 of the edition transcribed). The fifth section can be considered as representative of other sections because it is richly provided with the aforementioned memorable and accessible expressions.

The fifth section starts by discussing how a person’s greediness grows. Murai explains that one has no greediness when he is born, however, his greediness starts growing quickly thereafter. Having begun his story with this point, Murai quotes the first verse (hokku 発句) of a linked verse sequence (ren ga 連歌), which represents the gist of the story. The passage appears as follows.

\[
\text{In the first verse of someone’s renga,} \\
\text{It is the first cherry blossom of your greediness} \\
\text{when you begin grabbing at your mother’s breast} \\
\text{while taking her milk.}
\]

It must have been impressive and persuasive for the audience to consider that a person’s greediness starts no later than when taking his mother’s milk, because symbolically the baby is considered an innocent subject. Following the poem, Murai pursues his point about how a person’s greediness grows constantly. In terms of his narrative, another important thing he is trying to convey here is how small a person’s greediness is in the very beginning. To support this point, he quotes an expression from Ekikyō 易経, (I Ching, commonly known in English as the Book of Changes), one of the
most important Confucian classics. The expression has a Japanese reading to accompany the Chinese characters, but since Murai’s simpler explanation followed, his audience didn’t have to try to understand the text by themselves. We can therefore assume that the quotation functions more to show to his audience that his lesson has a solid basis in authoritative texts.

In addition to the Chinese Confucian quote, Murai used five dōka which use everyday images such as “falling snow” and “accumulating ashes,” to refer to the growing greediness he is discussing. Five dōka appear consecutively in the text and the last of them mentions that greediness is the worst among the ten vices, this last is an idea based in Buddhist teachings. Thus with authority borrowed from both Buddhism and Confucianism Murai seeks to convey that greediness is an uncontrollable desire. To transmit the moral lessons of Shingaku for his readers it seems clear that Murai relies on both of these two traditional belief systems, which were familiar yet still authoritative for his readers.

In the last part of the fifth section, Murai’s narrative starts changing. Despite warning his audience about greediness, he clearly states the importance of paying attention even when dealing with small amounts of money. He notes how a business must be beneficial for both the owner and other people, including his family members. Here Murai takes a turn in the flow of the section and suggests that there is something more significant to address even beyond greediness, that is to say, being considerate of others while making money. He goes on to say that without careful consideration and a clear

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67 For more detailed information about the expression, see footnote no. 215 and 216 in Chapter 2.

68 For more detailed information about ten vices, see footnote no. 224 in Chapter 2.
purpose, a person easily falls into the trap set by his own greediness which results in harm towards others, including his own family. To support this part of his argument, Murai quotes an expression from *The Family Counsels of Duke Shibakō* (*Shiba onkō kakun* 司馬溫公家訓) attributed to Ssu-ma Kuang 司馬光, a great scholar and historian of the Song dynasty.⁶⁹ Like the other quotations from Chinese in the work, this excerpt includes a gloss in Japanese, but this time it is not followed by Murai’s simplified explanation. Because Murai did not provide a full interpretation, it is likely that his audience and readers would have been left wondering about the quotation. The resulting arousal of their curiosity helps to lead them on to the next section of his text.

Murai’s career was dedicated the diffusion of Shingaku among members of the merchant class from Osaka and regions to the west: ordinary people who did not make Shingaku their life goal, and who therefore needed a pedagogy that was both stimulating and non-specialist. The one record of Murai’s work we have lies in *Kyōkun hyakumonogatari*, which is indeed designed to attract ordinary readers to Shingaku and intrigue them as it teaches. It seems fair to assume that *Kyōkun hyakumonogatari* was written to continue Murai’s work of teaching Shingaku to a broad range of students, particularly outside the highly educated elite.

**Shingaku Dōwa and the Ōraimono Problem: Categories and Genres**

Having examined the origins of Murai’s teaching and some elements of the specific form and content of his work, I would like now to return to the question of genre in Edo texts to address the classification of *Kyōkun hyakumonogatari*. As suggested above in my introduction, this is a wide-ranging and fundamental problem for scholars of

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⁶⁹ For more detailed information about Shibakō 司馬光, see footnote no 229 in Chapter 2.
Edo era literature and culture, one to which will return to it briefly from a different angle in the next section of this essay, as well as in my conclusion. In this section, however, I wish to consider two important classificatory categories that can be argued as applicable to Kyōkun hyakumonogatari: first, the particular type of shingaku-sho (textbooks for students of Shingaku) known as dōwa (derived from the "Talks on the Way," discussed previously), and second, the broader genre of ōraimono (textbooks).

As I explained in the preceding sections, the importance of the lectures known as "Talks on the Way" (dōwa 道話) in the spread of Shingaku cannot be overestimated. As a Shingaku device that most effectively engaged the general public, dōwa contributed greatly to the growth of the movement. Although the original title gives no clue as to this aspect of the work, Murai's Kyōkun hyakumonogatari was received as an example of the literary form of dōwa after his death; this is indicated by its inclusion in the two Meiji-era Shingaku dōwa anthologies mentioned earlier. To understand the basis for the reception of Murai's text as a dōwa, we need to understand this term now as a literary genre. I will discuss that genre here with reference to one of the better known dōwa anthologies, Shōō's Talks on the Way70 (Shōō dōwa 松翁道話), a compilation of the works of the notable Shingaku teacher Fuse Shōō 布施松翁 (1725-1784), published in 1814 (Bunka 文化 11). I should note that, in addition to its contemporaneity with Murai's work and its renown within the tradition, one further reason I mention Shōō dōwa is the fact that some of its content is remarkably similar to that of Kyōkun hyakumonogatari. There are, in fact,

70 Shōō dōwa 松翁道話: Sawada’s translation.
11 of the same "songs of the Way" (dōka 道歌) and two of the same anecdotes in the two works.

The author of Shōō dōwa was born to a family of kimono merchants in Kyoto and was the same age as Dōni. Like Dōni, he was a disciple of Toan's, though it is not known in which year he was initiated into Shingaku. According to Ishikawa Ken 石川謙, “He must already have been among Toan's foremost disciples in 1770 (when Shōō would have been 46) because in that year he contributed the preface to Toan’s distinguished work, My Walking Stick (Waga tsue 我つえ).”71 Regarding Shōō’s standing in the history of Shingaku, Shibata writes, “Generally speaking, he is known for writing Shōō dōwa. However, he should perhaps rather be remembered as the Shingaku teacher who recommended Dōni to Toan.”72 According to tradition Shōō introduced Dōni to Toan shortly after the latter established the very first Shingaku school, Gorakusha 五楽舎, in Kyoto in 1765 (Meiwa 2); at about this time, Toan had given Shōō the important duty of managing the meetings for Shingaku at both Gorakusha and at Toan’s residence.73 The close relationship between Shōō and Dōni is illustrated through a letter that Dōni wrote to Shōō in 1781 (Tenmei 天明 1) to report the initiation of the daimyō Honda Tadayoshi into the teaching in Edo. As I mentioned earlier, the initiation of the whole Honda house into Shingaku is considered “an epoch-making event in Shingaku history, and is also taken as the first important step in its proliferation in the Kantō region.”74 Dōni’s letter

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72 Shibata, Shingaku, 71.
73 Ishikawa Ken, ed., Shōō dōwa, 6.
74 Ibid., 12.
with this news was addressed to Shōō directly, and only then sent to Toan, who was away from Kyoto teaching in Nara. Ishikawa Ken writes, “It seems that this anecdote is quite suggestive of Dōni’s deep appreciation for his relationship with Shōō, and also of the distinguished position Shōō held among Shingaku teachers.”

The first volume of Shōō dōwa was not published until 1814 (Bunka 11), thirty years after Shōō’s death. The subsequent volumes (2-5) were published later, with the last one appearing in 1846 (Kōka 弘化 3). The completed work consists not only of dōwa by Shōō himself, but also by other teachers in the lineage. However, Ishikawa Ken states, “We can conclude that each volume of the work treats Shōō’s fundamental thought.”

Ishikawa Ken also indicates the reason for the gradual publication of Shōō’s work over such a long period: “It is probably because that it was the time period when Old Man Dōni’s Talks on the Way (Dōni-ō dōwa 道二翁道話) became widely known and their popularity might have given impetus to the publication of Shōō’s Talks on the Way (Shōō dōwa 松翁道話), too.” This was of course also about the time that Murai’s text was published and republished in quick succession, suggesting a certain demand for this sort of Shingaku text. This then leads to the question of how these dōwa were situated in the context of other types of shingaku-sho (such as Toan’s Waga tsue, for example, which is not considered an example of dōwa).

Variety within the overall shingaku-sho category was quite broad: several different kinds of texts were used as primers for teaching Shingaku. My discussion here

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75 Ibid.
76 Ibid., 15.
77 Ibid., 17-18. Dōni’s lectures began to be published in 1795 (Kansei 寛政 7).
of the characteristics of various types of shingaku-sho uses the taxonomy defined by Kisaka Motoi and will, I hope, help to clarify the significance of dōwa as a genre, and show how both the Shōō dōwa and the Kyōkun hyakumonogatari can be analyzed as dōwa.

According to Kisaka’s categorization, there are three elements that combine to define the nature of a typical shingaku-sho: for these he uses the terms teisai, keitai, and buntai. Based on the sense in which he uses the words I would suggest the terms context, format, and style. The first element, context, refers to the physical space where the Shingaku teacher and his audience meet, and their relationship to each other, as depicted in the text as a setting for the Shingaku discourse it contains.

The most common context or presentation style in shingaku-sho features a teacher speaking to an attentive audience as if lecturing or sermonizing. Kisaka calls this the "expounding-an-argument style" (ronjutsu-gata), and notes, “dōwa is considered as falling under this style, which is not limited to serious scholarly topics.” Typically in this style the master who addresses the audience is the author himself, as in Shōō dōwa, which work Kisaka places into the ronjutsu-gata category in his chart. Murai’s Kyōkun hyakumonogatari is clearly parallel to Shōō dōwa in the matter of discourse context, and is therefore also an example of ronjutsu-gata.

In addition to the monologic style of "expounding an argument," there were many shingaku-sho works that used a dialogue with a master as the context for presenting

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Shingaku teaching. Kisaka classes these as "question-and-answer style" (mondō-gata 問答型). Typically a student asks questions which are then answered by a Shingaku teacher.

The first Shingaku textbook, City and Country Dialogues (Tohi mondō 都鄙問答) written by the founder Ishida Baigan in 1739 (Genbun 元文 4) falls into this category.

Sharing features with the mondō-gata is the context Kisaka identifies as "transmission-from-a-master style" (denju-gata 伝授型). Here the context for instruction is also dialogic, but the setting is usually more casual than the formal student-teacher dialogues of mondō-gata. The listener is usually portrayed as a not very intelligent but good-natured and easygoing person with questions about his daily life. Although not a formal student, he approaches a Shingaku teacher for answers, seeing the latter as reputable and well informed. Kisaka counts Wakisaka Gidō's Instructions for a Long Life80 (Chōmei ni naru no denju 長命になるの伝授), written in 1818 (Bunka 15), as representative this style.81 This Gidō is the same disciple of Toan I mentioned earlier regarding the Gidō incident of 1782 and who later became an assistant to Dōni in Edo.

The third context Kisaka identifies is the "playful-literature style" (gesaku-gata 戯作型), where the Shingaku teaching is imparted indirectly, outside an obvious context of learning. Authors of these shingaku-shō adopted the conventions of gesaku genres popular in the late Edo period such as the yomihon 読本, kibyōshi 黄表紙, and kokkeibon

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80 Chōmei ni naru no denju 長命になるの伝授: My translation.
滑稽本⁸², works whose chief purpose was to entertain rather than inform. Naturally the teaching contained in these shingaku-sho occurs in an informal and amusing manner. Another work by Wakisaka Gidō from 1790 (Kansei 2), entitled A Blessing in This Reign (Miyo no onshaku or Miyo no uruoi 御代の恩沢), falls into this type in Kisaka’s chart.⁸³ Gidō was connected with the wider commercial world of books: for some years he ran a publishing business in Kyoto and used the professional name Hachimonjiya (specifically Hachimonjiya Senjirō 八文字屋仙次郎 in this case). Kisaka notes that Gidō’s work has stylistic touches which remind the reader of the famous Hachimonjiya-bon 八文字屋本, popular early gesaku of the type known as "floating world chapbooks" (ukiyo-zōshi 浮世草子) from the early to mid-17th century,⁸⁴ and Shibata speculates that Gidō’s business might have been a branch of the main Hachimonjiya bookshop.⁸⁵

Moving now from context to the next element in Kisaka’s taxonomy, format, we find he divides shingaku-sho into four types, based on the author’s choice of topic and sources, and also how the work addresses the topic. These four types are explicatory lectures (kōshaku 講釈), informal lectures (kōwa 講話), storytelling (hanashi はなし), and talks on the Way (dōwa 道話)

In kōshaku, the speaker interprets phrases from Buddhist canonical texts and old sayings. Works in this category include Baigan’s City and Country Dialogues and also

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⁸³ Miyo no onshaku or Miyo no uruoi 御代の恩沢: My translation.


⁸⁵ Shibata, Shingaku, 123.
Clearing up Doubts about Knowing the Original Mind (Chishin bengi 知心弁疑), a text by Toan published in 1773 (An'ei 安永 2) where the master explains how to overcome a Shingaku learner’s initial doubts about knowing the true mind.86

By way of contrast, the kōwa texts include not canonical references but simple and short fables and anecdotes; the topics these are used to address tend to be generalized, everyday precepts, rather than specific issues of Shingaku teaching.87 One of two works written by Baigan in 1744 (Enkyō 延享 1), Discussion of Household Management (Seikaron 斉家論) is listed in this category. The work’s topic is economizing; however, as Baigan has stated “economizing is nothing but taking back one’s innate truthfulness…if one can practice one’s truthfulness, the whole people will live in harmony in the society.”88 He proposed managing one’s life by not being stingy but returning one’s profits to society. Shibata states that Baigan considered economizing as the proper attitude for all in society.89

Works in the hanashi format consist almost entirely of fables or stories from life, and are only differentiated from ordinary entertainment by the use of Shingaku-inspired lessons or morals at the end of each story. According to Kisaka, the hanashi form is the archetype of dōwa. He has concluded that “the dōwa form integrated aspects of all forms,

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86 Sawada, Confucian Values and Popular Zen, 63-64.


89 Shibata, Shingaku, 41-44.
such as kōshaku, kōwa, and hanashi. By adding dōka (songs on the Way), it synthesized these earlier forms into one new structure, dōwa.”

In dōwa the speaker is also not limited to canonical works, and may use any kind of source. Sawada notes that, besides songs of the Way (dōka 道歌), dōwa utilized “a plethora of analogies, metaphors, parables, popular tales, witticisms, Nō verses, and indeed any material that might effectively communicate its message” to express a given theme. As mentioned earlier, Shōō dōwa and Murai’s Kyōkun hyakumonogatari both come under this category.

Moving now to the final element in Kisaka's taxonomy, writing style, we find eight of them identified in the chart. The most frequently used style is called standard literary Japanese (futsū-bungo 普通文語). Secondly, sinified Japanese (kundoku-tai 訓読体), colloquial style (kōgo-tai 口語体), and a combined vernacular-literary style (fukugō-bungo 複合文語) followed. In addition, although not as frequent as the other styles, there is also a colloquial style incorporating elegant or gabun 雅文 elements (zokubun-tai 俗文体). As regards writing style in shingaku-sho, Kisaka indicates that most styles are compound and integrated so it is not always easy or appropriate to categorize one work into one category. He also mentions that the post-Kansei reforms Shingaku teachers tended to prefer the colloquial style as appropriate for the increased numbers and variety of their readers. Both Shōō dōwa and Kyōkun hyakumonogatari employ language which

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91 Sawada, Confucian Values and Popular Zen, 143.
92 For more detailed information regarding each of style, see Kisaka, “Shingakusho no bunshō,” 363-66.
makes them typical examples of the colloquial style. The transition word, *Sate*~ (さて or 扱) and the sentence final, *~ ja* (じゃ or ちゃ) are linguistic devices which already by the late Edo era denote a colloquial style: they are frequently used in both works. Interestingly, mixed in with the overall colloquial Japanese style are numerous short passages from canonical Chinese writings (*kanbun* 漢文). The blocks of Chinese characters used in these sections have a stronger visual appeal than the simple *kana* used for the colloquial style. Kisaka has concluded that the inclusion of Chinese writing functioned as a “device to get the attention of audience.”93 This is the visual aspect of what I discussed earlier regarding Murai’s use of challenging quotations at the end of a section.

At this point I will briefly examine the significance of parables and "Songs of the Way" in their role as devices to rouse the audience’s interest in *Shōō dōwa* and *Kyōkun hyakumonogatari*. In both of the works, these elements often function as summaries of stories, or are occasionally used to transition to the next story. The way that Murai and Shōō utilize them is quite similar. Both works feature appearances from the same kinds of characters such as the fox and monkey, and in both texts the fox functions as an embodiment of a person's wicked spirit, while the monkey depicts thoughtlessness. Numerous specific "Songs of the Way" (*dōka* 道歌) are also common between both of the works. Among these are poems attributed to well-known historic personages such as Ikkyū 一休 and Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真. In *Shōō dōwa*, however, these devices were more explanatory and detailed.

Overall, Shōō’s text is considerably longer than Murai’s, and it is fair to say that Kyōkun hyakumonogatari treats Shingaku teaching in a relatively condensed or shortened way. Still, this speaks more to the audience than the ultimate goal of Murai’s text. Although Kisaka’s chart does not include Kyōkun hyakumonogatari, using his analysis it is possible to place it firmly within his shingaku-sho taxonomy alongside Shōō dōwa. I conclude that Murai’s text is a fairly typical example of a Shingaku work in the dōwa format, using the "expounding-an-argument style" and written in colloquial language.

Having identified the specific place of Kyōkun hyakumonogatari within the shingaku-sho genres, it remains to address whether and how Murai’s text sits in the context of the broader genre of ōraimono. It is widely accepted that ōraimono existed as a distinct and important category in Japanese pre-modern cultural production, but numerous taxonomies of the category exist. Kyōkun hyakumonogatari is designated (along with other kyōkun) as an ōraimono in the Hiroshima University Library Textbook Collection. However, it is excluded from the ōraimono genre in Koizumi Yoshinaga’s database on the basis of its content, which he claims is solely Shingaku teaching. Why are shingaku-sho such as Kyōkun hyakumonogatari not categorized as an ōraimono in Koizumi’s chart? What aspects of the work lead to this divergence in categorization? What characteristics is an ōraimono supposed to possess? In order to demonstrate the manner by which one work might be attributed to multiple genres, I will briefly discuss the characteristics of ōraimono as a genre, considering its historical background, typical contents, and the varieties of ōraimono within the genre.

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94 Kyōkasho korekushon 教科書コレクション. This collection is available online at the Hiroshima University Digital Museum, http://www.lib.hiroshima-u.ac.jp/dc/kyodo/index.html [accessed May 31, 2009]. A total of 211 works are designated as kyōkun out of a total of 477 ōraimono there, making it the largest subset in that particular collection.
Óraimono are generally considered to be a sort of elementary level textbook and were written from the late Heian 平安 period (794-1185) through the early Meiji 明治 period (1868-1912). Initially they grew out of letters between teachers or elders and students or children (especially heirs), hence their name órai 往来, which is derived from the characters for "coming and going" (iku 往く and kuru 来る). Vestiges of the epistolary form remained a part of some óraimono even into the Meiji era. Within the long history of the genre, those works compiled from the early Heian through the Muromachi 室町 period (1336–1573) are called ko-órai 古往来 ("old órai"), distinguishing them from the works of the Edo era and later. This division reflects the great change in publication and circulation methods, and also authorial motives, that accompanied the development of the commercial pre-modern printing system; ko-órai were originally circulated as manuscripts, and were aimed at the much narrower segment of medieval society of whom literary expression was expected. The texts contained various types of writing, often using subject-specific terms in illustrative sentences, to be copied out and learnt. They were used in the education of children from the aristocratic stratum, chiefly courtiers and Buddhist priests. Thus in the early history of óraimono, their use was concentrated among the upper classes. Eventually, as the medieval period progressed, their audience grew to encompass many samurai and even some wealthy merchants.95 As Ishikawa Matsutarō 石川松太郎 has stated, “from the Nanboku-chō 南北朝 to the early Muromachi 室町 periods (the middle to the latter half of the fourteenth century), the practice was established of learning writing and undertaking further study in

the learners’ households and temples.”

In this time period, the contents of ōraimono consequently had to grow to cover a wider and more practical range of topics.

The ko-ōrai should be considered separately from the larger group of sub-genres of ōraimono, which can be defined in part as texts that were widely used as primers in both home and temple school (terakoya 寺小屋) education, especially during the Edo period. According to one taxonomy by Ishikawa Ken 石川謙, ōraimono after the ko-ōrai can be divided into ten subtypes as follows: kyōkun-ka 敎訓科, shakai-ka 社会科, goi-ka 語彙科, shōsoku-ka 消息科, chiri-ka 地理科, rekishi-ka 歴史科, sangyō-ka 産業科, risū-ka 理数科, and onago-yō 女子用. Each of these subtypes addresses a particular audience or area of study. It is clear that over time the ōraimono genre came to incorporate books on a range subjects that were practical to the era; eventually, one can say that the term ōraimono fits the definition of an elementary textbook. According to Ishikawa Matsutarō the number of ōraimono published during the Edo period reached approximately seven thousand, including one thousand in the onago-yō category.

The story of one ko-ōrai in Koizumi’s database aroused my interest in connection with the characteristics ōraimono are supposed to possess. It was during the Heian period that the oldest acknowledged ko-ōrai, the Meigō ōrai 明衡往来, consisting of 209 letters.

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96 Ibid., 8.
97 Ibid., 22.
98 For more detailed information, refer to Koizumi Yoshinaga 小泉吉永, “Ōraimono no bunrui 往来物の分類,” Ōraimono Kurabu 往来物倶楽部, http://www.bekkoame.ne.jp/ha/a_r/A12.htm [accessed July 14, 09].
on various topics, was compiled. Koizumi notes discussion in modern times of another ko-ōrai, the Kōzanji ko-ōrai 高山寺古往来, which may in fact have preceded the Meigō ōrai. However, Koizumi adds that there is no account showing significant evidence that this text was used widely among readers either in the Heian era or later.100 For this reason, he recognizes Meigō ōrai as the oldest example of ōrai. The distinction he makes between the two works suggests that one characteristic necessary in a work in order to define it as an ōraimono is evidence that the work became quite widely used, and did not remain a purely private communication. As I noted earlier, Kyōkun hyakumonogatari was originally published in 1804 (Bunka 1), then reprinted in 1811 (Bunka 8), and 1815 (Bunka 12) and then republished twice in 1893 (Meiji 26) in Shingaku anthologies. As the compiler of one of the anthologies, Takahashi Reiko 高橋霊湖 states in his preface,

…there were people who taught the path of humanity, which was called Shingaku…it is said that the teaching enlightened people greatly and contributed to fostering dutiful sons and virtuous daughters …many of the writings documenting the teaching are scattered and worn out…the reason why I compiled this anthology now is that I intend to gather the writings together to make a good book for current education.101

I would argue that although Koizumi does not consider Kyōkun hyakumonogatari as an example of ōraimono,102 its republication as part of a Shingaku anthology after the Meiji Restoration supports such a categorization, indicating as it does the popularity of Murai’s text over a considerable period and its use by a wider public than the immediate disciples of the author.

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100 For more detailed information, refer to Koizumi, “Ōraimono Mamechishiki 往来物豆知識,” Ōraimono Kurabu, http://www.bekkoame.ne.jp/ha/a_r/A11.htm [accessed July 14, 09].

101 Takahashi Reiko 高橋霊湖, Shingaku dōwa sōsho 心学道話叢書 [Kyoto: Baiyōdō, 1893], 2.

I should note here one further piece of comparative evidence that supports, against Koizumi's definition, Kyōkun hyakumonogatari's categorization as an example of ōraimono; in this case, it directly addresses the Shingaku content of the work. In his discussion of types of ōraimono, Ishikawa Matsutarō describes shōsoku-ka as including passages on matters of everyday life. A large number of these were published from the early Edo period until the early Meiji period, and Ishikawa Matsutarō identifies the distinctive feature of three typical works, Tegami no mongon 手紙之文言, Taizen ippitsu keijō 大全一筆啓上, Gazoku yō bun 雅俗要文 published respectively in 1802 (Kyōwa 2), 1810 (Bunka 7), and 1841 (Tenpō 12).

Above all, these three ōraimono written by three popular gesaku 戯作 authors--Jippensha Ikku 十返舎一九, Shikitei Sanba 式亭三馬, and Takizawa Bakin 滝沢馬琴--are notable. First of all, a common characteristic to all three is that they consisted of only something practical and useful for the common people’s everyday life. Second, the authors made every effort to simplify their writing styles and terminology. Also, the fact should not be missed that these works contain only letters which deal with ethics for the common people and rules for everyday life. Especially noteworthy is the work written by Shikitei Sanba, who has a section called ‘kyōkai 敎戒’ (precepts and admonitions).

Shikitei Sanba's Taizen ippitsu keijō 大全一筆啓上 was published two years after the last Edo era editions of Kyōkun hyakumonogatari, evidently a commercially successful time for such books. The kyōkai section consists of letters that include precepts and admonitions for persons who constantly visit prostitutes, for heavy drinkers, for those who are to be adopted into a family as an heir or successor, and for those who are going into apprenticeship. Ishikawa Matsutarō concludes, “One can comprehend that these

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103 Ishikawa Matsutarō, Ōraimono no tenkai to seiritsu, 46-49.
104 Ibid., 46-47.
ōraimono reflect a society in which the common people became conscious, through the formation and diffusion of Shingaku teaching and various other social enlightening movements, of their responsibility and dignity as human beings.”

His conclusion acknowledges the diffusion of Shingaku among the people of the time and assumes that it had a profound effect on education or social formation at an elementary level. I would argue that the content of Shikitei Sanba’s ōraimono and Ishikawa Matsutarō's explanation of its role in social formation both lend support to the categorization of other shingaku-sho like Kyōkun hyakumonogatari as ōraimono.

Having established grounds for considering Murai’s text within the ōraimono category, I will end this section by describing the places where ōraimono were most often utilized. As Ishikawa Matsutarō puts it, “ōraimono came to be the elementary level textbook for both the common people’s households and in temple schools (terakoya 寺小屋) in the Edo period.”

Ishikawa notes that the word terakoya appears in use in 1716 (Kyōhō 享保 1) in a work by Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 (1657-1725). Hakuseki uses it to refer to educational facilities for learning. The origin of the establishments referred to as terakoya can be traced back even earlier, to the latter half of the Muromachi 室町 period (1467-1573), but the education offered in temples in that era might not be considered the same as that in terakoya of the Edo period. Thus, we might consider the pre-Edo establishments as "old terakoya" (ko-terakoya 古寺子屋) in the manner of the

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105 Ibid., 48-49.
106 Ibid., 22.
107 Ishikawa Matsutarō, Hankō to terakoya, 142-43.
108 Ibid., 141.
ko-ōrai/ōraimono divide. I will focus here on describing the Edo era aspect of terakoya schools, to which Arai Hakuseki was referring, and which are most pertinent to the history of Shingaku.

From the Kyōhō era (1716-1735) until the early Meiji period, the number of Terakoya schools increased markedly, and it was a significant trend in big cities such as Edo and Osaka. Before the Bunka era (1804-1817), “there were not many terakoya school teachers in the past, but now there are two or three of them every hundred meters (approximately 109.4 yards),” as Ishikawa Matsutarō has quoted from Asukagawa 飛鳥川. The rapid increase of terakoya schools during the time periods of Tenmei 天明 (1781-1788) and Kansei 寛政 (1789-1800) is prominent. The average number of new terakoya schools opening per year was more than twelve in the former period and thirteen in the latter period, which represents almost a tripling compared to the previous time period, An'ei 安永 (1772-1780).

One of the main reasons for the pervasion of these temple schools across Japan was the growing desire of ordinary people to acquire knowledge and education. This desire derived partly from the realization that this was necessary in order to track and preserve a family's lineage for posterity, or more fundamentally, to ensure the well being

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109 Ibid., 144. Even though Ishikawa has not cited complete information for his source, the quotation seems to come from an essay, entitled Asukagawa 飛鳥川 and published in 1810 (Bunka 7), about the manners and customs of commoners in the Edo period (the title is also written 安寿嘉川). This information is based on the entry of the work in Union Catalog of Early Japanese Books (Nihon Kotenseki Sōmokuroku 日本古典籍総合目録) of National Institute of Japanese Literature (Kokubungaku Kenkyū Shiryōkan 国文学研究資料館).

http://base1.nijl.ac.jp/infolib/meta_pub/KTGSearch.cgi

110 Ibid., 147.
of one’s immediate family in an increasingly bureaucratic and textualised society.\(^{111}\) As manufacturing techniques and distribution system advanced, terakoya schools became indispensable to learn reading, writing, and calculation skills.\(^{112}\) The urban merchant classes in particular were aware of the value of these practical skills, which enabled them to most effectively conduct their businesses. Ishikawa Matsutarō has also indicated that the authorities, too, eventually came to a similar viewpoint:

This time period [Tenmei and Kansei] includes the before and after periods, in which Matsudaira Sadanobu 松平定信 [who executed the Kansei reforms 寛政改革 from 1787 until 1793] was the mainstay of politics as a senior councilor and the power of merchant was increasing…it was the time period in which the shogunate’s concern for the education of the common people finally rose and deepened.\(^{113}\)

Although the number of terakoya schools had been increasing, their financing was dependent upon the common people who paid to send their children to the school. As Hayakawa Masako 早川雅子 notes,

Although an enthusiasm for learning spread among the common people, the education at terakoya schools was onerous because the parents or guardians of the children were liable for the cost of the education. It appears that the students at the schools were confined to the social strata that had sufficient economic resources and free time.\(^{114}\)

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\(^{113}\) Ishikawa Matsutarō, *Hankō to terakoya*, 147.

\(^{114}\) Hayakawa, “Kyōkun ka ōaimono ni okeru chūkō no dōtoku,” 195.
According to Ishikawa Matsutarō, there is a close connection between the price of rice and the prosperity or decline of the number of terakoya schools.\(^{115}\) It appears that the stabilization of prices, which affected the common people’s standard of living, was essential for terakoya schools to prosper. This indicates that these schools were run independently by ordinary members of society who had a “strong interest in education, as they were highly aware of its benefits within society.”\(^{116}\) Ishikawa Matsutarō concludes that, “operating Terakoya schools relied on the demand of the common people, which was closely connected to their growing manufacturing capacity and economic activities.”\(^{117}\)

Although “the desire for the common people to learn was not unrelated to the shogunate’s promotion of education,”\(^{118}\) the schools utilized ōraimono that specifically reflected their client’s need for practical knowledge deemed necessary in everyday life, rather than any specific government-sponsored ideology. Taking the characteristics of Kyōkun hyakumonogatari as a shingaku-sho into consideration, and given its history of repeated printings, it seems clear that Murai’s text fits neatly into this late Edo era growth of a commercialized educational system which spurred the development of ōraimono in Shingaku and many other fields. In the next section I will consider a text roughly contemporary with Murai’s that further clarifies the importance of Shingaku texts as ōraimono and complicates any straightforward notion of genre in Edo literary culture.

\(^{115}\) Ishikawa Matsutarō, Hankō to terakoya, 148.

\(^{116}\) Hayakawa, “Kyōkun ka ōraimono ni okeru chūkō no dōtoku,” 195.

\(^{117}\) Ishikawa Matsutarō, Hankō to terakoya, 151.

\(^{118}\) Hayakawa, “Kyōkun ka ōraimono ni okeru chūkō no dōtoku,” 196.
Hyakumonogatari and Kibyōshi: Santō Kyōden's Shingaku hayasomegusa

as a Contemporary Transgenred Work

Between 1787 and 1793 Matsudaira Sadanobu, then shogunal senior councilor and regent, carried out an extensive program of policy reforms that became known as the Kansei reforms (寛政の改革 kansei no kaikaku), named for the Kansei era (1789-1800). Their goals were wide ranging, aiming at social reform through intervention in culture and education as well as redirecting the economy and strengthening shogunal authority. The literary world too came under regulation in a series of censorship edicts. In 1789 (Kansei 1) several highly successful authors in the popular literary genre of kibyōshi, including Santō Kyōden (1761–1816), were punished for works that lampooned Sadanobu’s reforms. After this initial crackdown, kibyōshi authors became more cautious: as Haruo Shirane notes, they realized that they could not go on producing works that were “obvious political and social satire.” Shirane suggests that the reforms thus led to a transformation in the nature and content of kibyōshi, where in order to keep censors happy the satire “was replaced with a thick layer of ethical didacticism, as evidenced in Santō Kyōden’s Fast- Dyeing Mind Study” (Shingaku hayasomegusa 心学早染草), published in 1790 (Kansei 2). In this section, I will briefly discuss Kyōden’s celebrated work in the light of Shirane’s comments, considering the interaction in the work of kibyōshi and ōraimono as another example of Edo transgenred literature.

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120 Ibid.
Shingaku hayasomegusa is generally discussed as the work that signals the divergence from the original type of kibyōshi to the subsequent type popular after the Kansei reforms (at least until the genre disappeared in the early 1800s, replaced by the increasingly popular gōkan 合巻). According to Kobayashi Isamu 小林勇, in the content of Kyōden’s Shingaku tale the technique or mode known as ugachi (satirically viewing and commenting on the flaws in contemporary manners and morals), which was so significant form among the original type of kibyōshi, is completely absent. Kyōden himself shows awareness of this alteration of the genre in his preface, writing, “People say picture books aren’t suited to theory, but the conception underlying the present book is a theoretical one.” It is understandable that he wished to explain this transformation that was prompted by the Kansei reforms; however, the fact that the work became very popular and was distributed very widely suggests that other factors than simply bending to censorship might have played a role in the genre’s alteration. Specifically, it seems that we should consider market forces (demand from readers) and the maintenance of kibyōshi elements other than satire (visual innovation and humor). At this point it may be helpful to begin with the popularity Shingaku hayasomegusa and its sequels gained.

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121 Gōkan 合巻: Popular illustrated stories and romance, prose narrative succeeding kibyōshi. For more detailed information, consult The Princeton Companion to Classical Japanese Literature.

122 Ugachi うがち: Shirane, Early Modern Japanese Literature, 450.


124 Shirane, Early Modern Japanese Literature, 712.
According to research by Suzuki Toshiyuki 鈴木俊幸 more than seven thousand copies of *Shingaku hayasomegusa* were sold, and demand was so great that Kyōden followed up with two sequels over the next three years.\(^{125}\) After these were published, a combined version consisting of all three works was also released; making what could be considered is a type of *gōkan*. Furthermore, a number of other well-known *gesaku* 戯作 authors such as Kyokutei Bakin 曲亭馬琴, Jippensha Ikku 十返舎一九, and Shikitei Sanba 式亭三馬 produced works under the influence of *Shingaku Hayasomegusa*.\(^{126}\) Suzuki suggests that the main cause of the extensive production of these *Shingaku-kibyōshi*\(^{127}\) derived from the spread of Shingaku in the Edo region at the time and especially the popularity of Shingaku teacher Nakazawa Dōni (who is the basis for the teacher Dōri 道理 in Kyōden’s tale).\(^{128}\) Suzuki also argues that Kyōden’s visualization of the “good soul” (*zendama* 善玉) and “bad soul” (*akudama* 惡玉) depicted in the work was a determinant of its popularity because it was such an effective and versatile pictorial representation of contradictory human nature according to the Shingaku worldview.\(^{129}\)

\(^{125}\) Suzuki Toshiyuki 鈴木俊幸, “Kansei ki no Santō Kyōden kibyōshi to Tsutaya Jūzaburō 寛政期の山東京伝黄表紙と篠屋重三郎,” *Kokubungaku* 国文学 50, no. 6 [June 2005]: 95.


\(^{127}\) *Shingaku kibyōshi* 心学黄表紙: I made up the word to refer to *kibyōshi* works, which applied Shingaku as the topic.

\(^{128}\) Suzuki, “Kansei ki no Santō Kyōden kibyōshi to Tsutaya Jūzaburō,” 96.

\(^{129}\) Ibid.
For a time after the Kansei reforms Shingaku became the new device (shukō 趣向)\textsuperscript{130} shaping kibyōshi narratives.\textsuperscript{131}

Kyōden’s sequels to Shingaku hayasomegusa, of which there were two, which also featured struggles between the “good soul” and “bad soul” in their characters, were published in 1791 (Kansei 3) and 1793 (Kansei 5) respectively.\textsuperscript{132} The publisher was none other than “the publishing titan Tsutaya Jūzaburō 蒔屋重三郎 (nicknamed Tsutajū, 1750-1797).”\textsuperscript{133} Suzuki indicated that Tsutajū had a monopoly on Kyōden’s Shingaku-kibyōshi, which implied that the publishing of the series was done at Tsutajū’s initiative.\textsuperscript{134} By the time Tsutajū joined the publishing world in 1790 (Kansei 2), the previous type of kibyōshi had already been outlawed. However, for ordinary people, and city folk in particular, the Kansei reforms had encouraged “an unprecedented learning boom.”\textsuperscript{135} Tsutajū’s activities as publisher allowed him to produce a large amount of books for the learning boom. For instance, in 1794 (Kansei 6), following the publication of Kyōden’s three Shingaku-kibyōshi, Tsutajū attempted to become the Edo distributor of Nakazawa Dōni’s Notes of Talks on the Way (Dōwa kikigaki 道話聞書), which is considered to be “[Dōni’s] most important written work [because it] consists primarily of

\textsuperscript{130} I used the word Device to refer to Shukō 趣向. For more detailed information, refer to Adam L. Kern, Manga from the Floating World: Comicbook Culture and the Kibyōshi of Edo Japan [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006], 123-128.

\textsuperscript{131} Suzuki, “Kansei ki no Santō Kyōden kibyōshi to Tsutaya Jūzaburō,” 96.

\textsuperscript{132} Ningen Isshō Munazanyō 人間一生胸算用 in 1791 and Kan’ninbukuro ojime no zendama 堪忍袋緒善玉 in 1793.

\textsuperscript{133} Kern, Manga from the Floating World, 7.

\textsuperscript{134} Suzuki, “Kansei ki no Santō Kyōden kibyōshi to Tsutaya Jūzaburō,” 98.

\textsuperscript{135} Ibid., 98.
records of these [i.e. Dōni’s] talks and the earliest Shingaku work titled [as] a dōwa.“¹³⁶

Even though his attempt didn’t succeed, Tsutajū wanted to be the distribution base for the Shingaku textbooks in the Edo region because he recognized it was highly profitable.¹³⁷

Suzuki also mentions that Tsutajū simultaneously started distributing ōraimono such as texts of the Classic of Filial Piety (Kōkyō 孝經) with accompanying hiragana reading.

The channel of distribution he tried to establish in and out of the city of Edo implied that there was an increase of new readers, who demanded kibyōshi, Shingaku-shō, and simplified Confucian Classics. Tsutajū was fully aware of the potential profit yielded from “the new readers’ avid demands for learning.”¹³⁸ As Suzuki concludes, “those books that interpret the Way plainly and show how to practice the Way without becoming anyone’s pupil played a pivotal role to reach out to new readers.”¹³⁹ The books distributed by Tsutajū were able to contribute to fulfilling people’s demands for learning and actively practicing to live virtuously.

Kyōden’s pioneering Shingaku-kibyōshi, then, managed to be popular, to win approval by the censors, and to succeed as an educational text. But in the last category, it was perhaps of more limited value: the target audience for kibyōshi was adult males, beyond what is considered to be typical readers of ōraimono. However, at this point it is intriguing to consider one final text derived from Shingaku hayasomegusa: it was published under the title Ningen kyōgai kokoro no zen’aku 人間境界心善悪 and

¹³⁶ Sawada, Confucian Values and Popular Zen, 143. Dōwa kikigaki 道話聞書: Sawada’s translation.


¹³⁸ Ibid., 101.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 100.
distributed in the Kamigata 上方 region (current Kyoto and Osaka). According to Koike Tōgorō 小池藤五郎, “It was printed in fine paper and had a thick cover for children’s usage. The font and pictures in the work were big and clear enough for children.” Koike considers the work to be an abridged version of *Shingaku hayasomegusa* and classifies it as a textbook for use in terakoya temple schools. Nakayama Yūshō 中山右尚 has argued that the work cannot be categorized as part of the *kibyōshi* genre because of its form, a Shingaku picture book. In his view, however, the creation of this variant edition for children supports the view that there was only a very fine line between the content and quality of *Shingaku hayasomegusa* and a straightforward Shingaku textbook. Taking into account Koike’s and Nakayama’s views, we can see that *Shingaku hayasomegusa* has characteristics common to the genres of *kibyōshi*, Shingaku textbooks, and textbooks for Terakoya temple schools, which is to say, ōraimono. Thus, as we found with Murai’s *Kyōkun hyakumonogatari*, Kyōden’s work should be considered as an example of a *transgenred text*.

The regulations of the Kansei reforms certainly brought about the demise of one type of *kibyōshi*—works of social and political satire in particular—but not of the genre as a whole. As Uchida Yasuhiro notes, “Kyōden needed to apply didactic or ethical features to keep writing.” But as Kobayashi argues, this move away from one type of writing to

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another, from satire to didacticism, “arose from the true nature of kibyōshi, which is supposed to be about current events.” As a genre kibyōshi had enough flexibility to cover both of these modes. Kyōden and Tsutajū were aware of the rise of the new readers, not only the Edo region, but also in provincial towns, who were enthusiastic to learn. If we can assume that the demand from these new readers helped facilitate the series of Shingaku kibyōshi, it also might be said that the demand propelled the production of transgenred texts, and serves as evidence that contemporary consumers were comfortable with such works. In this case, a text like Murai’s Kyōkun hyakumonogatari seems a more typical product of its era, despite the fact that this still leaves scholars and readers today with a taxonomic challenge.

Conclusion

In this thesis, I have examined the late Edo text Kyōkun hyakumonogatari, a work which can be categorized into several literary genres: educational texts (ōraimono), popular ghost story books (hyakumonogatari), and ethical self-help literature featuring Shingaku teaching (shingaku dōwa). As I have shown, the work has sufficient characteristics to be identified with each genre. In brief, the work can be considered to be one example of any of them or, on account of the number of elements from other genres, possibly none of them. If the latter is the case, is there any as yet unrecognized genre which the work can be categorized into? Although the term is new and the concept has not been proposed explicitly by any scholars to date, I have argued that Murai’s text is an example of transgenred literature of the late Edo period.

In this introduction, therefore, I have examined a particular late Edo literary work within a framework shaped by a novel approach toward “genre.” Although “genre”

remains the most popular method of categorizing the late Edo literary works, the practice of categorizing one literary work under one particular genre may be of very limited value, especially when it comes to examining literary works in a context where the sociopolitical situation has marked effect on them. In fact I would suggest it is vital to consider the origins and legitimacy of the category of “genre” itself as applied to Edo literary culture. Literary works can never be independent of socio-structural constraints such as, in the case of the Edo era, the increased wealth of the commoners and censorship by the shogunal government. In order to analyze Edo literature more effectively, therefore, future studies based on the concept of transgenred literature could be useful. By focusing not on one specific “genre” of categorization for a given text, I believe the nature of Edo literature could be more accurately captured.
CHAPTER 2

AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION OF KYŌKUN HYAKUMONOGATARI

Figure 1: Picture on page 3 in the original text

This picture represents how the parlor game *Hyakumonogatari* appears. On the left page, there is a candle stand where one hundred wicks are supposed to be put into. On the right page, a man is telling the ghost stories and gesturing to show the ghost while his guests sit in a circle and listen.

Section 1: Transcription and Translation (L1 P4-L16 P5)

教訓百物語

むかし百物語をとると化物が出るといふ事を伝へますが是は

なぱた難有ひ教されど是を実にしる人がなは共百物がたの仕やうハと

いへば先大かへけに油を一ぱいさしてとうしんを百すじ入燈置さて

それからこわび斷しを一ッして是一筋けし又一ッして是一筋けし段々次第にけ

し真くらびになるとそれから化ものが出るといふ是即ち人の心の警
をいふたものじや 先天地の変化といふて一切万物 みなばけざるものハなひ

先春夏秋冬とぼける 四季の変化にしたがふて 草木花咲実のり また葉が落

る盛へる 是皆ことぶく化ものじやが 其中に人は萬物の長といふて 身も心

もともにばけものゝ根元じや 先生まれの時ハ赤子にして 身も心得かわひらしり

ものじや やゝさんといふ。毎しバらくの間に はや歩行やうになると 色々の

わやゝをすれバ 人もやゝさんとへいん 早ぼんさんいとさんと 名が替るじ

や 又七ッにもなれバ 早七里悪むといふて 由松さんのおぎさんとのとばける

それから息子殿娘御とぼける 間もなふ嫁ごの聟様のと化る 又間もなふぼんが

とゝといはれ 嫁御が又ばけて 御内儀さんの御家さんのおかみさまのと段々ば

けるじや 又ばけよが悪ひと 山の神とばけるじや こわひもののナ。夫から段々

白髪がはへて しハがよるはし がぬける 是皆自身 好んでばけるにもあらず し

はをよせたり白髪をこしらへ目をかすめ 耳を遠ふしたり 齧をぬき腰を

かゝめ とうゝ祖父祖母とばかさるゝ 越ばかす者をしららず

・あさおきて夕部に顔かわらねどいつの間にやら年ハ寄けり

・はかえしや今朝見し人の面影の立はけむりの夕くれの空
ONE HUNDRED SCARY TALES FOR MORAL INSTRUCTION

I think you probably have heard from old times that a monster\textsuperscript{144} appears after the one hundred ghost stories\textsuperscript{145} are told. No one knows what the stories really mean, though we should be very thankful for the teaching. When talking about how to tell the one hundred ghost stories, it begins by filling up a big unglazed vase with oil, putting one hundred wicks into it, and lighting up all of them. Then they begin to tell you all of the one hundred ghost stories one by one…They put out one wick after telling you one ghost story …one wick after one story. At last, it gets pitch-dark…Then you see that the monster\textsuperscript{146} is right there!! This is, however, a metaphor likened to your mind. First of all, there’s an old saying about the changes of heaven and earth.\textsuperscript{147} All things under the sun change. The seasons change… spring, summer, autumn, and winter. There you are! I told you so. Following the changing of season, the trees and plants are in bloom and grow, and the leaves also thrive and wither again. They keep changing. Without exception, all living things are monsters. Among them, however, you know there’s an old saying that man is the lord of creation. So your body and mind are the root of all monsters.

Originally, both your body and mind were adorable when you were born. You know why? Because you were just a newborn. Remember?

\textsuperscript{144} Bakemono 化物: An unearthly monster or creature.

\textsuperscript{145} Hyakumonogatari 百物がたり: A parlor game in which participants tell one hundred ghost stories.

\textsuperscript{146} Bakemono 化もの: A monstrous being or creature that appears after the one hundred ghost stories are told.

\textsuperscript{147} Tenchi no henka to iute issai banbutsu mina bakezarumono wa nai 天地の変化といふて一切万物みなばけざるものハなひ: This expression refers to the point of view that heaven and earth are temporal places for all creatures and nature to stay. A similar notion is in the expression Inu mo neko mo kuma mo sakana mo tori mo kusaki wa iuni oyobazu issai ten no keshitanoja 犬も猫も熊も魚も鳥も、草木はいふに及ばず、一切天の化したのじゃ. It is written in DDSKJ, 30.
They called you “little one,”\textsuperscript{148} didn’t they? Anyway, in the meantime, “little one” comes to walk. Now you get into various kinds of mischief,\textsuperscript{149} so they don’t call you “little one” anymore. By now, you change your name to something such as “sweetie” or “cutie.”\textsuperscript{150} Then, once you become seven years old, just like the old saying that one hates everything within seven leagues by his age of seven,\textsuperscript{151} you already hate everything around you.

Now, you change your name again to something such as \textit{Yoshimatsu-san, Ogin-san},\textsuperscript{152} and so on. Then, in fact, it is very sad that you don’t have enough time to enjoy the role of “Young Master or “Young Mistress”\textsuperscript{153} because you hurriedly need to take the role of “Mrs. Newly Wed,”\textsuperscript{154} “Mr. Son-in-Law,”\textsuperscript{155} or whatever. Shortly, you, who used to be “sweetie” get old enough to have a wife, and she, your bride gradually takes the role of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{148} \textit{Yaya-san} やゝさん: A polite way to refer to others’ babies, which is derived from \textit{Yaya-sama} やゝさま and was used in the Kansai 関西 region.
\item \textsuperscript{149} \textit{Wayawaya} わゃゝ: A naughty, mischievous, or impish behavior by a toddler, used in the Kansai region.
\item \textsuperscript{150} \textit{Bon-san} ぼんさん: A way to refer to a young boy to show him affection or respect, derived from \textit{Bon-sama} 坊様 and was used in the Kansai region. \textit{Ito-san} いとさん: A way to refer to a young girl, derived from \textit{Ito-sama} 幼様 and was used in the Kansai region. It was used for both boys and girls during the Tenmei era 天明 (1781-89), but eventually only for girls during the Kansei era 寛政 (1789-1801).
\item \textsuperscript{151} \textit{Nanatsu nimo nareba haya nasasato nikumu} 七ッにもなれバ早七里悪む: Referring to the main years when children are naughty and mischievous.
\item \textsuperscript{152} \textit{Yoshimatsu-san no Ogin-san no} 由松さんのおぎんさんの: The former, \textit{Yoshimatsu}, is a name for a boy and the latter, \textit{Ogin}, is a name for a girl.
\item \textsuperscript{153} \textit{Musukodono musumeo} 息子殿娘御: How to refer to someone’s son or daughter from other households with respect. While they are just middle class sons and daughters, \textit{Dono} 殿 and \textit{Go} 御 express how parents bring them up indulgently.
\item \textsuperscript{154} \textit{Yomego} 嫁ご: The Chinese character for \textit{Go} ご is 御. As well as \textit{Musumeo} 娘御, it is a way for others to refer to newlyweds with respect.
\item \textsuperscript{155} \textit{Muko-sama} 聢様: \textit{Muko} 聢 is a way to refer to a son in law who will later be the head of the family. \textit{A Muko} is supposed to have the whole family’s support. The courteous title of \textit{Sama} 様 refers to the family’s exaggerated politeness.
\end{itemize}

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“Mrs. Merchant’s wife,”156 “Mrs. Good family,”157 and “Mrs. Madam.”158 If you’re not so lucky, she will take the role of “Your old lady.”159 I know you shudder now and your hair stands on end. Then, your hair grays eventually. Your face is getting wrinkled and your teeth are falling out. All of these certainly will happen, whether you wish for it or not. Wrinkled, gray, dimmed eyes, poor hearing, toothless, and stooped. You finally take the role of “grandma and grandpa.”160 I have never heard that there is any role you could take beyond this one.

When you get up and go to bed, your face seems unchanged, but you certainly get older before you know it.

How transient one’s life is; at dusk, you might see the cremation of your friend you saw in the morning mist.161

Section 2: Transcription and Translation (L17 P5-L5 P7)

156 Onaigi-san 御内儀さん: Naigi 内儀 is a way to refer to a wife, in particular a merchant’s wife, used in the Kyoto 京都 region. Onaigi 御内儀 is Naigi 内儀 with a prefix O 御, which signifies more respect. Adding Sama 様 makes it more polite. Changing Onaigi-sama to Onaigi-san is a friendly way to address those wives.

157 Oie-san 御家さん: Oie-san is derived from Oie-sama 御家様, which is a way to refer to a wife in upper middle class households, especially in merchant families in the Kamigata 上方 region of Kyoto and Osaka. Oie-san is a friendly term like Onaigi-san.

158 Okami-sama おかみさま: Okami おかみ is a way to refer to wives in lower middle class households. Adding Sama 様 makes it a bit more polite. The Chinese characters Onaigi 御内儀 is also used for Okami.

159 Yama no kami 山の神: The literal translation is God of the Mountain. It refers to one’s wife, who has been married to her husband for a long time and constantly nags him.

160 Jiji baba 祖父祖母: This expression literally means grandfather and grandmother or sometimes old man and old woman. The Chinese characters such as 爺婆 are also read in the same way.

161 Hakanashiya kesamishihito no omokageno tatsuawakemuri no yūgurenosora はかなしや今朝見し人の面影の立はけむりの夕くれの空: Kemuri けむり refers to a wisp of smoke from cremating the body.
其狐のいふ通りをして御座る。江戸づまハイハイ芝居行ハイハイ飛ろど
の帯ハイハイ何でもハイハイ異見する者が有とひまを出し出入さしとめ

・気もしらで顔に化され嫁とて後でこんくわひすれどれかへらず

抜越狐めがばかしをるのは先紅白粧で年を化し梅花の丁子の松がねのとい
ふもので髪を化しかもじのそへのびんみのもつそのいちの輪にかすら

前髪へたなしの或はびんはりづとはり突棒刺股などと皆もとひ人であたま
をばかし度々着替る衣やりの七ばけ正味の所はちと東でみなやと
ひ人に化されである。

・色といふはべの皮にはまりて八世を渡らせずに身をしつめけり

御先祖が宅文二文から組上されれた皆汗油じや。それをおしげもなふ

づかづかと遣ひへらして楽みとして居る。団子じやと見べて馬の屎を喰ひ
小便を酒にしてのみ仕舞にへ土坪の中へ道入て行水するきたなび事の有。

条目が覚たら出来る仕事じやなひ

・一口に取て喰の八目にみへず三味線かじる鬼ぞ恐ろし

・酒くんで三味線引て気をうばび人を取喰鬼の多さよ
Excuse me for changing the subject, but there is one family that took a white fox as a master’s bride and the whole family got deceived. Who was the first to get deceived? Of course it was the master, the husband of the white fox! He spent his whole time being with the fox and at her beck and call.

“I want that Edozuma!”

“Nothing is easier.”

“I want to go to the theater!”

“No problem.”

“I want that velvet obi!”

“Certainly.”

He said “yes, ma’am” to anything and everything she wanted. When any of his employees objected, he fired them, he told tradesmen to stop calling, he stopped working at his shop, and he just played house with his fox wife every single day.

Deceived by her beautiful face, he took her as his bride.

One is always sorry after the event.  

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162 Shiro kitsune 白狐: The literal translation is white fox. Shiro gitsune is another possible reading. The white fox is supposed to appear as an auspicious symbol in peaceful period called Taihei 太平. There is another way to read Byakko, which is an old fox with white hair. Byakko is said to deceive people by its supernatural power to change its appearance, so they use Byakko to speak ill of prostitutes because prostitutes deceive their customers so that the customers spend money on them. The whole story about the white fox is also in SD3KG, 118-20.

163 Edozuma 江戸づま: It is an abbreviation for Edozuma moyō 江戸模様. Edozuma moyō is the name for a type of formal kimono for women, or for its pattern. For more detailed information, see NKD, vol. 2, s.v. “Edozuma.”

164 Birodo no obi 飛ろどの帯: A belt for a Kimono that is made from velvet. It is written Birôdo ビロード in modern Japanese and comes from veludo in Portuguese. It is said that veludo was introduced by the Portuguese in the Tenmon 天文 era (1532-55). There are two theories about when they started producing Japanese birodo, either in the Keichô 慶長 era (1596-1615) or the Keian 慶安 era (1648-1652). Based on the context, a velvet obi still seemed to be considered relatively expensive and extravagant around 1815.

165 Mamagoto まま事: A game where children pretend to run a household using kitchen toys such as pans, plates and chopsticks. Based on the context, mamagoto refers to the master’s shortsighted acts due to his wicked wife.

166 Kimoshirade kaonibakasare yometotte atodekonkai suredokaerazu 気もしらで顔に化され嫁
The first thing she does is put on powder and rouge and dresses her hair with hair oils like Baika, Chōji, and Matsugane to lie about her age. Then she puts on a Kamoji wig to make her hair look like a pumpkin. Binmino and Mosso, hairstyles that make one’s hair look like a pumpkin are her favorites because her hair is thinning due to her age. She hides her thinning hair with false bangs, Ichi no wa, Ni no wa, and Kariwage. Her hair looks massive now with all these wigs, but of course she is not satisfied. So she puts humongous hair ornaments like Tsukubō and Sasumata into her hair. Her gaudy

とつて後でこんくわひすれどかへらず: This song is also in SD3KG, 119. Konkai こんくわひ is an expression for a fox’s cry. It probably refers to Kōkai 後悔, which means one’s regret.

167 Beni oshiroi 紅白粉: This word consists of two words, Beni 紅 and Oshiroi 白粉. Beni means make-up for women and sometimes refers to a beautiful woman. Oshiroi derives from the adjective Oshiro 御白い and is a cosmetic that a woman uses to make her face look more white.

168 Baika no chōji no matsugane no 梅花の丁子の松がねの: Baika is an abbreviation for Baika no abura 梅花の油, which is perfumed hair oil. It contains sesame oil, musk, clove, and other spices. Chōji is an abbreviation for Chōji abura 丁子油. It is also perfumed hair oil, which mainly contains cloves. It is known as a spice and a medicine. Matsugane is an abbreviation for Matsugane-kō 松金香 or Matsugane mizu abura 松金水油, which is also perfumed hair oil and was sold at cosmetic shops like Kobeni-ya 小紅屋 and Tama-ya 玉屋 in Edo. This expression is cited as an example sentence in NKD, vol. 9, s.v. “Matsugane.”

169 Kamoji no soe no binmi no mosso no かもじのそへのびんみのもつそふの: Kamoji and Soe both are wigs used to give thin hair a thicker appearance. Binmi is also the same kind of wig, whose shape looks like Mino 藤, a raincoat made by straw and thatch. Mosso is a wooden container to put rice and make it into a cylindrical shape when it is served. The container was usually used in temples. In this sentence, Mosso is used as an abbreviation for Mossō atama 物相頭, which means a round-shaped head like the container to refer to the wicked wife’s big fake hair style. The expression is cited as an example sentence in NKD, vol. 12, s.v. “Mossō.”

170 Ichi no wa ni no wa kariwage: 一の輪二の輪かりわげ: Ichi no wa ni no wa 一の輪二の輪 seems to refer to a type of hair style used for married women in the Kansai region, Ryōwa 両輪, which corresponds to Marumage 丸髷 in the Edo region. Mage 髷 used to be called Wage わげ, so Kariwage かりわげ seems to refer to a hair piece to make Mage because Kari 仮 or 借り seems to mean fake or temporary.

171 Bin hari zuto hari びんはりざとはり: Binhari is made of whale fin or wire. Zutohari is made of water buffalo’s horn, whale fin, or wire. They put those inside of a woman’s hair to fix the hair style. The word Binhari was used in the Kansai region and was called Binsashi 鬢刺し in Edo. The expression is cited as an example sentence in NKD, vol. 11, s.v. “Binhari.”

172 Tsukubō sasumata 突棒刺股: Tsukubō is one of three tools used to capture criminals from the
hair bewitches her husband’s employees. She changes her clothes all the time -- maybe seven times per day, because she is shallow. Her loud dresses make her husband’s employees go blind.

*Her attractive appearance is deceptive: if you let yourself get caught, you’ll go down without even making it in this life.*

All of your money is the fruit of your ancestors’ hard work. They built up their fortune from a penny here and a penny there. He lavishes luxuries on himself without the slightest hesitation and enjoys burning through that precious money. He thought he was eating tasty dumplings, but it was actually horse droppings; he thought he was drinking tasty sake, but it was actually urine; he thought he was taking a quick bath in a washtub,

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Age of Civil Wars, *Sengoku* 戦国 period (1467-1568), until the Edo period. The others are *Sasumata* and *Sodegarami* 袖搦. The shape of *Tsukubō* つかぶ頭 is T-shaped and the top is made of iron with a long wooden handle. In the late Edo period, *Tsukubō* つかぶ頭 was put at the enforcement station symbolically but was not in practical use anymore. A picture of it appears in NKD, vol. 9, s.v. “Tsukubō.” *Sasumata* さすますata has a U–shaped iron head and a long wooden handle. It was used to press down on a criminal’s neck. It was also called *Sassu* さす and *Satsumata* さつまた. A picture of it appears in NKD, vol. 6, s.v. “Sasumata.” *Sodegarami* すでがらみ has a spiny iron head with a long wooden handle and was used to pull criminals down by entangling it in their sleeves.

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173 *Ishō no nanabake* 衣しやうの七ばけ: *Nanabake* 七変化 literally means taking the shape of various beings and *Ishō* 一是 outfit or clothes. The whole sentence refers to the many times a day the wicked wife changes her clothes and wastes money. *Shichi-henge* 七変化 is also used for the same meaning.

174 *Irotoiu uwabe no kawa ni hamaritewa yo o watarazuni mi o shizumekeri* 色といふうはべの皮にはまりて世を渡らずに身をしづめけり: *Uwabe* うわべ is written as *うわべ* in Modern Japanese. *Uwabe no kawa* うわべの川 refers to the wicked wife’s sexual attractiveness, which she used to deceive people, including her husband. An idiomatic expression, *Bake no kawa ga hagareru* 化けの皮がはがれる means to reveal one’s true color.

175 *Ichimon nimon* 壱文二文: *Mon* 文 was a denomination of currency. It was used in the Tang 唐 dynasty and imported to Japan and discontinued in 1871 (Meiji 4). It is equivalent to one-thousandth of a *Kan* 貫. When the Edo shogunate started minting *Kan’ei tsūhō* 寛永通宝, which is one mon, the official ratio was fixed where four kan was equivalent to one *ryō* 両. *Kan’ei tsūhō* 有均 had been minted from the *Kan’ei* 寛永 era (1624-1644) through the early years of *Meiji*. Based on the context, the expression refers to the fact that the master spends his fortune without thinking about his predecessors’ effort to save money.

176 *Gyōzū suru* 行水する: Especially in summer, one takes a quick bath to clean the body because Japanese summers are quite humid and one tends to get sweaty. It has another meaning of cleansing one’s body before conducting Buddhist or Shinto ceremonies. Based on the context, the master cannot distinguish the difference between taking a quick bath and stepping into a bucket of manure, which refers to a
but he actually ended up stepping into a bucket of manure. What filthy things he did! If he had come to his senses, he would not have done such things.

You thought she was just playing her shamisen, but now you see a demon nibbling away your fortune.

Look at how many demons are trying to deceive you right now, serving you sake and playing the shamisen.

She looks seductive and sounds sweet. Charmed by her shamisen, you never notice she is a demon.

Section 3: Transcription and Translation (L6 P7-L17 P8)

distinctive notion about how the master was deceived by his wicked wife.

177 Dotsubo: It is also called Koedame or Kusotsubo. It is a place to put excrement and urine to decompose. It is used as fertilizer for fields of rice and other crops after decomposition.

178 Oni: Imaginary monsters which have superhuman strength and violent dispositions. Gaki, a hungry ghost, is one type that lives in hell. Sometimes they take the role of a beautiful woman or man and appear in this world. They are sometimes called Yasha or Rasetsu.

179 Hitokuchini tottekamunowa menimiezu shamisen'kajiru onizo osoroshi: This dōka is also in SD3KG, 119.

180 Sakekunde shamisenhiitie ki o ubai hito o torikū onion ōsayo. This dōka is also in SD3KG, 119. Shamisen is a Japanese instrument, which is supposed to be played by courtesans in the pleasure quarter. Shamisen o hiku refers to playing it skillfully to deceive a man. Here, the Chinese character 引く is used instead of 弹く and followed by Ki o ubai, which refers to demons using the instruments to trick men. Another expression Ki o hiku has the same kind of meaning. The whole notion is about the master being enraptured by his wife, and possibly other wicked people as well.

181 Meniwaio miminıyasashiki shaminoten hi karetesarani onito omowaza: This dōka is slightly different from the original version in SD3KG, 119.
をとり 孫子もできた 商売も次第に仕えた はから隠居するばかりじゃ 金

の歩も 一日に何ほどつく道入て来る もすはでよび ヤレ嬉やといふが最後

もふ鬼めがつか撮へにくる 孫がわづらふか 息子が錢を使ふか 嫁が死るか

損をするか 家内に色、様、の災ひが起つて来 はが人をだましてもこかして

もしてやらふゝのむくひが来たのじゃ

・もふよひと思ふが直に地獄から鬼の来ぬ間にせんだくをせよ

せんだくと人欲の心を改むるのじゃ 戦々の慎みが大事

・狐よりこハキハ金と色と名とおふかた子に化されぞする

六根清浄内外清浄 日々に新にせんだくをするのじゃ。

・狐 猴 金と色とに科ハなし化さるるもの科とあるべき

とうどう ちいばと化する 此化ず物をしらずに 銘々に一生の間くらが

り住居

・くらきよりくらき道にぞ入けり其くら闇に迷ふくらやみ

・うかうかと火宅の世話を焼ちつつひ灰なる身とはしらばや

くらがりから 闇がりへ迷ひ 地獄の釜こげに成とや あんまり悲しむ事じや。

どふぞどなたも 本心を知て御らふじませ。 化人がしる 此化人をしらん
In everything she does, she’s just playing her fated role, doing whatever she has to. You are more than happy to be taken in. It’s your own will. You end up losing your own house of course, including your storehouse\textsuperscript{183} and its treasures. What a mess it is! It all seems like sushi completely drowned in soy sauce. Demons are everywhere, preying on people like you. Now you get scared, don’t you? This is just like when children play hide and seek.\textsuperscript{184} The moment you become able to enjoy your retirement,\textsuperscript{185} the demon will come to get you. You arranged your son’s marriage and got grandchildren. Your business becomes well known in the world.\textsuperscript{186} Now, you are just about to enjoy your remaining years in peace and quiet.\textsuperscript{187} When it comes to small expenses, there is nothing

\textsuperscript{182} Tenmei no shokubun kuchisugi ja 天命の職分口過ぎじゃ: Tenmei means a mission from heaven. Shokubun refers to the idea that one’s job is given by heaven and also has two meanings: what one should act as a human and how one should have an awareness of the responsibilities of their profession. Kuchisugi refers to earning enough to keep body and soul together.

\textsuperscript{183} Dozō 土蔵: Storehouses covered with plaster or stucco to protect valuables from fire or burglars. It is well-known for its durability. The whole notion is that even a strongly-built storehouse will be destroyed by one’s carelessness.

\textsuperscript{184} Kakurenbo 隠んぼ: A game of hide and seek. In Japanese, the one who is “it” in hide and seek is called Oni.

\textsuperscript{185} Mō yoi もうよひ: The expression refers to the stage of life in which one can finally enjoy their retirement.

\textsuperscript{186} Shiniseta 仕似た: Shiniseru 仕似 refers to running a very profitable business inherited from one’s ancestors, which has an established customer base and earns interest from loans given to customers. The Chinese characters 為似 are also used for Shiniseru.

\textsuperscript{187} Inkyosuru 隠居する: It refers to the head of a family turning over his business to his successor by his free will while he is still alive. The expression carries the connotation of living free from worldly
you are worried about because the interest from your customers keeps coming every single day. “How wonderful life is!” Finally, you think you have attained perfection in your life. When you are enjoying your retirement, the demon comes to get you. Maybe your grandchildren are getting sick, your spoiled son is wasting your fortune, your daughter in law drops dead, or you lose your nest eggs. Well, it is just a series of unfortunate events in your house. You deserve it. You know why? In short, this is the result of what you have been doing; you cannot say you have no idea of what I am talking about, right? This is retribution for your deceits and lies to bilk the people around you out of their money.\footnote{189}

“When the cat’s away, the mice will play.” Before the demon comes back, you had better turn over a new leaf.\footnote{190}

What I am talking about is reforming your mind. Before the demon catches you, clear your mind of your greediness. What you need is to be humble and in constant fear that you will get caught by the demon.

\textit{Money, love affairs, and fame, those three are much scarier than the fox. Usually you end up being deceived by them.}\footnote{191}

\begin{footnotesize}
\footnotetext{188} \textit{Kane no bu}: It is derived from \textit{Bu}, which means the ratio on the profit or the interest from the money one lends his customers.

\footnotetext{189} \textit{Hito o kokashitemo shiteyarah}: \textit{Kokasu} and \textit{Shiteyaru} both mean entrapping people and stealing money from them.

\footnotetext{190} \textit{Mō yoito omougajikini jigokakara oninokonumani sendaku o seyo}: This dōka is slightly different from the original version in SD3KG, 120. The pronunciation \textit{Sendaku} used to be considered better than \textit{Sentaku} and is still used in the Kansai region at present. It means washing and cleansing, though it means only laundry in modern Japanese. There is a proverb, \textit{Oni no konu ma ni sentaku} or \textit{Oni no rusu ni sentaku}, which means one relaxes satisfactorily while his boss or supervisor is not watching over him. The whole notion of the expression in here, though, is not the same as the proverb.

\footnotetext{191} \textit{Kitsune yori kowakiwa kaneto iroto ōkata kore ni bakasarezosuru}: The original version of this dōka is in \textit{Jijo nemurisamashi} written by Tejima Toan. For more detailed information, see Shibata Minoru.}
\end{footnotesize}
You have six organs -- eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body and mind -- which make you so delusive that you need to cleanse your mind every single day over and over again.

Actually the fox, the raccoon, money, and love affairs are not to blame. You need to know it’s entirely your fault.

Now you finally take the role of “grandma and grandpa.” Do you know that you are heading for the last stage of your life? Do you know that your mind is closed and in the darkness?

You are losing your way, heading from one darkness to another.

Being careless and taking care of your burning house, you end up being burnt to ashes without notice.

Losing your way in the darkness from the darkness, you end up burning in a rice cooker in hell. What a poor thing you are! Please everyone, know your true mind and be aware of the darkness right in front of you. You know what deceives you; you know it is your false mind. If you don’t, you have no way to get out of the darkness. How obstinate you

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192 Rokkon shōjō naige shōjō 六根清浄内外清浄: Rokkon 六根 is a Buddhist term that refers to the five senses, which are one’s eyes, ears, nose, tongue and mind. Naige内外 is also a Buddhist term, which refers to one’s interior and exterior qualities. Shōjō 清浄 means cleansing. The whole notion is about purifying one’s human qualities.

193 Kurakiyori kurakimichinizo irinikeri sonokurayamini mayā kurayami くらきよりくらき道にぞ入にけり其くら闇に迷ふくらやみ: This dōka is also in SD4KC, 140, and DD3KG, 106. This dōka seems to have changed from the Waka composed by Izumi Shikibu 和泉式部, who is one of the most famous poets of the mid-Heian period. For more detailed information, see NKD, vol. 1, s.v. “Izumi Shikibu.”

194 Ukaukato katakunosewao yakuuchinitsu haitonaru mitowashirabaya うかうかと火宅の世話を焼うちにつひ灰となる身とはしらばや: Katakun 火宅 is a Buddhist term that literally means a burning house. It is used to express the notion that one cannot find peace in this world because they suffer from moral taint and anguish.

195 Honshin 本心: This is the first time the expression Honshin appeared in Kyōkan hyakumonogatari. The expression was coined by Toan, the direct disciple of the father of Shingaku, Ishida Baigan, to refer to one’s true mind.
are, saying “me, me, me!” Saying this counts for nothing. It’s useless. In someone’s

dōka, Be careful -- your darkness will lead you close to another darkness.

Section 4: Transcription and Translation (L18 P8-L10 P10)

Aruhito dōka ni ある人道歌に: Dōka are songs on the Way that teach people the moral
viewpoints of Shingaku teaching. It is not clear who Aruhito refers to.
知求。哀哉。人有鶏犬放即。知求之。有放心而。

今日銘々ども本心をとりはなして求もせず又道筋を捨て用ひず人の道をふみたがへて迷ふて居るといふハ誠に悲しむべき事じやと仰られた事じや。内にかひ置た犬鶏ねこなど取失ひし時はうろうろしてさがし求める先祖から産付てらふた本心をとり失ふて求めざるハどふした道理じやぞどなたも本心を御しりなされて御ろうじませ甚調法なものじや

By the way, do you remember the beginning of the one hundred tales? Putting one hundred wicks into it, and lighting up all of them? That is a metaphor for a newborn. A baby doesn’t say “I want this, this is mine, I hate this, or I will never forget the wrong you did to me.” Nearly all babies are simple and innocent. They don’t possess any darkness in their minds. It is just as Mencius’s saying, “a great man doesn’t lose the simple and innocent mind that a baby possesses.” Also, Ikkyū says,

The wiser he gets, the more separated he is from Buddha.

What a pitiful thing a newborn is!

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197 Sore hito wa sono sekishi no kokoro o ushinawazu 夫人者不失其赤子之心: This expression originally derives from Rirōshō-ge 離婁章句下 in Mōshi 孟子. For more detailed information, see NKD vol. 12, s.v. “Mōshi” and Tōdō Akeho 藤堂明保, and Fukushima Chūro 福島中郎, trans., “Mōshi: Rirōshō-ge 孟子: 離婁章句下,” in Rongo mōshi junshi raiki 論語 孟子 學記, vol. 3 of Chūgoku koten bungaku taikei 中国古典文学大系 [Tokyo: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1970], 176, s.v. “Akago no kokoro o ushinawazu 赤子の心を失わず.”

198 Ikkyū 一休: A Zen monk in the Rinzai 臨済 sect in the middle period of the Muromachi 室町 period (1336–1573). He is also called Ikkyū Sōji 一休宗純 and famous for his eccentric behavior. He is noted for his poetry, calligraphy, painting, and comic tanka (kyōka 狂歌).

199 Umarego no shidai kurikaeshi ni chie tsukite hotoke ni tōka naruzo kanashiki 生れ子の次第く
Also, the Buddha says “holy am I alone throughout heaven and earth.” By the way, I am talking about a new baby as it’s born into the world. Are you with me? Actually, all of you are not at all separated from Buddha, the gods, or a sage when you are babies. You are as good as them. Did you know that? You all follow people’s examples through hearing and observations, then your one hundred wicks are taken one by one, and afterwards, you find yourself in utter darkness. Each of you possesses a true mind from your birth, but it will be gone and you will be possessed by selfishness. This selfishness will control you as if it is your master. Don’t you think it is a tragedy that toward the end of your life it is full of suffering? So, Mencius says “benevolence is the mind you pursue; righteousness is the path you take. If you don’t take this path, you cannot give a reason why you are here. You used to possess a true mind, but it has disappeared now. Why don’t you take it back? Is it not funny that you always go to get your running chickens and dogs, but not your true mind? You should be aware of the fact that your true mind has disappeared and, what is worse, you don’t care. Benevolence is virtue, the true

りかえしに知恵付て佛に遠くなるぞ悲しき: The slightly different version of this dōka appears in the works of Nakazawa Dōni 中沢道二, DD3KJ and DDZSKJ.

200 Tenjō tenga yuiga dokuson 天上天下唯我独尊: Yuiga dokuson is an expression of Buddha’s that means there is nothing more precious than him. Tenjō tenga is a place between the heavenly world and the earthly world. He reportedly said this right after he was born, taking seven steps and pointing to heaven and earth.

201 Ubuyu darai うぶ湯だらひ: Ubuyu means a newborn baby’s first bath given by a midwife. Ubuyudarai is a washtub to be used for the washing.

202 Kamisama seijin 神様聖人: In this context, Kamisama seems to be something superior to human being such as a deity in a Shinto shrine, the spirit or soul enshrined after its death, or a Shinto shrine itself. Seijin is a person who has great respect from people because he is acquainted in all things like the gods and he has moral influence on people. Especially in Confucianism, scholars considered two legendary kings Gyo and Shun as Seijin because they reportedly governed the country ideally. Confucius 孔子, which is pronounced Kōshi in Japanese, is also worshipped as a Seijin.

203 Mōshi iwaku jin wa hito no kokoro nari 孟子曰仁人心也: Gi wa hito no michi nari 孔子之仁人心也: Sono michi o sutete shikōshite yorazu 舍其路而弗由 Sono kokoro o hanachite shikōshite motomurukoto o
mind; righteousness\textsuperscript{205} is the path you must walk. However, in these days, you all let your true mind go and don’t care about it. You lost your way because you strayed from the right path. Is there anything else which is more disheartening thing than this? This is what Mencius meant. If your dogs, chickens, and cats escape, you would be all in a fluster to go out looking for them. On the other hand, you don’t care if your true mind is a precious gift from your ancestors, and you don’t go to take it back. What kind of reasoning\textsuperscript{206} is that? Ladies and Gentlemen! Please take the time to know your true mind. It is really quite handy.\textsuperscript{207}

Section 5: Transcription and Translation (L11 P10-L18 P12)

This expression originally derives from \textit{Kokushishōku jō} 告子章句 in \textit{Mōshi}. See “Mōshi: Kokushishōku-jō, 孟子: 告子章句上,” in \textit{Rongo mōshi junshi raiki}, 202, s.v. “Nakushita kokoro o sagashimotomeyo なくした心を探し求めよ.”

\textit{shirazu} 放其心而不知求 \textit{Kanashiikana} 哀哉 \textit{Hito keiken hanateru kotoarutoki wa sunawachi} 人有鶏犬放即 \textit{Kore o motomurukoto o shiru hōshinarite shikōshite motomuru koto o shirazu} 知求之有放心而不知求: 陷内ハ 手に物を取りても 手よりずるゝ落す 手に物を取りもせずぬ

扱 少し欲が出来ると 物をとつて じつとにぎる 事をしる 或人の発句に

\textit{Jin} 仁: Jin is one of the most important virtues in Confucianism, which refers to practical ethics one should realize to live with others. Mengzi 孟子 (371?-289? B.C), pronounced as Mōshi in Japanese, defined it as one’s sentiment, which was derived and expanded from \textit{Sokuin no jō} 惜隠の情, which is given from heaven and means one’s compassion, mercy, or pity for other living things.

\textit{Gi} 義: Gi is one of the five Confucius values known as \textit{Gojō} 五常. The other four are \textit{Gi} 義, \textit{Rei} 礼, \textit{Chi} 知, and \textit{Shin} 信. It refers to the path one should take when dealing with other people, which is supposed to be based in responsible and proper actions.

\textit{Dōri} 道理: Dōri refers to the path one should take as a human, which is reasonable, logical, justifiable, or coherent. In this sentence, the author mentions how unreasonable it is not to try to know one’s true mind by making a comparison with one looking for his domestic animals when they have escaped.

\textit{Chōhō} 調法: It means convenient and useful.
片っ付けにぎるや 欲の初ざくら

まだ其時分は物を持て嬉ぶ斗りじや たとへ喰物でも 兄様にいっやりやと

いふと 直にやるじや まだほしい斗りで おしむ心 かなひ ま一段欲が出来

ると 皆ぼんがのじやといふて放さぬ 其欲心が次第に増長して どん欲

といふ化物になるのじや 盗人の子でも 二ッや三ッ斗りまでハ持っているもの

を たいといふと 直に放してくれる 慈悲の丸垢じや 夫が大きう成と

たい 所 じやなひ 節季に書出やって 其上にさいそくしても いやじや

といふて放じやせぬ 皆垢の溜ののじや 替たものに化ける者じや

吉野川其水上をたづぬれバむぐらのしづく萩の下

水至益順言。人欲も初は少しの事じや 親になんぞといふたくら

ひの事が 段々百物がたりを聞きこんで 後にハ祖父も祖母も両親もつぎのけ

て置て 我方へ取込工面斗り仏住る そうなると 心も駄も次第替て来

る 腹の大きな手足ほそ化る。

欲ふかき人の心とふる雪はつもるにつけて道をわするる

銀持と朝晩捨る灰吹はたまるほどなおきたなどとしれ
Well now, let me tell you a somewhat depressing story. When you were a little one, before you became greedy, you could not hold things in your hands. Things dropped out of your hands, right? You didn’t even want to grab anything. Then, sooner or later, you became greedy enough to take things and noticed that you could clasp them in your hands. In the first line\(^{208}\) of someone’s Renga,\(^{209}\)

\(^{208}\) Hokku 発句: The first phrase or the first and second phrases in a Waka 和歌. It is also pronounced Hakku.

\(^{209}\) Aruhito no renga 成人の連歌: A Waka 和歌 composed by two people together. Usually, one person composes the first phrase that consists of 17 syllables, and the other composes the remaining 14 syllables. It is not clear who Aruhito refers to.
It is the first cherry blossom of your greediness when you begin grabbing at your mother’s breast while taking her milk

You were happy if you could just hold things in your hands around that time. If your mother asked, you could even give food to your older brother without whining. You just wanted to get it, but you didn’t have any intention to begrudge. As you got older, you started saying “everything is mine, mine, mine!” You didn’t let those things go. Your greediness eventually got bigger and bigger, and finally you became the monster known as “Scrooge.” Until he is two or three years old, even a thief’s kid could give you the things he has if you ask for them. Don’t you think that’s great? He is entirely benevolent when he is little; actually, you were too. What on earth happened to you? Listening to somebody’s needs has become the least important thing for you now. In the time of the festival of the dead in July and at the end of the year, they send you a bill, right? After that, a reminder, a demand, and a final demand are coming. You just don’t care. Saying “not yet, not yet,” you don’t clear your debts. The dirt piles up when you don’t clean. You turned out to be such a strange monster.

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210 Katachibusa nigiruya yokuno hatsuzakura 片ちぶさにぎるや欲の初ざくら: Hatsuzaakura is the first cherry blossom that has bloomed. In this sentence, it refers to the first blooming of one’s greediness when a baby is grabbing one of his mother’s breasts while having her milk.

211 Donyoku to iu bakemono どん欲といふ化物: It seems to refer to Gaki 餓鬼 in hell. See the footnote no. 230.

212 Jihi no marumuku 慈悲の丸垢: Marumuku is a Buddhist word that means a state of innocence, purity, or spotlessness. In this sentence, it refers to the state of a baby who doesn’t have any desire for worldly things and is completely benevolent when he is born. However, the Chinese characters are supposed to be 丸無垢, so 丸垢 might be a misspelling.

213 Sekki 節季: It means bon 盆, the period for the Buddhist festival of the dead in July or August and the end of year. In these two periods, people are supposed to repay their debts. Kakidashi 書出し is a bill.
If you could see the source of the Yoshino River, it begins with one drop of water from weeds such as creepers or hagi.\textsuperscript{214}

What a thing! Even for a big river like the Yoshino, its source is something really small. The Yi-King\textsuperscript{215} says, “first, you step over frost. Next, you reach thick ice. All in all, this is about one thing following another.”\textsuperscript{216} Greed too begins very small. At first you were just grumbling to your parents about this and that,\textsuperscript{217} but after hearing the one hundred ghost stories one by one, you become blinded by greed, and your concern for your grandpa, grandma,\textsuperscript{218} and parents turns into nothing. Day in and day out, you just indulge your passion for making profit. Then, what will happen to you? Your mind and body are changing little by little. Your belly bulges full of wicked and dark things, whereas your arms and legs become thin.\textsuperscript{219}

\textsuperscript{214} Yoshinogawa sonominakami o tazunureba muguranoshizuku haginoshitatsuyu 吉野川其水上をたづぬれバむぐらのしづく萩の下露: This dōka is slightly different from the original version by Shōō, which is in SDNKJ, 56. Yoshinogawa is the longest river in the Shikoku 四国 region in Japan. In this sentence, however, it might refer to another Yoshinogawa, which runs through the Nara 奈良 prefecture in the Kansai region.

\textsuperscript{215} Eki ni iwaku 易曰: Eki is the abbreviation of Ekikyō 易経, which is one of the most important five Confucian classics. For more detailed information, see NKD, vol. 2. s.vv. “Eki,” “Ekikyō.”

\textsuperscript{216} Shimo o fundara kataki kōri ni itaru kedashi shitagau o iu 霜履堅氷至益順言: This expression is derived from the first chapter Kon 坤 in Ekikyō 易経. For more detailed information, see Akazuka Tadashi 赤塚忠, trans., “Ekikyō: Kon 易経: 坤,” in Shokyō eikyō 書経易経, vol. 1 of Chūgoku koten hongaku taikei, 392, s.v. “Risōkenpyō 履霜堅氷.” The whole notion means one should be very careful because of the tendency to lapse into extravagant behavior, even though this tendency begins with very small extravagances.

\textsuperscript{217} Nanso nanso to iuta なんそゝといふた: This expression seems to be based on the saying nanzo nanzo to iuta, which means that one complains about one thing or another.

\textsuperscript{218} Jii Baa 祖父祖母: In Modern Japanese, it is read Sofu sobo. Jii baa was used in the Kansai region. The meaning is one set of grandparents.

\textsuperscript{219} Hara no ōkina teashi fosō bakaru 腹の大きな手足ほそふ化る: The definition of a monster called Gaki 餓鬼, which lives in hell. The monster always suffers from hunger. It comes from the Sanskrit word Preta.
Just as falling snow covers everything, your greediness makes you blind, and you end up losing your way.\footnote{220}

Just like how every morning and evening you throw out the ashes that accumulate, the more you get rich, the nastier you are.\footnote{221}

Your greediness and shamelessness don’t turn into ashes or return to dust.
What do you want out of them then?\footnote{222}

Guys like you shouldn’t wish for what you know you cannot get;
have you ever noticed that you cannot even manage yourself?\footnote{223}

Look at the ten vices in a line - among them,
Mr. Greedy is far worse than the others. \footnote{224}

This sort of saying might be persuasive enough for you to believe that your greediness is what you must not obtain…but it is not what I am talking about. You naturally think you want to take care of your parents and have respect for your ancestors, don’t you? Besides,

\footnote{220}{Yokufukaki hito no kokororo to furu yuki wa tsumorunitsukete michi o wasururu 欲ふかき人の心とふる雪はつもるにつけて道をわするる: This dōka is also in DD3KG, 105.}

\footnote{221}{Kanemochito asaban sutsuru haibuki wa tamaruhodonao kitanai to shire 銀持と朝晩捨る灰吹はたまるほどなおきたなひとしれ: Haibuki is the abbreviation of Haibuki-ho 灰吹法, which was used to mint silver coins after the Genroku 元禄 era (1688-1704). Those coins were called Haibukigin 灰吹き銀, though the Chinese characters for Kanemochi in Modern Japanese is written 金持. The whole notion here is that the more one tries to make money, the more the ash is accumulated, and one gets stained by it.}

\footnote{222}{Yakebahai uzumeba tsuchito narumono o nanini shitsuran yokutsura no kawa 焼バ灰埋めバ土と成る物を何にしつらん欲つらのかわ: This expression Yakeba hai uzumeba tsuchi follows Hitoten o kokoro to shite katachi wa tsuchi ja 人は天を心として形は土じゃ is in DDSKJ, 30. The whole notion of this dōka refers to the point of view about one’s existence, where one is burned to ashes and returns to dust after their death because of their excessive greed.}

\footnote{223}{Bonpumera amarini monona hoshigariso misae wagaminita naranumonokawa 凡夫めらあまりに物なほしがりそ身さえ我身にならぬものかハ: Bonpu is the translation of Pthagjana in Sanskrit. Based on Buddhist thought, bonpu means a person who suffers from Bonnō 頑悩, which means desire for worldly things. In this sentence, bonpu refers to ordinary people, such as those who are stupid, ignorant, or mediocrre.}

\footnote{224}{Jūaku no tachinara(b)itaru sononakani don’yokudono no sei no takasayo 十悪の立ならひたる中にどんな欲どのの背の高さよ: Jūaku is a Buddhist word that refers to ten vices derived from three kinds of actions -- Shinō 身業, Kugō 口業, and Igō 意業. Shinō refers to every action caused by one’s body. Kugō refers to one’s words or expressions that cause the right or wrong result. Igō refers to one’s volition that determines his prudence. See footnote no 231, 232, 233, and 234.}
you want to provide for your family and to cherish your wife and children. Later, you think you want to transfer the headship of the family to your descendants. You do so because of your feelings for them all. Don’t say or do anything unreasonable. Please make your living diligently and let others do the same. Both you and your business competitor would make enough profit if you lived without waste. Even one hundred kan is really precious. According to the family counsels of Duke Shibakō, “even if you give your descendants the money you saved, they won’t cherish it. Even if you give them the books you collected and read, they won’t read them. Not until you keep doing good deeds and being humble will your descendants learn something precious and prosper.”

Section 6: Transcription and Translation (L1 P13-L9 P15)

どんよくといふハ 餓鬼道じや 十悪の中でも第一番じや 十悪といふハ 身に
三ツ 口に四ッ 意＝三ッ。 身に三ッといふハ 即ち。 殺 生無益。 偷盗あたえ
さるをとる。 邪婬男女とも我に粗さる。 口に四ッ。 仏語かざる。 忘語みだりに
うそ 偽。 悪口わるくち。 意に三ッ。 貪欲むさぼり。 唄意いかる ぐち

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225 Hagokumi はごくみ: This is derived from Hagukumu 育む, which means to bring up, rear, and foster.

226 Katoku 家とく: Katoku is the headship of a family which comes with the family fortune. The expression, katoku o sōzoku suru 家督を相続する is usually said to refer to succeeding to the head of a house.

227 Hito no jō 人の情: Another way of saying this, ninjō 人情, is used more frequently.

228 Hyakkan 百貫: One hundered kan 賄. Kan is a unit of currency, which is converted into one thousand mon 文. In the Edo period, however, nine hundred sixty mon was equivalent to one kan. For more detailed information, see footnote no. 175 on Mon.

229 Shibaonkō 司馬温公: Shibaonkō is the formal title of Shibakō 司馬光 (1019-1086), who was a Chinese scholar in the Song 宋 Dynasty. For more detailed information, see NKD, vol. 6, s.v. “Shibakō.” The family counsels of Duke Shibakō (Shibaonkō Kakun 司馬温公家訓) appears to refer to the section of Kun 訓 (precepts) in Denkashū 傳家集 by Shibakō.
らめなし 合十悪 其十悪の内の第一番じや。それから又段々と 百物語を
聞込んでしん意といふ心が出来る 是も外の事じやなひ 最初八腹の立のじや

是も赤子の時から腹を立つ子ハなび 皆百物がたりからじや 先子もねさせ
て置て 仕事を親がしている 子が目を明てなき出す時 子は何んにも腹立てな
くでハなび 親が腹立て聞きのじや アノ子程早ふ起る子はなひといふて はつ
て置ゆへ 段々せハしゅうなきす それから親の声が大きうなっておこりて 乳
も呑さずに引きして エゝ越餓鬼わびのとあたまたゝく それが五度や十度の事
じゃなひ 其百物がたりをして聞く由 だんゝとつくりと聞きおぼへたのじや

是も 最初八少しの事じやが だんゝ腹立る事が上手になりて きつう腹が立時
ハ 身もあつふなり 顔もまつかひに成て 煙意の火がもへるのじや 白狐も

其時八鬼女となる 仏が人面じうしんとばける

• もへ出るしんののほのふ消やらて我と引けん火の車かな

• 造りてし罪を薪の火の車我なす業と知るやしらずや

• 惡び事たきつけられて煮るのを地獄の釜の湯とやふらん

地獄の釜て外にハなび 皆我腹の内の事じや

• 我心鏡に見ゆる物なれぱさぞや姿の見にくかるん
Greediness leads you to the path of being a hungry ghost. It is the worst among the ten vices. Do you know what they are? Three of them are about your actions,

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230 Gakimichi 餓鬼道: According to Buddhist beliefs on the transmigration of the soul, there are six worlds called Rikudō or Rokudō 六道. One is supposed to reborn after their death in one of these worlds. They consist of Jigokudō 地獄道, Gakidō 餓鬼道, Chikushōdō 畜生道, Ashuradō 阿修羅道, Ningendō 人間道, and Tendō 天道. Gakidō is the world in which the dead continually suffer from hunger and thirst. Ningendō and Tendō are the worlds in which one is reborn if they did good deeds in this world. Ashuradō, Jigokudō, Gakidō, and Chikushōdō are the worlds in which one is reborn if they did evil deeds in this world.

231 Jūaku 十悪: See footnote no. 224 on Jūaku.

232 Mi ni mitsu 身に三ツ: This refers to Shingō 身業. Shingō consists of the three vices, Sesshō 殺生, Chūtō 偷盗, and Jain 邪婬.
four of them are about your tongue,\textsuperscript{233} and three of them are about volition.\textsuperscript{234} The three wicked deeds of your actions are the taking of lives (which is a futile thing), stealing (which means taking without giving), and committing adultery (which means both man and woman treat themselves without respect for each other). The four wicked deeds of your tongue are speaking in a showy style (which means making grandiose claims), fabrication (which means lying recklessly), and vilification (which means showering abuse on somebody). The three wicked deeds of your own volition are greed (which means being covetous), fury (which means losing your temper), and grumbling (which means not accepting the situation). All told, there are ten vices, and among them, greediness is the worst. Then little by little, listening to the one hundred ghost stories, your mind produces rage, and that is all it is. At first you just lose your temper. When you were a baby,\textsuperscript{235} did you lose your temper? Of course you didn’t. Now you lose your temper every single day and it’s all because you listened to the one hundred ghost stories. After putting your child to bed, you start doing your own work. When the child wakes up and starts crying, the baby is not crying because of anger, but you are getting annoyed. Right? Saying that other babies don’t wake up as soon as my baby does, you just ignore the baby’s crying. So the baby’s crying is getting louder and louder.\textsuperscript{236} Then, you raise your voice equally louder and louder. What you do is just get mad saying “what a noisy

\textsuperscript{233} \textit{Kuchi ni yottsu} 口に四ツ: This refers to \textit{Kugō} 口業. \textit{Kugō} consists of four vices, \textit{Kigo} 傾語, \textit{Mōgo 忘語} or \textit{妄語}, \textit{Akugō 悪口}, and \textit{Ryōzetsu 両舌}, even though \textit{Ryōzetsu}, which means one’s being double-tongued, is omitted from the sentence in this text.

\textsuperscript{234} \textit{Kokoro ni mitsu} 意に三ツ: This refers to \textit{Igō} 意業. \textit{Igō} consists of three vices, \textit{Donyoku 貪欲}, \textit{Shin’i 嗔意}, and \textit{Jaken 邪見}, which means one’s wicked thoughts. In this text, \textit{Guchi 愚痴} is used instead of \textit{Jaken}.

\textsuperscript{235} \textit{Akago 赤子}: a baby.

\textsuperscript{236} \textit{Sewashiu} せハしう: This adjective means busy and was used in the Kansai region. The slightly different adjective \textit{Sewashī せわしい} was used in the Edo region.
Without suckling your child, you lift up the baby and hit your baby’s head. Five times? Ten times? No. You do that any number of times. Those one hundred scary tales make you such a stupid person. You kept observing the stories and listening. You have learned a lot so far! In the beginning, you didn’t get mad that much, but eventually you became good at getting angry. Now your body gets all hot when you lose your temper. Your face goes red, too. You get burned with the fire of rage. Even a beautiful white fox turns out to be an ogress; a saintly-looking person turns out to be a beast in human form.

The vigorous fire of rage never is extinguished, be aware that you pull the flaming carriage by your own will.

The sins you commit are firewood for the flaming carriage. You had it coming. Have you noticed that or not?

The sins you commit make the fire burn for a caldron in hell, now you see it is coming to a rolling boil.

You think that the caldron is in hell? No, it is inside of you.

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237 *Gaki waino* 餓鬼わひの: Children such as babies and infants are sometimes called *Gaki* because they are considered hungry all the time like the hungry ghost *Gaki*, who lives in hell.

238 *Kijo* 鬼女: *Kijo* is a demon which appears as a woman. The term refers to the saying that a woman reveals her true color when she gets angry, regardless if she is beautiful or not. This expression implies that the wicked spirit is intrinsic in a woman.

239 *Hotoke* 佛: Though *Hotoke* means Buddha, it doesn’t exactly mean Buddha in this sentence. It refers to the idea that one’s personality and facial expressions are as good as Buddha.

240 *Ninmen jūshin* 人面じうしん: It is also read *Jinmen jūshin*. The Chinese characters are 人面獣心. It means a person who is a human, but his mind and spirit are as bad as what a beast possesses. The expression refers to a cold-hearted person who doesn’t understand gratitude or human feelings.

241 *Moeizuru shin’i no honō kieyarade ware to hikiken hi no kuruma kana* もへ出るしんゐのほのふ消やらで我と引けん火の車かな: *Shin’i* is one of ten vices. *Shin’i no honō* is an idiomatic expression which refers to one’s resentment and indignation, which burns like a flame. *Hi no kuruma* is the Japanese reading of a Chinese character of the Buddhist word *Kasha* 火車, which refers to a flaming carriage in hell. The dead who did evil in this world are taken to hell with the carriage by a demon, *Oni* 鬼. The dead are in anguish during this journey.
You had better look at your own mind in a mirror.
I guarantee you will say “how ugly my mind is!”

Though the three evil paths definitely derive from your own mind, you blame others and think you are just like the Buddha. You get totally lost because you favor those close to you. What a thing! Now you are wandering in hell, but remember, try to know your true mind and set out on the high road to Buddha’s paradise soon. You think demons are courteous enough to come pick you up from hell, driving a flaming carriage? Each of you is building the carriage by yourselves and will drive it to hell. Saying “me, me, me,” your ego pulls the carriage. Without knowing that, your mind treats your ego as its master. What you say is only “me, me, me” all the time. Don’t you think this is frightening?

Without knowing your true mind, a mischief called greediness throws your life into confusion.

Remember, your true mind is not like that. Talking of masters, there really is one for you. Whether you call it the Gods, Buddha, Meitoku, or True Mind, it is ultimately just a single thing – for convenience’s sake it has many types of names. Don’t you think the true mind is really a precious gift?

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242 San’akudō 三悪道: A Buddhist word which refers to the three worlds where the dead go based on what they did in this world. The worlds consist of Jigoku 地獄, Gaki 餒鬼, and Chikushō 畜生.

243 Gokuraku no honkaidō 極楽の本海道: Honkaidō refers to the most important roads in the Edo period, which consisted of Tōkaidō 東海道, Nakasendō 中山道, Nikko kaidō 日光街道, Ōshū kaidō 奥州街道, and Kōshū kaidō 甲州街道. All of them start at the city of Edo 江戸. The whole notion is that one can take the path that leads to Heaven by knowing his true mind, Honshin 本心.

244 Nengoro 念頃: Nengoro is an adjective which means polite, courteous, or cordial. In Modern Japanese, the pronunciation is the same but it is written as 懇ろ.

245 Kamisama no hotokesama no meitoku no honshin no 神様の佛様の明徳の本心の: Meitoku is an open and genuine virtue, which is given from heaven, and also refers to Buddhist priests who have this virtue. The Chu Hsi’s school of Neo-Confucianism, Shushigaku 朱子学 argues that it originally refers to one of the most important three virtues.
This picture is about an angry man trying to hit a woman and an infant with something like a stick, while saying *kona* こな, which means “I will get you.” Another man is trying to soothe the angry man, while saying *ma ma a* まあまあ, which means “come, come, calm yourself.” The woman holding her infant in her arm is trying to run away from the angry man, while saying *ino ino* いの いの, which means “run, run.”

Section 7: Transcription and Translation (L10 P15-L4 P18)

Kona こな: This expression is an abbreviation of *Konasu* 熟す, which refers to the angry man’s intention to hit the woman. The meaning of *Konasu* originally means “down with him” or “I’ll get him.”
んばつじやといふ かんばつといふは 消水がなひといふ事じゃ とほうもなひ
事になるものじゃ 或社中方の內の衆が少し心得違ひのことが有て 喧嘩にも成
そふな事になったところへ 社中の某が出てそれは御前さまのが御尤 みなこ
の方が不調法でござりますと 手をすっておひて 後で狂歌に

小天地すでにころりと焼とした心に氷の徳もわけけり

何と有難事じゃナ 本心をしると たちまちそふ徳があらはれる あやまりまして
たとまけるのは みな本心の光明じゃ 先むかふから どのやうに大きな声を
して焼をもって来ても それはおまへのが御尤 私がわるづぶ御ざりましたとい
ふのが 直に水をかけてけしてやると むかふにもおれが利ぐつあるによって
あやまるとまた大きなこへがする またこの方から幾重にも御了簡と また水を
かけてやれば いかほどもへるやけども直に消える この術をよくおしゅるを
一生大ていい安楽なものじゃない

まけてのく人をよはしと思ふなよ 知恵のちからの強きゆへなり

一切の物にまけるは仏ばさつ勝ちたがるのは大や牛むま

By the way, when you get angry, you feel the water coming to a rolling boil in
your chest, don’t you. You know why? Because you have the caldron of hell inside of
you. It is obvious that your neighbors see how angry you are, so they say “look! someone

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247  Mune ga guragura shimasu 胸がぐらゞします: Guragura is an adverb to express how water comes to a rolling boil. Mune ga guragura suru is an idiomatic expression which refers to when one becomes infuriated.
comes to a rolling boil in their chest.” Then, you raise your voice; your nearest neighbors come. They come to soothe you, saying “all right, all right, please calm down, just calm down. Your voice is too loud.” But you just cannot listen to them because you are burned up with the fire of fury. You cannot even breathe. Even if you come to confess yourself somehow, you are just able to say “I got it, I got it, I got it, LEAVE ME ALONE! I am really desperate now. I think my mind has become parched.” They might say, “well, you know, just try to get calm.” Then you reply to them, saying “leave me alone! I am totally desperate and my mind is parched because it got burnt by the fire of fury.” You don’t have any water to moisten your parched mind. There is nothing to calm your anger or soothe your desperation because after all, anger and desperation derive from your ego. It becomes a ridiculous thing. When one person in a troupe was about to fight with someone in another troupe because of a small misunderstanding between them, one wise man came out of the troupe and told the man in the other troupe, “You are absolutely right. This happened because of my man’s bad manners. Please

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248 Nikaerassharu 煮返しやる: This expression also refers to when one becomes infuriated. This expression has, however, become honorific. The plain expression is Niekaeru 煮え返る.

249 Yake no kanbatsu ja 焼のかんばつじや: Yake is a noun for expressing one’s desperation. Kanbatsu is originally a noun for a drought. This is an idiomatic expression which refers to how one’s mind is burned and dried up because of his anger and desperation.

250 Keshimizu ga nai 消水がなひ: Keshimizu is water used to extinguish a fire. This is an idiomatic expression that means there is nothing to soothe one’s anger, which burns like a fire.

251 Shachū 社中: Shachū is an association, guild, or troupe where people get together and learn something under a master.

252 Buchōhō 不調法: It refers to one’s awkward or clumsy way of doing things, which causes mismanagement.
forgive us.” The wise man went down his knees. Here’s a comic tanka on this incident:

Once you have realized we are living together in such a small world, the spring water of virtue has welled up in our dried-up minds.

What an enlightening thing! Once you have understood your true mind, immediately the virtue of it appears. Having won your opponent with an apology truly is enlightenment derived from your true mind. No matter how your opponent shows their insolence and speaks with a loud voice, it is wise to say “your opinion is absolutely right and I was mistaken.” Although it seems that you calm their anger or soothe their insolence, they might say that they are in the right to speak with a loud voice. Anyway, keep apologizing to them again and again. Keep moistening their parched minds by the spring water of virtue. No matter how insolent they are, your apology will certainly soothe them. Don’t you think your life will be easier if you acquire this magic?

You had better not think that you are a coward. Because of your intelligence, you lose and let them win.

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253 Te o sutte inashite oite 手をすっていなしておいて: Te o sutte inasu 手をすっていなす is an action where one rubs his hands together to soothe his opponent. A similar expression, momite o suru もみ手をする, has the same kind of meaning, but it refers to how one flatters his customer.

254 Kyōka 狂歌: It is a type of Waka that has everyday examples, wit, and funny things as its topic. This style prospered during the Tenmei 天明 era (1781~1789).

255 Shōtenchi sudeni kororito yakitoshita kokoro ni mizu no toku mo wakikeri 小点地すでにころりと焼とした心に水の徳もわきけり: Shōtenchi 小点地 refers to the notion that one is considered as a small but complete set of heaven and earth, Tenchi 天地. The expression Hitō wa ikko no shōtenchi 人は一固の小天地 is written in DDSKJ, 36. Mizu no toku refers to the notion that one’s burnt and dried up mind has become moistened by water, which refers to one’s true mind.

256 Kömyō 光明: A Buddhist word which means the light that radiates from Buddha and other Buddhist saints. The light symbolizes benevolence and wisdom. In this sentence, one lets his opponent win because his wisdom, derived from his true mind, honshin 本心, is close to the wisdom of Buddha.

257 Maketenoku hito o yowsaito omounayo chie no chikara no tsuyoki yueneri まけてのく人をよはしと思ふなよ 知恵のちからの強くゆへのり: This dōka is almost the same as the dōka in SD3KJ, 98. The difference is Tsuyoki 強さ in this version and Tsuyoi つよい in SD3KJ’s one.
The Buddha and Bodhisattva do not try to defeat anything, while dogs, cows, and horses do.\textsuperscript{258}

Section 8: Transcription and Translation (L5 P18-L11 P22)

\textsuperscript{258} Issai no mono ni makeruwa butsubosatsu kachitagaruno wa inu ya ushimuma 一切の物にまけ るは仏ぼさつ 賢ちたがるのは犬や牛むま: 今馬 ぬま is a word for horse, along with the more common term \textit{uma} 馬.
心得違ひ 相談極めるゆへ いろいろの間違ふ事が出来るじゃ そのせうこには 狐の嫁入りといふ絵本がある これを見ると 嫁さんも 仲人も かごかきも
荷持も 提灯もちも 皆つねにしてある 何ゆへなれば 雇人を我が家来の様にして行ゆへ 後で皆 尾が出るといふ事を書た物じゃ 三月か五つきか立と
両方から いや思ひの他者へか素末なの イヤ身上がらが聞たよりは軽ひのといろいろと俄に様子が替る これが能ひ日和に きょろきょろと雨のふるやうなもので ぐるぐるとやうすがかはるゆへ 狐の嫁入といふ

・人毎に着るや狐の皮衣化しばかされ渡る世の中
人が狐狸に化る いろいろの物に妖る それで聖人も 人面獣心と仰せられた
顔は人で 心は鳥けだものじゃといふ事じゃ 先寝むたび時 昼寝なぞ仕かける所へ人が来ると グウグウと空いびきして 寝たふりしてだまして居る
これを狸寝入りといふ 又子供衆の絵本にやう画である 狸のきんをのぼすといふ事が遠国にはある 人をだましてかねを延すやつがある それを狸の金の
ばしといふ なぜならば 金を高利にかし付て 取立る時はいろいろの名目を付して 金にし 包んできうひょうはす これもこちから云され行くのじゃ 笑止な事じゃないか それもあたまからかくごしてかかる人は 半人に一人もなけれ
ども 又折々はあるげな 銘銘御用心なされませ

・世の人のはれこそ心に化されて狐狸をおそれやする
うかうかすると古狸に見入れられ 高歩の銀借りて身を奢り つひには旦那様に　　
仕事をあげ さてそれからお山に化たり役者に化たり 関取に化たり種々無量

旦那の好む物に化てつままとひ とうどう穴へ引ずり入れ 家中真くらぎに
なると せんざひの石燈籠や手水鉢飛石ろうじ 下駄に目鼻が出来 座敷のはん

どう火鉢燭 台やら 落盤將棋盤まで 手足ができてかけ出す これも家内中は

まだしも 後には古道具や 店かけ姫る諸式諸道具 ことごとく化あらはして仕

まふ こはひ物じゃ。

Listening to the one hundred ghost stories from others, one by one, your wicks of intelligence become low. Then you lose your way and various monsters like greediness come out of you. By the way, women 259 have a tendency to complain about things. The first thing they complain about is ornaments for their hair. The second is their costumes. They say that they cannot put on such ugly ornament hairpins or go out wearing such an ugly kimono. Usually, from when she is around twelve or thirteen years old, she is supposed to begin to lose her path in various ways because she obtains lots of stupid information from others. On the other hand, when she becomes old, she begins to complain about things which happened five or ten years ago. She worries and gets angry about things, saying how business is this spring? How is business this autumn? How are her children’s futures going? After all, her only worry is money. They say that they want money. They keep saying they want more and more money. If they were dressed

259 Jochū 女中: This word is a general and courteous term that refers to women.
extravagantly, it seems that they could get into a famous list that ranks millionaires. They have a thirst for money. A man of virtue says that one should perform one’s task according to one’s rank. When you want to do something extravagant, which is the thing you are not supposed to do based on your social position, please remember that your intention is strictly forbidden. You want to do such things because you are full of conceit. This is the essence of the delusion called “complaint.” It is said that complaints end up forming a connection to dumb animals.

On a clear day, there are no monsters. But if the rain pelts down, people say that a fox wedding will be held. A wedding is an extremely important thing. First of all, the groom’s family will receive a daughter from another household for devotion to their house. Second, the bride’s family will give their own daughter to another household to teach her virtue’s path. So to speak, it is very important from old times. That’s why

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260 Kōmyō no ichibanchō 高名の一番帳: Ichibanchō seems to mean a list of millionaires, or a list of the best of various things.

261 Kunshi sono kurai ni soshite okonau 君子素其位而行: This sentence is originally derived from Chūyō 中庸 of Raiki 礼記. Chūyō is one of the Four Chinese Classics, Shisho 四書. For more detailed information, see NKD, vol. 9, s.v. “Chūyō.” and also “Raiki: Chūyō 礼記: 中庸,” in Rongo mōshi junshi 朗文甲子園, 487.

262 Gohatto 御法度: The word is a courteous expression that refers to a ban or a prohibition by the Edo Shogunate, such as a prohibition pertaining to the warrior class, Buke shohatto 武家諸法度, and a prohibition pertaining to the court nobles and the imperial family, kinchū narabini kuge shohatto 禁中並公家諸法度.

263 Chikushō no en 畜生の縁: En is the word which refers to chance, fate, or karma. Chikushō is a negative term that refers to living things other than human beings. One who complained a lot and was not thankful in this world is supposed to reborn in the Chikushō world after his death.

264 Kitsune no yomeiri 狐の嫁入り: The meaning of this expression is a sudden rainfall on an otherwise fine day. It is originally derived from a fable that foxes don’t want humans to see their weddings, so they let rain fall on a fine day to notify the humans of it. The notion of a sudden rain is a metaphor of the abrupt changes of the bride and groom’s families’ behavior after the wedding.

265 Sono ie o osamenga tame ni その家を納めんが為に Sono ko no mi o osamenga tame その子の身を治めんがため: The pronunciation osamuru is used for both 納める and 治める. Even though the
both families talk little by little and speak their mind to get to know each other. It has changed in these days. Finding Mr. and Mrs. Right depends on the matchmaker’s story.\(^{266}\) It must be taken with a grain of salt. You cannot count on it. “All right! this is a good match.” They make such an important decision so easily. Even though they still need considerable time to understand each other, they keep following the procedure. That’s why various mistakes will be made. As an example, here’s a picture book called “the fox wedding.” You can see all the attendants in a wedding: a bride, a matchmaker, a palanquin bearer, luggage carrier, and a lantern carrier. All are depicted as foxes. Here’s the reason why. Because they treat their employees\(^{267}\) as their retainers, the attendants will show themselves in their true colors. The picture book explains the circumstance. After three or five months, both households begin to speak up. They say that the bride’s appearance is unexpectedly coarse\(^{268}\) or the groom’s history is unexpectedly sketchy and his fortune is small.\(^{269}\) Out of the blue, the situation between both sides starts to change in various ways. This is like occasional rain showers rain on a fine day. They say a fox wedding will be held on that kind of day because the people constantly change like the weather.

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\(^{266}\) *Nakōdoguchi* (仲人口): This is an idiomatic expression that refers to one’s exaggeration of something without saying anything bad about it.

\(^{267}\) *Yatoido* (雇人): This word means employee. Another pronunciation, *Yatoinin* is also possible. However, the notion of *yatoido* here refers to one’s fake true mind. A related expression, *Mina yatoido ja honshin no hiyatoi bataraki shūjin ja* 皆やとひ人ぢゃ 本心の日雇働きしてゐる衆人ぢゃ is in SD4KG, 152.

\(^{268}\) *Koshirae* (拵へ): *Koshirae* is originally an old *Kabuki* term. In this sentence, it refers to a bride’s make-up and hair style.

\(^{269}\) *Shinjōgara* 身上がら: *Shinjōgara* refers to one’s fortune.
One has their own fox pelt, deceiving and being deceived; one’s livelihood is made in this way.²⁷⁰

One takes the role of a fox, a raccoon, and various other things.²⁷¹ That’s why a sage has said that one has a human face and a beast mind. What the sage meant is that one’s mind is like that of birds and beasts while one’s face looks human. For example, if someone comes by when you are sleepy and about to take a nap, you will pretend to be sleeping with a loud, fake snore. This is called sham sleep, which is just like a raccoon sleeping.²⁷²

Also, there is a thing called “making a raccoon’s testicles bigger”²⁷³ in a foreign country.²⁷⁴ It is frequently drawn in picture books for children. You know there are fellows who make more money by deceiving people. It is called “a raccoon’s testicle stretch.” They loan money to you at high interest. When collecting their money, they give several plausible reasons to put the screws on you²⁷⁵ to pay back a debt. Now you can

²⁷⁰ Hitogotoni kiruya kitsuneno kawagoromo bakashi bakasare wataru yononaka 人毎に着るや狐の皮衣化しばかされ渡る世の中: A fox, Kitsune 狐, is supposed to take the shape of something to deceive people. Kawagoromo refers to the shapes they take. When their true colors are revealed, the expression, Bake no kawa ga hagareru 化けの皮が剥がれる is used. See footnote no. 174.

²⁷¹ Bakeru 化る and Bakeru 妖る: The Chinese character 妖 is used for several words like the adjective Ayashī 妖しい, which means bewitching, and a noun, Yōkai 妖怪, which means a monstrous being. In this sentence, Bakeru 妖る corresponds to Bakeru 化る.

²⁷² Tanuki neiri 狸寝入り: This is an idiomatic expression that refers to one faking sleep, which looks like a Tanuki, or raccoon, losing consciousness when they get surprised. Tanuki is used here because it is considered as an animal that deceives people as well as a fox.

²⁷³ Tanuki no kin o nobasu 狸のきんをのぼす: Kin 金 seems to refer to the word for gold, Kin 金, or money, Kane 金. The verb Nobasu seems to be used to express developing or making money.

²⁷⁴ Engoku 遠国: Another way to read it is Ongoku. There are three types of regions, Ongoku 遠国, Chūgoku 中國, and Kinkoku 近国 which are defined by their political system based on the ritsuryō codes, Ritsuryō-sei 律令制 which were the legal codes of the Nara 奈良 and Heian 平安 periods. Ongoku refers to the countries that are distant from the capital city. Chūgoku refers to the countries that are a little closer to the capital city. Kinkoku are the closest countries to the capital. Mutsu 陸奥, Dewa 出羽, and Hitachi 常陸 were considered as Ongoku, which are equivalent to current prefectures in the Tōhoku 東北 region.

²⁷⁵ Kyū kyū iwasu きうきう云はす: Kyū kyū is an adverb which refers to one’s being deeply in
picture your bill collector is standing at your entrance hiding a prickly dagger in his kimono. They want you to be up to your neck in debt. To make matters worse, you are willing to be up to your neck in debt. What a ludicrous thing it is! Though it doesn’t seem like there is one in a thousand who could totally make up his mind about this, I believe you are the one. If you are not, you should be. Each of you had better be careful.

Even though you are afraid of a fox and a raccoon, what deceives people like you in this world is your false mind.

Your carelessness attracts an old raccoon’s trick. You end up owing some money with high interest to the old raccoon, and getting more and more arrogant. The old raccoon’s specialty is treating you as if you are its master. Then, an old raccoon keeps following you around while taking the role of your favorites such as Mountain ladies, actors, or sumō wrestlers. You know no bounds to your request. Finally, you will be dragged debt. It might be also related to one’s intention to make money Kanemōke ni kyūkyū to shiteiru 金儲けに汲々としている.

276 Aikuchi 匕: Aikuchi is a type of short sword which doesn’t have a sword guard. Aikuchi is derived from the expression Aikuchi 合う口, which means its shaft and case fit perfectly.

277 Shōshi 笑止: This adjective refers to being silly, pitiable, troubled, or shameful.

278 Furudanuki 古狸: Furu-danuki is an old raccoon, which is said to take a shape of something to deceive people. It also means a cunning person.

279 Takabu 高歩: Takabu means a high rate of interest, which is also called Kōri 高利 in Modern Japanese.

280 Danna sama 旦那様: Danna 旦那 is originally derived from the Buddhist word of almsgiving, Hodokoshi 施し or Fuse 布施, and also refers to a supporter of a Buddhist temple. In Modern Japanese, wives refer to their own or others’ husbands in this way. In this sentence, it refers to the way people call a master in a merchant family with respect. The meaning here is how wicked people pamper ordinary but careless people. Sama 様 is corresponds to Mr. or Mrs. in English.

281 Sekitori 関取: Sekitori means a ranked sumo wrestler. Here, it is used to hint at how one wastes money to show partiality for his favorite sumo wrestler.

282 Shushu muryō 種々無量: Shushu means various kinds of things. Muryō is an adjective that refers to infinite number of things. The whole notion is that there are a seemingly infinite number of one’s favorite things on which he can waste much money.
into a hole of utter darkness. All your hundred wicks are gone now. A stone garden lantern, a washbowl and stepping-stones will start to chant. Eyes and a nose will appear on your clogs. In the tatami room, hands and feet will come out of a brazier, a candlestick, a Go, and Shōgi boards. They will all start breaking into a run. It is not bad because it happens only inside of the house. Later, however, the goods and tools for your business will start running around inside of the house. All of them will take the role of monsters. What a thing!

283 Makuragari 真くらがり: Kuragari is the dark and Ma exaggerates how deep the dark is. In this sentence, Makuragai refers to how a merchant family can use up their savings. It also relates to the end of a parlor game Hyakumonogatari, which implies that all wicks of wisdom derived from one’s true mind are gone.

284 Senzai せんざひ: The Chinese characters for Senzai are 前栽, which originally means a garden planted with trees. In this sentence, it refers to a front garden of a room floored with a tatami mat, such as a reception room or a parlor.

285 Chōzubachi 手水鉢: Chōzu 手水 is washing one’s hands and face to purify himself before entering a shrine or temple. It also refers to the water itself. Hachi 鉢 is a basin. In this sentence, Chōzubachi refers to a basin which is put in a front garden as a decoration.

286 Tobishi 飛石: Tobishi refers to flat stepping stones placed in a garden. Tobi relates to the adjective Tobitobini とびとびに, which means at intervals.

287 Handō hibachi 飯筒火鉢: Handō hibachi is a brazier, whose shape is similar to a meal trunk.

288 Mise kakemawaru shosōki shodōgu 店かけ廻る諸式諸道具: This expression refers to a monstrous creature called Tsukumo-gami 突喪神. It is said that old household goods sometimes take the shape of Tsukumo-gami and run away from the house.
Section 9: Transcription and Translation (L11 P22-L14 P25)

又 山猿が 腰に絹切やふじかずらのやなものを巻て 粟の、きびの、ひへの
といふ類を盗みに来る 精出して折ては 腰のなはにはさみて帰らんとするけれ
どうごかれぬ なぜになれば 折たは折たけれど 折た斗引で放れずにある 皆
根が附であるゆへ 動かれるのじや 所を人が見付けて 棒でたき殺して仕廻
ふをみて あほうなものをとそしる人間もその通りで 人の物をぬすみてはこしに
はさみ 主人のものを取てはとしにせ 人の女房をぬすみ 親のゆるさぬし
のびあひ その外いろいろの悪事 みなみな栗や、きびをこしにはさみ 江戸へ
いたり 長崎へったりしても 根が切ぬによって 根からたつればつひしれる根

This picture represents Tsukumo-gami 突喪神 (see footnote no. 288).
といふは人の合点せぬのじや。人の合点せぬは人の合点せぬのじや皆
根が付てあるをしらぬへ後で難儀する。ただ物をほしがるばつかりじや

物覚がなひゆへ恥をしらぬ猿は人間に毛が三筋たらぬ慈悲と智恵と正直

とこの三ツがなひゆへ人と喰して居るかと思へば足で物をとり後ろへ
かくし逃て行後からはよふみへてあるまた借銭してよひなりしたがるも
おなじような事じやすべて人にかくて物をするは猿の同類くちしゃう
の仲間内じやそのせうこには人が似た喰しをすると顔が赤なるじやによ
って人中で顔の赤ならぬやうになされませうたに

・道ならぬ物をほしがる山猿の心からとや測にしつまん

たとへ我存分利をへたりとて人の合点せぬ物を集めて楽しみとるは

・水の月のぞむ心はゑんかうの左延延は右は短かし

我すいた方へ手が延る。博奕。米市。遊女。山事片一方で難儀して

へ片一方でせいの八百云居るのじやゑんかうざるといふて手のながひ猿が

ある又ゑんかうが月を希むといふて水にうつる月をとらんと手を延して

居る絵ある唐にハアノやうな手の長ひさらがある物じやが其絵を人にたと

へて見れば皆人の猿知恵を書たものじや人も道をしらせずに私欲にくら
んでくると なんでも金がなければ どふもならんとおもふ所から わるひ穴へはまる 悪気が出して後に ハ 賽をこかすやう 堂嶋へはるるやう 江戸よりへ行やうになる アノ賽といふものも 一の裏ハ 六 二のうらハ 五 三の裏ハ 四 長と半とは裏表 長へ 陰なり 半ハ陽なり 一ハ天 六ハ地なり 一天 地六 南三 北四 東五 西二 といふて 大体大切なものじやなひ 御武家様方へハ 具足櫃に入り 大船にハ舟玉と祝ふ。

やうした物じや その道理もしらずに めったむせに手を延し 天命の家業さへ精出せバ かねはもうけらるる もの

Excuse me for changing the subject, but you know wild monkeys have belts around their waists like ropes or wisteria creepers. To steal some sort of millet and

289 Yama-zaru 山猿: Yama-zaru is a wild monkey. It is also a derogatory term for rustic people. In this sentence, Yama-zaru is used to express how people who steal crops crouch at a low level like a monkey.
barnyard grass, they work very diligently to pick those crops and put them between their belts and waists. Then, they try to run away with those crops, but they cannot move. Even though the monkeys succeeded picking those crops, somehow they still have roots.\textsuperscript{290} The roots hinder the monkeys from running away. If you find the monkeys stuck in the field, you probably would beat them to death. You think you can laugh at them, you think they are fools,\textsuperscript{291} don’t you? Turn it over in your mind; don’t you think humans are not too different from the monkeys? One steals others’ belongings and puts them in the space between his belt and waist. One steals his master’s belongings and hangs them at his side. One steals others’ wives or has secret love affairs without his parents’ approval.

Whatever it is, one does various evil deeds. After stealing those crops, he tries to run away to Edo or Nagasaki. You think it is all about stealing crops? It really is not. He cannot make a clean escape because he has his own roots in society just like the crops do.

If you cut your roots from society, do you think others will understand you or not? The points which the others do not get are also the points that Heaven doesn’t get. You all don’t notice that you have your own roots in society. That’s why you covet what belongs to others and will be in trouble later. The monkeys are shameless because they easily forget about everything. Compared to all of you, they lack three aptitudes.\textsuperscript{292} Those are the three virtues of benevolence, wisdom, and honesty. That’s why when the monkeys seem to be talking to you they suddenly pick things up with their feet, hide them behind

\textsuperscript{290} Ne 根: Ne means root, which is used as a metaphor to refer to one’s social position and duty.

\textsuperscript{291} Ahō あほう: Ahō refers to one’s stupidity or a stupid person.

\textsuperscript{292} Ningen ni kega misuji taranu 毛が三筋たらぬ: This expression has a connotation of one’s stupidity, which corresponds to a wild monkey’s stupidity because the monkey doesn’t have the three important virtues of benevolence, wisdom, and honesty.
their back, and run away. Of course you see what they do. It seems quite similar that you run into debt\(^{293}\) because you want to dress up with luxurious clothes. If you do things secretly, it shows your true colors, which means you are the same as a monkey. You are in the group of dumb animals.\(^{294}\) By the way, if you are blushing now, you are not innocent in this matter. Your face becomes red when you hear a similar story to things you have done before. I believe you had better not blush in public.\(^{295}\) Here’s a song:

*Because of their untrue mind, wild monkeys covet improper things, they sink in the depth.*\(^{296}\)

Even if you get everything you want, it is useless to indulge your passion for collecting and enjoying something, since others won’t understand it.

*How pitiful the monkey’s wish is. Trying to get the moon on the water, he will find his left hand longer but right hand shorter.*\(^{297}\)

You have free time now to do whatever you love because you think you have attained success, so what you do now is indulge yourself in gambling, rice futures markets, prostitutes, or speculative selling and buying.\(^{298}\) On one side, you cause yourself and

\(^{293}\) *Shakusen* 借銭: *Shakusen* is debt or to borrow money from others.

\(^{294}\) *Chikushō* 畜生: In this sentence, *Chikushō* is used to refer to the notion that people who do evil are on the same level as animals.

\(^{295}\) *Hitonaka* 人中: *Hitonaka* is a place where there are many people. It also refers to the world, society, and life.

\(^{296}\) *Michinaranu mono o hoshigaru yamazaru no kokorokaratoya fuchi ni shizuman* 道ならぬ物をほしがる山猿の心からとや渕にしづまん: This dōka is also in SD5KC, 178. See footnote no. 289 on *Yamazaru*.

\(^{297}\) *Mizu no tsuki nozomu kokoro wa enkō no hidari nobureba migi wa mijikashi* 水の月のぞむ心はゑんかうの左り延れは右是短かし: This dōka is also in SD5KC, 178. The Chinese characters for *Enkō* are 猿猴, which refers to a long-armed ape. This dōka has the same connotation as the proverb *enkō ga tsuki* 猿猴が月 or *enkō ga mizu no tsuki* 猿猴が水の月, which means one’s unsuited desire.

\(^{298}\) *Bakueki* 博奕, *Komeichi* 米市 *Yūjo* 遊女 *Yamagoto* 山事: *Bakueki* is also called *Bakuchi* or *Bakuyō* 博奕, which is the general term for parlor games like *Sugoroku* 双六 (a Japanese variety of Parcheesi), *Igo* 園碁 (the game of go), and *Hanahuda* 花札 (Japanese playing cards). *Komeichi* is the
people hardship; on the other side, you talk about many luxuries. You probably know about the monkey whose hands are long. There is also a picture of a monkey holding out its hands to get the moon reflecting on the water. The monkey seems to have lived in the time of the Tang Dynasty in China. Looking at the picture of the monkey, you will easily realize that the picture is all about shallow cunning, which both humans and monkeys posses. Being ignorant about your Way and blinded by the lure of money to satisfy your selfish desires, you tend to think you cannot do anything without money. Because of this idea, you will end up in the pit of darkness. After your wicked spirit came out, you indulged yourself in gambling with dice, dabbling in stocks in the Dōjima rice market, and being a patron in the Edobori pleasure quarter. Speaking of general term for the rice markets in the Edo period. The Osaka Dōjima Komeichi 大阪堂島米市 was the most prosperous one. Another way to read these Chinese characters is Tawareme, which means prostitute.

299 Zei no happyaku ぜいの八百: The Chinese character for Zei is 贅, which is one’s extravagance or indulgence in the utmost luxury. Happyaku is originally derived from the number of eight hundred, which is used to exaggerate a great number of things.

300 Mizu ni utsuru tsuki 水にうつる月: It is an idiomatic expression of something illusive and unsubstantial like the moon reflected in the water. Another way to say it is Suigetu 水月.

301 Kara 唐: An old way to refer to Korea and China. Mostly, it refers to China. Another way to read it is Tō, which refers to the Tang 唐 Dynasty (618-690, 705-907) in China. Even after the fall of the Tang Dynasty, China was referred to as Kara.

302 Sarujie 鎌智恵: One’s shallow idea, superficial way of thinking, or crafty scheme.

303 Ashiki ki 悪気: Ashiki 悪しき is an adjective for being wicked, evil, or vicious. It refers to one’s bad deeds such gambling, speculating in stocks, or indulging himself in the pleasure quarters.

304 Sai o kokasu 賭をこかす: Sai is a dice and Kokasu is used in the Kansai region instead of standard Japanese, Korogasu ころがす, which is a verb for gambling. Kokasu is a verb, which is also used to refer to deceiving people.

305 Dōjima ni hashiru 堂島にはしる: Hashiru refers to one’s going to extremes. In this expression, it is used to express how one indulges in the Dōjima rice market to speculate in stocks.

306 Edobori e iku 江戸ぼり: Edobori is a part of current west ward of the city of Osaka. It was known as an entertainment area.
dice, the back of one is six, the back of two is five, the back of three is four, in a word, it has two sides, odd and even. The even numbers are dark and the odd numbers are light.\(^\text{307}\) If one means heaven, six means earth; in that case, three means south, four means north, and five means east, two means west. I am not talking about gambling, but about the dice itself. Don’t you think it has such an important meaning? It really does. You know why?

In these days, in warriors’ households, their battle gear is stowed away in chests,\(^\text{308}\) and they play dice sitting on the chests. When a new big battle ship\(^\text{309}\) is launched, they put a Funadama lucky charm\(^\text{310}\) on the ship and play dice to celebrate. Do you truly know the reason the dice has heaven and earth, north, south, east, and west on its surface? In a word, the dice represents the whole universe and the one Buddha, who watches over all of us from above.\(^\text{311}\) Heaven and earth have the same root and all things are united under Amida Buddha. Between one heaven and four seas, we travel over the whole universe and come to realize the one reasoning; our existence is small in the vast universe. When

\(^\text{307}\) Chō wa yin nari han wa yang nari 丁は陰なり半は陽なり: Chō refers to the spots on a dice that are an even numbers. Han refers to the spots on a dice that are an odd numbers. The author seems to refer to Inyō or Onmyō 隠陽 (the interacting principles of Yin and Yang) by the set of even numbers and odd numbers on a dice.

\(^\text{308}\) Gusoku hitsu ni hairu 具足櫃にはいる: Gusoku is an abbreviation for Tōseigusoku 当世具足, which is a suit of armor used from the age of Provincial War, Sengoku 戦国 period (1467-1573). Hitsu is a large chest used to store household goods. Gusokuhitsu 具足櫃 is a special chest for a suit of armor. For the translation of this expression, I divided one word; Gusokuhitsu into two words Gusoku and Hitsu because the whole notion seems to express how people had been enjoying the blessing of peace with evident sarcasm.

\(^\text{309}\) Taisen 大船: Another way to read the Chinese characters is Ōfune. It refers to a liner of 75 tons (five hundred koku 石) of freight. Koku is a unit to weigh and is approximately equivalent to one hundred kilograms, and was calculated based on the annual amount of rice one eats.

\(^\text{310}\) Funadama 船玉: Funadama is an abbreviation for Funadama-gami 船玉神, which is a guardian god who protects ships. Passengers were supposed to contribute some money to the god when they got on board. The contribution was called Funadama.

\(^\text{311}\) Daisensekai 大千世界: Daisensekai is a word for the universe, derived from the Buddhist thought. For more detailed information, see NKD, vol. 8, s.v. “Daisensekai.”
you play dice, you think you are about to cheat somebody out of money, but you are actually about to deceive the whole universe.\textsuperscript{312} So anything could collapse anytime and anywhere. Your house, warehouse,\textsuperscript{313} rice land, mountain, ships, and river, all of them could collapse in a blink of an eye.\textsuperscript{314} You will go down with them. Don’t you think it is funny how things work out?\textsuperscript{315} Being ignorant of that reasoning, you tend to do things thoughtlessly and arbitrarily. If you love your mandated job from heaven and work diligently,\textsuperscript{316} you will make money. But of course, you love to dabble in bad things. It is all because of your shallow cunning that monkeys also possess.

The moon is just an illusion on the water: holding out his hands to get it, the long-armed monkey does not even know how hopeless he is.\textsuperscript{317}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[312] 1. Tenchi dōkon banmotsu ittai 天地同根萬物一躰 mina kore amidabutsu 皆是阿弥陀佛, 2. itten shikai minakimyōhō 一天四海皆諸妙法 kore o hanateba rikugō ni watari sue, 3. mattōshite ichiri to naru 放之即彌六合末優合為一理: Expression 1 refers to the notion that all things are connected under Amitabha. Expression 2 refers to the whole world, which consists of one heaven and seas in every direction under heaven. Followed by mina kimyōhō, the expression refers to the praise for the Lotus Sutra. For more detailed information, see NKD, vol. 1, s.v. “Ittenshikai.” Rikugō 六合 in expression 3 means six directions consisted of heaven, earth, north, south, east and west The expression originally derives from Chūyō shōku 中庸章句, which is the most well-known annotated edition of Chūyō 中庸 by Shushi 朱子 (1130-1200), who was a founder of the Chu His’s school of Neo-Confucianism (Shushigaku 朱子学). For more detailed information, see Hattori Unokichi 服部宇之吉, ed., “Chūyō shōku 中庸章句,” in Daigakusetsu chūyōsetsu rongoshibeu mōshitei hon 大学説 中庸説 論語集説 孟子定本, vol. 1 of Kanbun taikei 漢文大系 [Tokyo: Fuzambō 富山房, 1993], 5.

\item[313] Kura 蔵: It is a storehouse or warehouse made from plaster, and also called Dozō 土蔵 or Dosō 土. Household goods and merchandise are stored there because the buildings are known for their durability.

\item[314] Nan no zōsa mo nō kokeru なんとぞさもなかく: The expression Zōsa mo nō is used in the Kansai region instead of Zōsa mo naku ぞさまなく or Zōsa naku ぞさなく, which means quite easy to do something or no trouble at all to do something. Kokeru is a verb used in the Kansai region, whose meaning is to fall, collapse, or fail.

\item[315] Yōshita やうした: Yōshita is used in the Kansai region instead of standard Japanese, Yokushita よくした. The expression refers to how funny it is when things work out.

\item[316] Tenmei no kagyō 天命の家業: Tenmei refers to the notion to that one’s life objectives are given from heaven. One should execute his Tenmei throughout his life. The whole idea here is that one should make an effort to fulfill his lifework.

\item[317] Mizu no tsuki toranto suruga tenagazaru hamattei temo shiranu hakanasa 水の月とらんとするが手長猿はまって居ても知らぬはかなさ: See footnotes no. 289, 296, 297, and 300.
\end{footnotes}
又川太郎といふものがある 江戸でハ是をかつぱといふ 丹波から西でハ川童といふ 川のわつぱと川の童。川童といふも川太郎といふも皆子供にたへた名じや 川の小人といふ事じや 拾 此川太郎といふもの

九州遍にハ沢山にあって 川太郎まつりといふて 数多の川太郎が 集て いろいろのたむれしてあそぶといふ事じやが 其ような哀方へゆかひでも 面のか

今 就て 川がわのわつぱとハ 川かわの童

川童はらといふも 川太郎かわたろうといふも皆子供 みなこどもにたとへた 名なじや 川かわの小人こどといふ事ことじや 抹

さて此川太郎このかわたろうといふもの

九州遍にハ沢山にあって 川太郎まつりといふて 数多の川太郎集ていろ

いろのたむれしてあそぶといふ事じやが 其ような哀方へゆかひでも 面のか

ハの辺にも沢山に居ます どなたも引込まれやうに 隨分ず 御用心なされ

まま 太郎とハあほふの替名じや

・悪衆へ己が心で引込まれ身を亡すか皆不孝もの

先ツ 夏の夕だち 水少し見合てかればよひに 我がつよひから 何の越くらひ

の川をと己が心からつひ引込まれ あたまの皿へ水に乗と つじへ引込まれると

千人力じや 是か川斗りじやなび 京大坂 其外江戸でも 何国の浦でも 川

太郎が多ひ あそこの御子息ハ 久しふみへぬがとへば アレハ田舎に一家衆

があつて預けられて居るる それハどふした事じや イヤ道とんぼりへはま

つて居たゆへじやといふ 又 どこそこの手代は久しふみがどふしたのじ

やととふと アノ人ハしきめ川へつかって居た 又 あそこの御内儀ハさられて
I would also like to tell you this. Have you ever heard of something called a Kawatarō, a boy living in a river? In Edo, they call it a Kappa, a water sprite. At Tanba and westward, they call it Kawara wappa. What is Kawara wappa? In a word, it means a child living in a river. It is called Kawara wappa, Kawatarō, or whatever. All of them are compared to a child’s name. In short, it means midgets living in the river. From what I hear, the Kyūshū region swarms with Kawatarō. I don’t know for certain, but they

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318 Tanba 丹波: An old way to call the region of the central part of Kyoto and the eastern part of Hyōgo 巵州 prefecture.

319 Kawatarō 川太郎, Kappa かつば, Kawarawappa 川童, and Kawa no kobito 川の小人: All of these refer to an imaginary water imp. They are known for being mischievous by drawing humans and animals into rivers where they live with evil intents. The whole notion here is that one tends to get drawn into troublesome activities like gambling or paying for sex.

320 Kyūshū hen 九州遍: Kyūshū is the generic term to call nine countries such Chikuzen 筑前, Chikugo 筑後, Bizen 肥前, Higo 肥後, Buzen 豊前, Bungo 豊後, Hyūga 日向, Ōsumi 大隅, and Satsuma 薩摩, which correspond to the current Kyūshū 九州 region. Another way to read Hen 遍 is atari, which
say Kawatarōs hold the Kawatarō festival there. Many Kawatarōs get together and play lots of tricks. Are you interested in them? Would you like to see them? Actually, you don’t have to go that far away to see them. Around here they also live there on your cheek. Are you not cheeky like them? No? Ladies and Gentlemen! You had better be really careful; otherwise they will tempt you into the swamp. By the way, Tarō is another name of a fool after all. I know this is such a popular name. You see the name Tarō is everywhere.

Hey, bad fellows!! You are in trouble because of your false mind; you will be an undutiful child if you ruin yourself.

For instance, when you have afternoon summer showers, you had better watch the water level a little while because it flows high. But you are egotistic, so your false mind whispers in your ear. “This height? Huh! It is a piece of cake to cross because I am a Kawatarō!!” For all that you pour some water on the top of your head, which you know is supposed to make you bold, and push your luck; you will end up being drawn into the vicious tide. Once you got drawn in there, to be honest with you, it seems difficult to get out of there because the river has the power of Herculean strength.

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321 Kawatarō matsuri 川太郎まつり: Though Matsuri means a festival, Kawatarō matsuri refers to a gathering or group in which wicked people gather or live together.

322 Amata 数多: Amata is an adjective that refers to the number of something being countless.

323 Tsura no kawa 面のかハ: Tsura no kawa is related to an idiomatic expression, Tsura no kawa ga atsui 面の皮が厚い, which refers to one’s shameless behavior and personality.

324 Atama no sarae mizu ga noru to あたまの皿へ水が乗と: A Kappa, or a water imp needs to moisten his head with water all the time, otherwise he will be listless. This expression might relate to the idiomatic expression, Atama ni chi ga noboru 頭に血が上る, which refers to one being self-conceited.

325 Senninriki 千人力: Senninriki is an idiomatic expression of power, which corresponds to the strength of a thousand men. It is also used to refer to one being reassured by other’s help or kindness.
However, this happens not only by a river but also anywhere else. In Kyoto, Osaka, Edo, and a bay in such and such a place, there are many Kawatarō. “I haven’t seen the precious son\(^{326}\) of that family for a while, how is he doing?” “Oh, that son! His family left him in the care of his relatives at their countryside home.”\(^{327}\) “What on earth happened?” “Well, he got into Dōtonbori.”\(^{328}\) On another occasion, “I haven’t seen the clerk\(^{329}\) in such and such a place for a while.” “Oh! That person drowned in the Shijime river with his favorite prostitute.”\(^{330}\) On another occasion again, “The wife in that merchant house left and I haven’t seen her since then. What is going on? What happened to her?” “Oh, that wife, she kept trying to distinguish herself towards her favorite actors by lavishing money on them. So, you know.” On another occasion again, I found the store in such and such a place is closed, so I asked. “What happened?” “The family had broken up.”\(^{331}\) “Now, in the loan holder’s house, they are in the middle of a bankruptcy

\(^{326}\) *Goshisoku* 御子息: *Go* is a formal prefix. *Shisoku* is a way to refer to another’s son with respect. In this sentence, *Goshisoku* is used to exaggerate how one who was born in a wealthy family falls into a troublesome life.

\(^{327}\) *Ikkešū* 一家衆: *Ikkešū* originally refers to the family that belongs to the same line of *Honganji hōshū* 本願寺法主, which was the leader of the *Hongan-ji temple* 本願寺 of the Buddhist sect, *Jōdoshinshū* 浄土真宗. Later, *Ikkešū* referred to a rank of lower temples that belonged to the *Hongan-ji* temple. It also refers to people who joined those temples, though they are not related by birth. In this sentence, *Ikkešū* might refer to those family or relatives in the country side.

\(^{328}\) *Dōtonbori* 道とんぼり: *Dōtonbori* is a famous entertainment district in Osaka, which is on the south side of the *Dōtonborigawa canal* 道頓堀川, constructed by a civil engineer, Yasui Dōton 安井道頓 (1533-1615). For more detailed information, see NKD, vol. 9, s.v. “Dōtonbori.”

\(^{329}\) *Tedai* 手代: *Tedai* is a middle-rank employee, who is between an apprentice, *Decchi* 丁稚 and a head clerk, *Bantō* 番頭.

\(^{330}\) *Shijime gawa* しゞめ川: *Shijime* is changed from *Suzume* すずめ, which means sparrow. Street prostitute such as *Tsujigimi* were called *Suzume*. See footnote no. 362 on *Tsujigimi*.

\(^{331}\) *Bunsan* 散布: *Bunsan* is the word for bankrupt, which corresponds to *Hasan* 破産 in Modern Japanese. In the Edo period, when a debtor could not pay off his debt, he offered his possessions to his creditors as a way to pay off his debt.
settlement." Atsukai あつかひ: Atsukai is a noun, which corresponds to Torinashi とりなし, Chōtei 調停, Chūsai 仲裁, and Jidan 示談 in Modern Japanese. All of them refer to mediation, arbitration, intervention, or settlement of one’s debt.

Yūsho 遊所: Yūsho refers to pleasure quarters. Other ways to call them, like Yūri 遊里 and Yūkaku 遊郭, are also available.

Goyōjin 御用心: Yōjin is an expression to tell people to be careful and cautious toward whatever is coming in their lives. By adding Go, it sounds more thoughtful and respectful to whoever one tells about it.
奉公にだすのじや 又 いつ方奉公しても 親といふものハ大切ななもので

二季ニハ 養父入といふて 主人が親の内へ返す 何ゆへなれバ 年中々に斗り
居て 親に仕へる事が出来ぬ よて親へ仕へに返すのじや で養父入と書
たものじや それをしらずに 親の内へ休みに返るのじやと斗り 合点して居る
戻ると 親を目のふる程遣ふ 親へ悦んでてんゝゝとまふ 夫が不孝にハなら
ぬかなの。 拭 又親をむごひめにあハす 戻た晩から母親のそバへ寄て 親方
の事 傍輩の事 何やかや長々と咄す 盗人の昼寝も当が有のじや 拭 マアお
まへ方ハ 大坂の勝手はしらんせんが 大坂程はれがましび所 ハない マア誰
さんハ かふゆぶ着ものが有 あの人はこふゆ帯が有 かふした帷子が有 か
うふくさしも持てじや かうしたかうがひもある 銀のかんざしも二本有 私
等ハなんにもなひよて お恥に出るといふても 大てい恥しひ 外聞の悪ひ
情 なび事じやなひ 夫で どつぞいにしなに 銀五捨両程とそにのもろふて
おくれ 下着を一ッこしらへねバ もふ春から奉公は出来ぬといふて 高ゆすり
じや。 一の谷の太平平からつり取て来る位じや。 拭 夫を聞て 母親はぐ
つと脇腹へ 出刃包丁で ふぐられるやうな物や 腹の中が三ッ程 ひ
っくり返る そこで母親は マア今夜かくたびれて居らふ 寝や 明朝 爺さ

110
姪にそっと云ふて見よと たらかして まづねさしても 夜の目も合ず いろいろ
と苦にして 娘が井桁へ礼を行な後にて 父親に段々とかべぞしあってみ
れば 父親も おもひがけもなび事ゆへ 今時分に何金が有もので あたこだく
さんそに そんな事ハしらんといや いのふ と大きにしかれて 又 母御
の腹の中が三ッ程 ひつくり返る。 拟 又其晩姪は母親のそばへよって お
まへ夕べの事 とさん人に云ふておくれたかといふと 母御腹の中へ出刃を突
こまれたやうに思ふて サアそふ云ふてみたが 大きにしあってで有たといふと
直に顔付替て おこて見せる そんなこちや 奉公せぬ 春から戻るじゃ
と おこりもって寝て 二三日の逗留にきげんを悪ふしていぬる 母親ハそれか
ら癒がおる 父親はしかつてみても気ハすまぬ あいつが戻りゝから 其や
うにいふらひなら 能々かた身がすぼるので 人中で恥はづかし思ふあろふが
とても口惜い事じや わしも人並に暮すなら 女子の子を袁方へハ やりせぬ
近年の不勝手から ふびんなことじやと思へば 夜の目もねられづ 夫婦が寄て
は云出しゝして しやう事なしに貸か 又ハ質でも置かて後からやる 其やう
にして 毎年ゝ親の方をいじりたててもらひ 給金ハなんぼ取っても べにやお
しろい 又粛や 箱 かんざしに皆入て仕舞 何程有つても皆首ばつかりになって
Oh! I almost forgot to tell you about Rokurokubi -- a long-necked type of monster.\textsuperscript{335} There is a rumor going around that Rokurokubi really exist, but no one has seen them. You had better think about that twice. The neck of a human is stretchy? Pardon? There is no such thing. However, let me tell you what a Rokurokubi truly means.

In Osaka these days, it has become a popular idea that a young lady\textsuperscript{336} should not work as a servant in a merchant’s house. What’s wrong with you? You had better think about it very carefully. It is good for the parents to keep the daughter close to them, but they are of course kind-hearted, so they put you out to service in Kyoto and Osaka because they know it is better to work in such big cities to learn sewing\textsuperscript{337} and other good things. Also they know you get paid very well there. You even get kimonos, too. It is convenient for your parents when it comes to the money for your wedding. Therefore, after various considerations, they decide to let you go to Kyoto and Osaka.\textsuperscript{338} No matter where you work, because your parents are important to you, your master lets you go home in the time for the Festival of the Dead and at the end of year.\textsuperscript{339} It is called Yabuiiri,\textsuperscript{340} which

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\textsuperscript{335} \textit{Rokurokubi} 烏路首: \textit{Rokurokubi} is a monster whose neck expands and contracts. In this sentence, it is used as a metaphor for a person who is up to his neck in debt.

\textsuperscript{336} \textit{Jorō} 女郎: \textit{Jorō} has several meanings, such as prostitutes, young ladies, and ladies who work in houses of feudal lords. It was also used to express slight respect or intimateness toward ladies by adding it after their names. In this sentence, it refers to young ladies who are supposed to serve out one’s apprenticeship in a merchant’s house.

\textsuperscript{337} \textit{Harishigoto} 针仕事: \textit{Harishigoto} refers to needlework, which was one important skill young ladies could acquire during their apprenticeship.

\textsuperscript{338} \textit{Hōkō ni dasu} 奉公にだす: This expression refers to the perspective of parents, which means that they let their children serve out their apprenticeship.

\textsuperscript{339} \textit{Niki} 二季: \textit{Niki} has two kinds of meaning. One of them refers to two of the four seasons, such as spring and autumn, or summer and winter. Another meaning refers to the times of the Festival for the Dead; \textit{Bon} 盆 and the end of year. During these times, one is supposed to return to their parental home.
means going back home to serve your parents. What is the reason why your master lets you go home? You have not been able to serve your parents because of being distant from your home. So your master lets you go home and serve your parents. That’s why it is written in Chinese characters like “going back home to serve your father.” Without knowing that, as for your understanding, you come back to your parents’ home because you need to take a break. So once you get back there, you have your parents at your beck and call until they are getting dizzy and blind. Your parents love you blindly, so they are totally pleased, though they are tremendously busy taking care of you.  

But don’t you think that kind of behavior is undutiful? Anyway, you treat them in such a heartless way. How? Well, you go straight to your mother to tediously talk about your master and colleagues in various ways. A thief’s nap is not aimless, isn’t it? A thief needs to sleep in the daytime because he works so hard in the nighttime. So what is your intention of telling your mother the stories about your service? “Well, you might not know about Osaka very much. But, actually, there is no better place than Osaka. What a wonderful city it is!!” “Oh! This person has a nice kimono.” “Oh! I almost forgot to tell you about that person.” “She has an obi, a summer kimono, and also a beautiful comb.” She also

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340 Yabuiri 義父入: The Chinese characters for yabuiri are 救入. The author seems to have used義父入 to explain the hidden meaning of this custom. Yabuiri refers to the custom that servants or employees go back to their parental home.

341 Tenten to mō てんてんともふ: If the Chinese character for mō is 盲, it means losing one’s sight. However, there is an expression Tenten mau てんてん舞う, which corresponds to Tentekomai てんてこ舞い in Modern Japanese. It means one’s being quite busy. In the translation for this expression, I mixed these two meanings together.

342 Nusubito no hirune mo ate ga arunoja 盗人の昼寝も当てがある: This is a proverb, Nusubito no hirune mo ate ga aru 盗人の昼寝も当てがある, which means that a thief takes a nap because he has to steal something during night. So the expression refers to the daughter’s plan to get money from her parents.

343 Katabira 帯子: Katabira is a generic term that refers to a type of Kimono for summer. It is a
has a big comb made of tortoiseshell and two silver ornamental hairpins, too. But I don’t have any of those so I always get embarrassed when I have to accompany my master.

Don’t you think it is really humiliating, shameful, and pitiful? Then, you ask your mother to get some money from your father. “You know, if I cannot get new underwear, I don’t think I could work in my master’s house this spring, so ask daddy to give me fifty silver pieces when I leave.” You are putting the squeeze on your parents! It is much more awful than Tagohei in Ichi no Tani. Then, listening to you, your mother feels like her stomach was stabbed by a broad-bladed kitchen knife. It’s like being scooped out. It’s like her stomach turns over three times. Then, your mother says “well, you must be so tired tonight, so you can ask your daddy about that tomorrow.” She has to say that to let you sleep for the present. But after letting you sleep, she cannot fall asleep because she takes everything you said to heart. So, after you go to greet the neighborhood, she tries to single-layered one made of raw silk or linen.

344 *Kane* 銀: In the Edo period, silver coins were used in western regions like the Osaka and Kyoto areas, and gold coins were used in eastern regions like Edo. It is partly because that there were many silver mines in the western regions. The saying *Tōgoku no kinzukai, saigoku no ginzukai* 東国の金遣い西国の銀遣い refers to how those two types were used. For more detailed information, see NKD, vol. 4, s.vv. “Kinzukai,” “Ginzukai.”

345 *Ichi no tani no Tagohei kara tsuri tottekuru kuraija* 一の谷の太五平からつりとってくるくらいじゃ: *Tsurī tottekuru* is changed from an idiomatic phrase *Tsurī o toru* 養をとる, which means that one’s actions are more awful than another’s. *Ichi no tani no Tagohei* refers to one of the main characters of the fourth chapter *Rokuyata’s residence* (Rokuyata-kan no dan 六弥太館の段) of *Chronicle of the Battle of Ichi no Tani* (Ichi no tani futaba gunki 一の谷嫩軍記) in 1751 (Hōreki 宝暦 1). The authors are Namiki Sōsuke 並木宗輔 (1695-1751), who was well known as a great Jōruri 幹瑠璃 and Kabuki 歌舞伎 playwright, and the other ones were part of the Hōchiku Jōruri Theater (Hōchiku-za 豊竹座). He died while writing the third chapter of the chronicle. Tagohei is portrayed as an undutiful brother, who is compared to his extremely dutiful sister in the Jōruri play. For more detailed information, see NKD, vol. 10, s.v. “Namiki Sōsuke,” and vol. 1, s.v. “Ichi no tani futaba gunki.”

346 *Deba bōchō* 出刃包丁: *Deba bōchō* a type of Japanese-style knife (*Wabōchō* 和包丁), which is usually used to fillet a fish. *Deba* can also refer to the knife itself.

347 *Yoru no me mo awazu* 夜の目もあはず: Another way to say this is *Yo no me mo nenai* 夜の目も寝ない. These idiomatic expressions mean one cannot or does not sleep all through the night.
talk to your father about what you asked her. But he never expected such a thing. Your father chews your mother out and says, “What? There is no such extra money at this time. Leave!!” Again, her stomach turns over three times. In that evening, you go to get close to your mother and say “What did he say about what I asked last night?” Listening to you, your mother feels the broad-bladed knife stab again, but pretending she does not, says, “well, I tried, but he hit the ceiling.” The color of your face changes and you appear quite angry. You say “O.K. then, I don’t think I can serve my master any more. I will quit and come back here.” Saying this, you go to bed angry. Even though it is such a short stay, like two or three days, you will leave there in a bad mood. Your mother will then feel sharp pains in her stomach after your leave. Though your father scolded your mother, he is also feeling very sad. Do you know the reason why? “Well, since my daughter said such a thing right after she came back, it seems that she has been embarrassed among the people there. I am really sorry for her…” “If I made a decent living, I wouldn’t have to send my little girl off in the distance.” Because he has been busy making ends meet in recent years, and because he feels pity for his daughter, he cannot fall asleep even when the night falls. Whenever your parents have some time, they start talking. There is nothing they can do. They might manage to borrow some money or even pawn something. One way or another, they send you the money later. In such ways,

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348 Inō いのふ: Inō is an imperative form of Inu 往ぬ, which means to leave.

349 Inuru いぬる: Inuru is a past tense form of Inu, which means left.

350 Shaku ga okoru 癭がおこる: Shaku ga okoru is an expression meaning to have cramps. The notion is that the mother is having cramps because of stress that is caused by her daughter.

351 Fugatte 不勝手: The meaning of Fugatte is inconvenience or something inconvenient. It is also used to express that one has a troublesome financial situation. In this sentence, it is used to refer to the parents’ strained financial situation.
every year after year, you press your parents and receive some money. No matter how much your sales are, you put all your money into lipstick, face powder, and ornamental hairpins like combs and kōgai. In the end, no matter how you got the money, you end up being up to your neck in debt. This is called Rokurokubi - a long-necked monster. Now you really understand what the Rokurokubi means. Right?

Figure 4: Picture on page 30 in the original text

This picture represents a daughter’s selfish and childish behavior by depicting her looking at a mirror, because the only thing she cares about is her appearance. Compared to the daughter, her parents seem to be worried about money, the daughter’s future, and probably their future, too. The whole notion of the picture is about the daughter’s lack of filial piety for her parents. Some scribbles right above the father’s figure seems to have been added by someone and it is not readable.

Section 12: Transcription and Translation (L2 P32-L2 P34)

又 同じ 勤 つとめ といふても お山といふ者へ 人をはめるゆへ ながれの 身 人をのぼすゆへ お山といふ すりやかんぱん出して 有のじや。夫にのぼつたり は

352 Kōgai 箏: Kōgai is a type of hair ornament used for women and also called Kanzashi かんざし.

353 Kubi bakkari ni natte shimau 首ばっかりになって仕廻ふ: This is an idiomatic expression of one being up to their ears in debt. See footnote no. 337 on Rokurokubi.
められたりするといふハ そゝふなことや。 お山のいふ事ハ 皆うそじやといふ人があるが お山のいふ事ハ誠斗りじゃ。 うそをいふが 商売に精出すのじや。 お前方が商売に精出すと同じ事 百姓衆が野かせざしたり 職人方が仕事に精出すようなものじゃ。 又お山を拙しいものじゃといふ人があるが

是も間違ひじゃ。 お山程貴者はなひ あれが一人でもあよう。 なくさみにするのが事をなひ。 皆親が身しんに語るか 義理のかねに語るか 川へはまろふが
首くくろうかといふ程の時でなけれバ 売うる物を喰ったり 純着物を着て居るが 払又

主帯へ忠義じや。 忠も孝も勤て居るゆへ 君とも女郎ともいふて 君子の徳が有。 是はまだ客の影で 味ひ物を喰たり 純着物を着て居るが 払又

辻君と云ふ者有。 是ハ女中方ハ御存なひ事じゃが 大坂などでハ 市の川横堀などを風と通ふると くらがりから手を出して直に引込む 此人の讃に

**主親の為に身を売辻君を払へそふかと知る人もなし**

此勤は大ていもののじゃなび。 夫でも 辻君の 濱君のといふて 京でも

二条川原の 松原の川原の 大坂でも 市の川の 堀川の 横堀の川のと 皆川のほとりに居ますじや。 或人の哥に
君の川の遍りに居ると、行者みな斯のごとくか

遊女斗りが、流れの身で、おまえ方も我々も、皆流れの身じゃ。同じ世を渡るのじゃ。

借り切ると思ふ間もなく、目が覚めのり合船の夜半のおきふし

とどまる者ハ一本なみながれの身じゃ。諸行ハ無常説法を移り替ける有様をいつこ、も替なむものと、思ふて居るけれど、行者ハ皆、如斯か。みなながれの身じゃ。

同じ世界を渡るのじゃ。何を身過にも、主従、親子、兄弟、夫婦、友達のまじわりに、誠さへあれバ、皆君子なり。弘法大師の哥に

人多き人の中にも、人ぞなき人になれ、人人となせ人。

Well. Compared to a job as a servant in a merchant’s house, there is a more difficult job. You have heard of “Mountain Ladies,” haven’t you? They are called that because they let you climb up on her. The ladies are wanderers because they need to look for climbers to take in. In a word, the lady hangs out her sign where her name and nature are the same. Don’t you think it is careless to climb up on the “Mountain Lady” and then get stuck there? Some people say whatever the “Mountain Lady” says is all lies, but

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354 Oyama お山: This word is used to refer to low-end prostitutes who must to wander the streets to look for customers. However, these prostitutes seem to be considered high-end ones compared to Tsujigimi 杜君. See footnote no. 362 on Tsujigimi.
actually, she tells you only the truth. Well, she lies, but it is for her business. She puts her heart into the business. That is same thing as when you put your own heart into your business. That is just like the way you merchants put your heart into your trade, farmers work in the field,\textsuperscript{355} or craftsmen put their hearts into their profession. Some people also say the “Mountain Lady” is vulgar but this is also a mistake. I don’t think there is a more precious occupation than what the lady has. By just looking at her, you can tell how things have worked out.\textsuperscript{356} You don’t have to look down on her. Unless her parents are hard up for money or have taken on too much debt, the lady doesn’t sell herself. All family members of hers must have thought of falling into river or hanging themselves. At this time, she was sold. She put herself out to service on behalf of her parents. All “Mountain Ladies” are such dutiful daughters.\textsuperscript{357} So it is being faithful\textsuperscript{358} for her to tell a lie to you. Because she devotes herself to loyalty and filial piety,\textsuperscript{359} she has a man of virtue\textsuperscript{360} regardless of her name as “Miss” or “prostitute.”\textsuperscript{361} The “Mountain ladies” eat

\textsuperscript{355} Nokasegi 野かせぎ: Nokasegi means farm work. It is also called Norashigoto 野良仕事.

\textsuperscript{356} Arega hitoridemo eyōあれが一人でもゑよう: Eyō refers to a model for something. The Chinese characters for Eyō are絵様. In this sentence, it refers to the notion of filial piety prostitutes have because they sell themselves for their parents.

\textsuperscript{357} Köjo 孝女: Köjo refers to daughters who are dutiful to their parents.

\textsuperscript{358} Chūgi 忠義: Chūgi is a noun which refers to one’s loyalty or devotion towards his parents, master, or lord.

\textsuperscript{359} Chū mo kō mo tsutometeiru yue 忠も孝も勤めているゆえ: This expression refers to how prostitutes have actually been loyal and dutiful to their parents through prostitution.

\textsuperscript{360} Kunshi no toku 君子の徳: In this sentence, Kunshi seems to mean a person of noble character. Toku is a noun, which refers to one’s excellent character acquired through cultivation of the mind. The whole notion is about the prostitutes’ characters, which are worthy of respect because they have been dutiful to their parents by becoming s prostitute.

\textsuperscript{361} Kimi tomo jorō tomo iute 君とも女郎ともいふて: Both Kimi and Jorō refer to prostitutes.
tasty food or wear good clothes, but there is also a lady called “Miss Street.” I don’t think modest ladies like you know about “Miss Street.” When you stroll on the vicinity of the *Ichi no Kawa* and *Yokobori* Rivers in Osaka, she puts her hands out and takes gentlemen like you into a dark place. In the eulogy for “Miss Street,”

“Miss Street” sells herself for her parents, but there is no one who gets the point.

You know this duty is not very easy. However, there are women like “Miss Street” or “Miss Beach,” and so forth. The ladies like “Miss Street” or “Miss Beach” all live by rivers such as the dry riverbed of Nijō and Matsubara in Kyoto. You can also see the

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362 *Tsujigimi* 辻君: *Tsujigi* is a word, which refers to streets or intersection. *Tsujigimi* is the lowest rank of prostitutes. Tsujigimi is similar to a streetwalker, *Yotaka* 夜鷹, as both of them are unlicensed prostitutes. See footnotes no. 354 *Oyama*.

363 *Ichi no kawa yokobori* 市の川横堀: *Yokobori* is an abbreviated name of the Yokobori 横堀川 River, which is a north-south river in Osaka and meets to the Dōtonbori 道頓堀川 River. Areas surrounded by the Yokoborigawa River were called *Senba* 船場 and *Shima no Uchi* 島之内, which were well known as business and entertainment districts. While it is not clear where *Ichi no Kawa* was located, based on the context, it also seems to refer to an entertainment area in Osaka.

364 *San* 賛: *San* seems to mean a speech or address of praise. Other ways to say it are *Shōsan no ji* 賛賛の辞 or *Shōji* 賛詞.

365 *Shuoya no tameni mi o uru tsujigimi o satewa sōka to shiruhito mo nashi* 主親の為に身を売辻君を扨ハそふかと知る人もなし: *Shu* is one’s lord or master. *Oya* is one’s parents. So *Shuoya* is a made up word, which refers to one’s superiors as a master, lord, or parents.

366 *Hamagimi* 濱君: *Hama* refers to a riverside in which the lowest ranked prostitutes like *Tsujigimi* stay. *Hamagimi* refers to the same kind of prostitutes like Tsujigimi.

367 *Nijōgawara no Matsubara no kawara no* 二条川原の松原の川原の: *Nijōgawara* refers to riverside of the Nijōgawa 二条川 River, which was well known as an entertainment area. *Matsubara no kawara* seems to refer to the city of Matsubara 松原市, which is located in a central area of current Osaka. The river, which runs through the city, is currently called the Yamatogawa 大和川 River.
ladies in Osaka, by the Ichi no Kawa River, Hori River,368 Yokobori River, etc; they all live by rivers. In someone’s song,369

_Making a living like this, the ladies who are living by the rivers seem to be wandering ascetics._370

However, not only prostitutes, but all of you are wanderers. We are all wanderers. We all go through the world.

_Waking up in the middle of night in a boat thinking where you are heading for, you realize you are not the only passenger who is lost in that thought._371

There is no one who could stay. Exhaling and inhaling, you keep slithering down.372 You could not stop at any moment, we all are wanderers. All things are in flux and nothing is permanent.373 You know that preaching and the way things work out change, while you think nothing changes a bit. All things wander just like an ascetic does. We all are wanderers. We all go through the world. Regardless of what kind of job you make a living by, in relationships between master and servant, parent and child, you and your

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368 _Horikawa_ 堺川: Horikawa refers to Tenman Horikawa 天満堀川 River, which runs through the eastern area of suburban Osaka (Osaka Kita-ku 大阪北区).

369 _Aruhito no uta ni_ 或人の哥に: _Aruhito_ means a certain person or someone. It is not clear who this person is.

370 _Ikumono_ 行者: There are several ways to read the Chinese characters 行者 such _Gyōsha_ or _Anja_. _Gyōsha_ refers to two kinds of people. One are the people who live in fields and mountains who practice asceticism. Another are people who sleep in the open. In this _dōka_, _Yukumono_ refers to people who live at the riverside and might mean both of the above people.

371 _Karikiri to omou ma mo naku me ga samete noriaibune no yawa no okifushi_ 借り切と思ふ間もなく目が覚てのり合船の夜半のおきふし: This _dōka_ is also in SD5KJ, 159.

372 _Deruiki hikuiki_ 出る息引いき: It seems to derive from an idiomatic expression _deru iki wa hairu iki o matazu_ 出る息入る息を待たず, which refers to how fleeting one’s life is.

373 _Shogyō wa mujo_ 諸行は無常: It is also called _Shogyō mujō_. In Hinayana Buddhism, (_Shōjō Bukkyō_ 小乗仏教), _shogyō mujō_ is the most fundamental of three principles, _Sanpōin_ 三法印. The expression refers to an impermanent state where everything keeps changing, coming into being, and dying. For more detailed information, see NKD, vol. 7, s.v. “Shogyō.”
brothers, husband and wife, you and your friends, if you have a true heart, you are a man of virtue. In Kōbō daishi’s poem,\(^{374}\)

_Humans are everywhere, but among them, there is no man of virtue, be a man of virtue, help others be a man of virtue._\(^{375}\)

Section 13: Transcription and Translation (L3 P34-L16 P34)

374 Kōbōdaishi 弘法大師: Kōbō daishi is the posthumous title for the founder of the Shingon 真言 Buddhist sect, Kūkai 空海 (774-835), in the early years of the Heian 平安 period. For more detailed information, see NKD, vol. 4, s.v. “Kūkai.”

375 Hito ōki hito no nakamoto hito zo naki hito ni narehito hito to nasehito 人多き人の中にも人ぞなき人になれ人人となせ人 本真 華本真なる人本真なる人, written by Uesugi Yōzan 上杉鷹山 (1751-1822). See NKD, vol. 2, s.v. “Uesugi Yōzan.”
Though we easily say we are humans, I actually mean a man of virtue. Other than a man of virtue, we all are something between human and beast. You don’t understand it, do you? When you write “Human” in Chinese characters, the first one is the character for “human,” and then you write the second one, which is the character for “between.” Now you see what I am talking about. We all are somewhere between human and beast. Worse, there is a beast with a human face, a face in human form, and its mind belongs to a beast. Real animals are useful because you can utilize their skin after they die. Compared to them, a beast in human form is called “a brute of a man” and just gross after they die; they are no good, they are futile. While you are living as a beast, do you wish to be like Buddha after you die? It is just like you are planting a gourd, hoping to harvest an eggplant. You know you cannot make a silk purse out of a sow’s ear. A gourd doesn’t yield eggplant. What a stupid idea it is! To be honest with you, if you could become a man of true heart, you would be a sage, Buddha, or a god.

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Please take the time to know your true mind and learn the Way of being a man of virtue.

376 Dochikushō 土畜生: Do is a prefix to Chikushō, which refers to a beast or a brute of a man. Dochikusho is a strong expression to speak ill of somebody and has the connotations of the lowest and worst of human nature.

377 Uri o uete nasubi ga narō to omoute iru 瓜を植てなすなすびがならふと思ふて居る: This expression is originally derived from the proverb, Uri no tsuru ni nasubi wa naranu 瓜のつるになすびはならぬ. The literal translation is that you can not harvest an eggplant (Nasubi なすび), if you planted a gourd (Uri ウリ).

378 Jikini seijin hotokesama kamisama ja 直に聖人仏様神様じや: See footnote no. 202 on Seijin and Kamisama. Hotokesama is an honorific way to call someone’s noble character.

379 Honshin o oshirinasarete hito no hitotaru michi o manabunoja 本心をお知りなされて人の人たる道を学ぶのじゃ: This expression appeared repeatedly in other Shingaku teaching books such as Shōō dōwa 松翁道話 and Kyūō dōwa 嶺翁道話.
it is all about following good examples. Put your heart into your work\(^\text{380}\) and keep
learning with your true mind. At some point, you will truly be a man of virtue.

*If you follow good examples from the bottom of your heart,*

*If you are faithful to your master and loyal to your parents,*

*you will become a man of virtue.*\(^\text{381}\)

Section 14: Transcription and Translation (L16 P34-L8 P37)

じやによって お山の果てやとて そふかの ふるひのじやとて 古道具 店へ

も出ず 辻に 大勢がうそして 居もせぬ。皆相應に 約束の 男が有て

夫を真夫といふて 末を楽しみ 勤て年あくと 宿ばりする。又請出さ

れて 奥様といわれ居る者もたんとある。皆親へ孝行尽した者じや。よって

天道様の御恵みじや。有がたひものじや。又其お山さんを買に御出なされた

御方は 後には 大坂でなら濱の納屋下か 橋の上に寝てござる。京で見れ

バ 四条の川原 在所でなら野原か 往来で鉄かい仙人か。 がま仙人の兄弟か

といふ様な衆がむくむくとして 大勢みへるが あれが納屋の下や 川原で御

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\(^\text{380}\) *Seidashite manabu 性出して学ぶ: Sei* is the principle of Shingaku that the founder, Ishida Baigan, emphasized. In this sentence, *Seidasu* is supposed to be written 精出す, but it seems to be the author’s intention to use 性 instead of 精 because it seems that *Seidasu* 性出す has the connotation of utilizing one’s true mind in good way.

\(^\text{381}\) *Mane o seyo shujin’e chūgi oye kō hitamono sureba honma tozonaru ま祢をせよ主人へ忠義 親へ孝ひたものすれバ本真とぞ成る: Honma is used in the Kansai region instead of standard Japanese, Honmō 本当, which means true, actual, or real. The Chinese characters for Hon 名 has the connotation of basic or fundamental. The Chinese character for Ma 真 has the connotations of true or real. Hitamono corresponds to Hitasura ひたすら or Shikirini しきりに in Modern Japanese, which means intently, earnestly, or constantly.*
誕生なされたはすくなひ 皆大事の御子息方や。 御生まれなされた時ハ
親御達がワリヤ 男の子が出来たといふて 餅をつくたり 産着を着せたり
だいたり おふたりなでさすりして 其上に 手習学問迄 物を入て 大てい御世話
となりなされた事じやなひ。 夫をうかうか思つて その後あのやうな御姿
おなりなされた者じや。 其はづじや。 女郎衆へ親の為に千辛万苦の 勤する。
それとマア 親の銀や主人のかねをぬすみ 沢山に稀い捨てる物やもの
からよう見て 御ざらうやうがなひ こわひものじや。 男にハ 色と酒とば
くちとの悪ひ病ひが有。 夫から親に毒害じや。 或人の歌に
毒多き毒の中にも気の毒へ目口から口からも入る
見てハ気の毒 聞てハ気の毒 百病ハ気より 生ずといふて 御子息の方に気を
いためられ 夫から色ゝの病が出て 定まった 命が 五年へるか 七年へるか
十年へるか 定業まで生る人ハすくなひ。 皆親の 命とりじや。 男斗りじや
なひ。 女中方も 着物やくしかんざしに付て 親の命をちちめた覚へハなひ
か 覚があるなら 急度おわけなさませ。 孟子曰 殺人以挺與刃
もつてことなることありや いへくもつてことなることなし
有以異乎 日無以異也

*山がつのつつしかけし柳の跡変ハ夫より雪折をする*
うかむせハなひぞ。又 親御様のなび御方ハ、幾何何十に成っても、同じ事じや。御佛壇へむかふ度毎に思ひ出し、ていはいへおわびなされませ。そのうへでの極楽参りの沙汰じや。算用も流さずにおひて、仏にならぶとハ、あんまり味ひせんさくじや。君 子 務 本。本立而道生。と聖人も仰られたととハなんじや。親より外に本ハなび、越やうに心の中に化物が住で居ハほとけところ仏所じやなび。

・ 地獄餓鬼畜生あしゅら仏ばつさつ何にならぶとまる一念
・ 今生が 真 の道に叶ひなバ願はずとても後生ごくらく

天神様の歌に

・ 心 だに 誠 の道に叶ひなバ祈らずとても神や守らん

These women on the street might be ruined Mountain Ladies or just too old to work in pleasure quarters. Anyway, a lot of them are prowling around on every street corner and never stop working. Every woman has a suitable man, whom she should be engaged to. She calls him the one,382 looking forward to getting together in the future, and then, after she finishes her term of servicing her debt,383 she will go to her man’s

382 Mabu 真夫: Mabu seems to derive from the slang term Mabui まぶい, which functions as an adjective and means good or beautiful. The Chinese characters 真夫, which might be a phonetic equivalent, refers to a woman’s true love because Ma 真 has the connotation of true and Bu 夫 has the connotation of a man or a husband.

383 Tsutomete toshi ga aku 勤めて年があく: Tsutome refers to serving somebody or being
house. Often their man would buy off their debts. He would then marry her, and she would be called “Madam.” They are all those who made efforts to be faithful to their parents. Therefore, it is the blessing of the Sun. What a welcome gift it is. On the other hand, gentlemen who went out to buy the “Mountain ladies,” what happened to them afterward? Maybe they are in Osaka, or they end up sleeping under a barn on the shore or on a bridge. If they are in Kyoto, maybe they are in a dry riverbed of Shijō. If they are lucky enough, they could be in a field by their hometown. If they could choose any preference, they would become a transient like Tekkai in the streets. Though there is an overflowing of people like the transient Gama’s brothers, most of them were not born apprenticed to somebody. Toshi ga aku corresponds to Nenki ga aku, which means finishing one’s apprenticeship or the expiration of one’s term of service. The whole notion refers to the ending of a prostitute’s term of service in the pleasure quarters.

384 **Yadobairi** 宿はいる: **Yadobairi** originally refers to an employee of a merchant house’s keeping a house for himself. In this sentence, however, it refers to a prostitute’s keeping a house for herself or moving in with her lover.

385 **Ukedasu** 請け出す: **Ukedasu** means buying the freedom of a prostitute. Other expressions such as **Rakuseki** 落籍 and **Miuke** 身請け are also used.

386 **Tentō-sama no omegumi** 天道様のお恵み: **Tentō-sama** is a way to refer to the sun with respect and affection. **Otentō-sama** 御天道様 is also used. **Omegumi** is **Megumi** 恵み, which means a benefaction or blessing, with a prefix お.

387 **Hama no naya shita** 漁の納屋下: **Hama no naya shita** refers to the name of the place where the destitute in Osaka lived.

388 **Shijō no kawara** 四条の川原: **Shijō no kawara** is the place where the **Kabuki** 歌舞伎 was started by **Izumo no Okuni** 出雲国 in 1603. It had been the center of show business in Kyoto throughout the Edo period.

389 **Tekkai sennin** 鉄かい仙人: **Tekkai** is one of eight legendary wizards, (Hassen 八仙), and lived in the **Sui** 隋 (581-619) Dynasty. Legend has it that he threw his iron cane into the sky and it transformed into a dragon, which he got on and left. The word **Tekkai-sennin** seems to be used to refer to people who lived on the streets and looked like other-worldly men.

390 **Gama sennin no kyōdai** がま仙人の兄弟: The Chinese characters for **Gama** are 蝦蟇, which means a toad. **Gama-sennin** is also a legendary wizard having a monstrous shaped toad, **Seiajin** 青蛙神, with him. He is not considered a member of the eight legendary wizards, (Hassen 八仙), but he is
under the barn or by a dry riverbed. Actually, they are all precious sons of prestigious families. His parents got pleased and excited when he was born. Saying “Wow! It’s a boy!” they made sweet rice cakes, put newborn clothes on him, held him, gave him a piggyback ride, stroked him, and passed their hands over his face. For his early education in writing, reading, and other subjects, they spent a lot of money. Don’t you think they took care of him very well? Because he never realized the debt he owed to his parents, he took on a transient appearance. He had it coming. No doubt. Many prostitutes worked very hard for their parents, going through a thousand pains and ten thousand hardships. Compared to the ladies, those precious sons stole money from their parents and masters, and spent most of it in vain as if it was limitless. Seen from heaven, there is no reason his life looks good. What a thing! When it comes to men, they are slaves to bad habits like adultery, drinking, and gambling. Those bad and harmful habits cause his parents a great deal of trouble. In someone’s song,

\[\text{Living in a circumstance with a lot of pain, you are such a poor thing, it comes through your eyes, mouth, and nose to get inside of you.}\]

frequently a companion of Tekkai-sennin in paintings.

391 Tenarai gakumon 手習学問: Tenarai refers to writing practice or calligraphy. Gakumon refers to reading and mathematics with a Japanese abacus. Children spent most of their time on writing practice, then on reading, and then mathematics only for those children who requested it.

392 Mono o irete 物を入て: Mono o irete derives from Monoiri 物入り, which means expenses piled up or costing a great deal. The whole notion is that the parents needed to spend a lot of money for their son’s education.

393 Senshin banku no tsutome 千辛万苦の勤め: Senshin banku is all sorts of hardships. Tsutome means one’s duty, which refers to prostitution. The whole notion is that prostitution is by no means easy.

394 Gozarōyō ga nai 御ざらうやうがなひ: I translated the word Gozarō as one’s attitude or situation, which is morally acceptable.

395 Aruhito no uta 或人の歌: Aruhito means a certain person or someone. It is not clear who it is.
Your worries cause your illness. Seeing these worrying things causes you trouble and listening to them causes you trouble, too.\(^{396}\) Because of your worries about your children, you develop various kinds of diseases that shorten your life. You never know how many years your life has been cut down: five, seven, or maybe ten years? There are few people who could live out their allotted lifespan.\(^{397}\) Children are all deadly to parents. I am not talking about only sons but also daughters. Try to remember, ladies, you have never shortened your parents’ lives by wearing kimonos, combs, and ornamental hairpins, have you? If you have, please apologize to them right now.\(^{398}\) Mencius says “when you kill somebody, it doesn’t matter if you use a cane or knife.”\(^{399}\)

\[\text{Because of the mark a wood cutter put on a pine tree to cut it later, the tree got weak and collapsed under the weight of snow.}\] \(^{400}\)

You have no chance to get on in the world.\(^{401}\) Even if your parents have passed away,

\(^{396}\) *Hyakubyō wa kiyori shōzu 百病ハ気より生ず:* *Hyakubyō* refers to all sorts of illnesses. *Yamai wa ki kara* 病は気から is a similar expression.

\(^{397}\) *Teigyō 定業:* *Teigyō* originally refers to a fixed job. In this sentence, however, it is used to refer to one’s life span.

\(^{398}\) *Kitto 急度:* The Chinese characters are phonetic equivalents and the Chinese characters 吃度 can also be used. *Kitto* refers to one’s determination on his own matter. In this sentence, it means one’s apology should be made to one’s parents promptly.

\(^{399}\) *Mōshi no iwaku 孟子曰* hito o korosu ni tue to yaiba to o motte suru wa motte kotonaru koto ariya 殺人以挺與刃有以異乎 *Iwaku motte kotonaru kotonashi.* 日無以異也: This expression originally derives from *Ryōkeiōshōku-jo 梁恵王章句* in *Mōshi.* See “Mōshi: Ryōkeiōshōku-jo 孟子: 梁恵王章句上,” in *Rongo mōshi junshi raiki,* 117-18, s.v. “Kemono o keshikakete hito o kuwaseru 獣をけしかけて人を食わせる.”

\(^{400}\) *Yamagatsu no itsushika tsukeshi soma no ato matsu wa soreyori yukiore zo suru* 山賎のいつしかつけし袖の跡枩ハ夫より雪折ぞする: The Chinese characters for *Yamagatsu* are 山賎, which refers to wood cutters or hunters who live in the mountains. *Soma* is an artificially planted forest mountain used for harvesting lumber. *Yukiore* refers to tree’s falling down due to heavy snow.

\(^{401}\) *Ukamu se wa nai zo うかむせハなひぞ:* *Ukamu se* corresponds to *ukabu se* 浮かぶ瀬, which refers to a chance one can find his way out of his difficulties or pain. In this sentence, the whole notion is that there is no chance or opportunity to go to Buddha’s paradise except by making an apology to one’s parents.
you need to do the same thing. Regardless of how old you are, please apologize to your parents for what you have done to them. Try to remember them every single time you face your family alter; please make an apology towards your parents’ mortuary tablet. After that, you can finally think about going to Buddha’s paradise. If you are hoping to spend your afterlife in paradise, I don’t think it is a good idea to ignore your debts to your parents and others. There is the sage’s word: “a man of virtue endeavors to figure out what his roots are because he can find the way after learning his roots.” What do you think your roots are? It is nothing else but your parents. However, if a monster is living in your mind, going to paradise is the last thing you can think of doing.

No matter if you are in hell or heaven as a hungry ghost, a beast, Asura, Buddha, or Bodhisattva, uses your whole heart to fulfill your life.

If you can fulfill your life in this world by practicing the Way, you will go to the Buddhist paradise without making a wish.

In a song of the deified spirit of Sugawara Michizane,

---

402 Obutsudan 御佛壇: Butsudan is a family Buddhist altar. The prefix お お adds reverence to the word.

403 Gokurakumairi 極楽参り: Gokuraku is the Buddhist paradise where one wants to go after his death. Mairi is a noun, which refers to paying a devotional visit to a Shinto shrine or someone’s grave. Omairi お参り is another way to say it.

404 Kunshi wa moto o tsutomu 君子務本 Moto tatsute michi naru 本立而道生: This expression originally derives from Gakujihen 学面篇 in Rongo 論語. See “Rongo: Gakujihen 論語: 学面篇,” in Rongo mōshi junshi raiki, 5, s.v. “Yū sensei ga osshatta 有先生がおっしゃった.”

405 Jigoku gaki chikushō ashura butsubosatsu nani ni narōto maruichinen 地獄 餓鬼 畜生 仏仏仏 何になろうとまる一念: See footnote no. 230 on Gakidō. Maru means fully, complete or whole. Ichinen refers to one’s enthusiasm, zeal, determination, or ardent wish for something. The whole notion is that one has to fulfill their life with one’s whole heart.

406 Konjō ga makoto no michi ni kanainaba negawazutotemo goshō gokuraku 今生が真の道に叶ひなバ願はずとても後生ごくらく: Konjō is a word that refers to the time one lives in this world. Goshō is a word, which refers to the life hereafter.

407 Tenjin-sama 天神様: Tenjin-sama refers to Sugawara Michizane 菅原道真 (845-903), who was an early Heian 平安 courtier and scholar. He was well known for his suggestions for the abolition of a
If your mind could follow the Way of your true heart, you would not need to pray to gods, they would protect you.\textsuperscript{408}

**Section 15: Transcription and Translation (L9 P37-L3 P38)**

とかく 心 の内のぱけ物を去つて 本心をみがきなされませ。 つれぐもき

鏡の段に云ふてある。 主有家にハすぞろなる人。 心の儘に入くる事なし。

主なき 所にハ 道行人みだりに立入 狐ふたつやうの物も 人気にせかれねバ

所得がほに入住 こたまなんど けしからぬかたちも あらひるゝ物なり。

此通に 主のなび内へハ いろゝの化物が入来る 銘々生れた時は 主人公も

正しあ。 それから次第に知恵付て 見るにとられ 聞にとられ 百物語聞

こんで とうゞ主人を取放して仕舞ます。 此心学といふは 取はなかったこころ

をとりもどすのじや。 学問之道無他求其放心而已矣

教訓百物語終

○（乙？）文化十二年

---

\textsuperscript{408} Kokorodani makoto no michi ni kanainaba inorazototemo kamiya mamoran 心だに誠の道に

Japanese envoy to Tang 唐 Dynasty China, *Kentōshi haishi* 遣唐使廃止. He died two years later while in exile in Kyūshū 九州. Thereafter, he received posthumous honors because they thought his anger and grudge caused a series of natural calamities. He was eventually enshrined as *Tenman tenjin* 天満天神 and has been known as a divinity for learning. For more detailed information, see NKD, vol. 7, s.v. "Sugawara Michizane."

Karin *Shiki Monogatari* 歌林四季物語, which was written by Kamono Chōmei 鴨長明, contains this poem. See Kamono Chōmei, “Karin shiki monogatari,” in *Kamo no chōmei zenshū* 鴨長明全集, eds. Ōsone Shōsuke 大曽根章介 and Kubota Jun 久保田淳 [Tokyo: Kichōbon Kankōkai 貴重本刊行会, 2000], 492.
Cultivate your true mind and do whatever you can to remove the monsters living in your mind. In a passage of “The Mirror” in Essay in Idleness, there’s a saying that a house with an owner doesn’t get any attention from people. They don’t get in the house, even if they wanted to get in. In an ownerless place, people who walk down the road tend to get inside of the place without good reason. Moreover, something bewitching like a fox tends to sneak in and settle in because nobody lives there. Strange spirits like echoes also appear. As you know, in the ownerless place, all sorts of monsters come in and stay. Even though you possess your true mind when you were born, by seeing and overhearing the one hundred ghost stories, you grow crafty. Finally, you end up giving up the ownership of your true mind. This Learning of the Heart is for taking your true mind back. Returning your true mind which you have lost is nothing else but the way of learning.
The End of the Kyōkun hyakumonogatari.

Third month in the twelfth year of Bunka.414

Naniwa Publication

In the quarter of Kōraibashi Bridge and Hamayabashi Bridges.415

Kashimaya Kyūbē416

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414 Bunka jūni nen sangatsu 文化十二年三月: The Bunka era was from 1804 until 1818. Sangatsu is one way to read the characters for the Third month, but it can also be read as yayoi. Bunka jūni nen sangatsu means the Third month in the twelfth year of Bunka (1815), which was the date of this version published. Since the Chinese character right above 三月 is 亥 (i or gai) and the year of 1815 falls on 乙亥 (kinoto-i or itsugai), which is the twelfth of sixty combinations in the Zodiac calendar, the Chinese character right above Bunka jūni nen might be 乙 (Otsu or Kinoto).

415 Kōraibashi 高麗橋: It was one of three Kōgibashi 公儀橋, which were the bridges built by the Edo shogunate in Osaka. See NKD, vol. 5, s.vv. “Kōgibashi,” “Kōraibashi.”

416 Kashimaya Kyūbē 加島屋久兵衛: The period of his publishing business in Osaka was from 1795 (Kansei 寛政 7) until 1820 (Bunsei 文政 3). For more detailed information, see Sakamoto Muneko 坂本宗子, Kyōhōigo hanmotobetsu shosetsu mokuroku 享保以後版元別書籍目録. [Osaka: Seibundō 清文堂, 1982], 63.
APPENDIX A

SAMPLE PAGES OF THE ORIGINAL XYLOGRAPHIC EDITION IN HIROSHIMA UNIVERSITY, TEXTBOOK COLLECTIONS

Page 1: The original text of the book, at Hiroshima University consists of 38 pages. This is the front cover (Omote byōshi 表表紙). The title piece (Daisen 頭簽), which says 敎訓 百物語 (Kyōkun hyakumonogatari), is attached on the left side of the cover.

Page 2: This is the title on the first page of the text (Naidai 内題). From right to left, the author’s name, Murai Yoshikiyo, and the title, Kyōkun hyakumonogatari, are aligned. The far left line says “property of Seisōdō” (Seisōdō zō 盛藻堂蔵), which means the copyright of the work, that is to say, original printing block (Hangi 版木) is owned by Seisōdō. A square seal in the lower right is an ownership stamp, which says “property of Satō” (Satō zōshō 佐藤蔵書) and this copy was owned by a certain Mr. Sato once. A small circular seal on upper left of the page might represent Seisōdō’s ownership, though there is no information to verify this.
Page 14: The indented section in the middle of this page is for Dōka 道歌. Each Dōka starts with a distinctive mark 〽, which tells readers the sentence following the mark is not part of the narrative. This type of formatting is adopted throughout the text.

Page 38: The right page is the end page of the story. The left page contains the publisher’s information (Kanki 刊記). The far left says “Naniwa publication” (Naniwa shoshi 浪花書肆) followed by a name of the publisher’s owner Kashimaya Kyūbē 加寫
屋久兵衛. Aforementioned Seisodō is known to be another name of this publisher. For detailed translation, see page 132 and 133 in Chapter 2.
# APPENDIX B

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF SHINGAKU TEACHERS AND PUBLISHED WORKS

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<td></td>
<td>1739 Tohō mondō</td>
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<td>Tejima Toan</td>
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<td>Murai Yoshikiyo</td>
<td>1813</td>
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<td>1761</td>
<td>Santō Kyōden</td>
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<td>1790 Shingaku hayasomegusa</td>
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APPENDIX C

EXTANT COPIES OF KYŌKUN HYAKUMONOGATARI

The primary information for compiling the list below came from the entry for Kyōkun hyakumonogatari in UCEJB, Union Catalog of Early Japanese Books (Nihon Kotenseki Sōmokuroku 日本古典籍総合目録) of NIJL, National Institute of Japanese Literature (Kokubungaku Kenkyū Shiryōkan 国文学研究資料館).

http://base1.nijl.ac.jp/infolib/meta_pub/KTGSearch.cgi

The 15 numbered entries here represent an explanation and extension of the NIJL list, and include all publicly known and believed extant copies of Murai's work, although some of them are not available for study or have not been confirmed still extant since the original catalog was made. Furthermore, it seems quite possible that other copies may yet appear, based on the availability of an otherwise unknown copy on the rare book market now in 2009 (#12).

#1 Woodblock; 1804 (Bunka 1)

This copy, the only one of the initial edition, is listed as belonging to Kyōdai 敎大, which in UCEJB refers to the former Tokyo Kyōiku University 東京教育大学. This institute was the predecessor of both the Komaba campus of Tokyo University and Tsukuba University. As it happens, this text went to Tsukuba University Library, where the catalog gives an alternate title, Tōsho Eshō Fujino Ōrai 頭書繪抄富士野往来. For listing see: http://www.tulips.tsukuba.ac.jp/portal/index_eng.php [accessed June 23, 2009].
#2 Woodblock; 1811 (Bunka 8)

This copy of the second edition is listed as belonging to Hayashi Yoshikazu 林美一 (1922-1999), who is well known for his research on Edo gesaku 江戸戯作 and enpon 艶本. After his death his collection was donated to Ritsumeikan University, where it was added to the Art Research Center collection; for details, see: http://www.arc.ritsumei.ac.jp/archive01/theater/html/biiti/kikaku/about.html [accessed July 20, 2009]. No entry for this particular text shows up in the catalog of ARC, as far as I can tell; see: http://www.arc.ritsumei.ac.jp/index_e.html [accessed June 23, 2009].

#3 Woodblock; 1811 (Bunka 8)

This copy is listed as belonging to the University of California Berkeley. It is held in Berkeley's East Asian Library, but is listed with the call number beginning 1681; UCEJB erroneously lists the number as beginning 1861. The permanent link for the catalog record for text is: http://oskicat.berkeley.edu/record=b10933826~S1 [accessed July 21, 2009].

#4 Woodblock; 1815 (Bunka 12)

This copy of the third edition is listed as belonging to Hiroshima University Library. The entire text has been digitized and is available online as a part of the Hiroshima University Library Textbook Collection; see: http://cross.lib.hiroshima-u.ac.jp/index-e.htm [accessed June 23, 2009]. This particular copy of Murai’s work was the source text for the transcription and translation in this thesis.

#5 Woodblock; 1815 (Bunka 12)

This copy is listed as belonging to Hibiya Public Library (Tokyo Toritsu Hibiya Toshokan 東京都立日比谷図書館) as a part of Kaga Bunko 加賀文庫. Although there
is no online catalog available for the Kaga collection, a printed catalog (*Kaga Bunko mokuroku: tsuketari shomei sakuin* 加賀文庫目録：附書名索引) was published in 1961, listing Murai's text as entry number 892. According to that catalog, the Kaga copy is bound in two volumes and is described as a mid-size book (*chūbon* 中本).

#6 Woodblock; 1815 (Bunka 12)

This copy, not listed in UCEJB, is owned by Nara Women’s University Library; I found it through the Webcat Plus database online. It is bound in two volumes, but its provenance is unknown.


#7 Woodblock; 1815 (Bunka 12)

This copy is listed as belonging to Unsen 雲泉; UCEJB is unclear on this, but the term appears to come from a publisher, Unsensō 雲泉荘, owned by Sugiura Kyūen 杉浦丘園 (aka Sugiura Saburōbē 杉浦三郎兵衛; born 1876, date of death unknown). He was born to a family of Kyoto dry goods merchants whose store Daikokuya 大黒屋 was founded in 1663 (Kanbun 寛文 3). *Unsensōsanshi* 雲泉荘山誌 was a series published through Unsensō, and vol. 3 of the series, dating from 1932, contains materials relating to Sekimon Shingaku; thus Sugiura's interest in the topic is clear. However, I have not been able to find out whether the Unsen copy of Murai's text remains extant.

N.B. For further information on Daikokuya Sugiura Saburōbē, see Ueda Tomoko 植田知子 “Traditional Labour Management in a Merchant House: A case of Sugiura-Daikokuya 商家の奉公人管理：杉浦大黒屋四代三郎兵衛をめぐる商家経営と奉公

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人育成,” *Dōshisha Shōgaku* 同志社商学 50, no. 5-6 [March 1999]: 811-30.


**#8 Woodblock; 1815 (Bunka 12)**

This copy is listed as belonging to the late scholar of premodern Japanese literature and culture, Nakamura Yukihiro 中村幸彦 (1911-1998). After his death, his collection was donated to Kansai University Library, where this copy of Murai’s text is now listed in the Nakamura Yukihiro Collection (Nakamura Yukihiro Bunko 中村幸彦文庫) under the category of "ukiyo-zōshi, dangi-bon, zuihitsu" 浮世草子・談義本・隨筆. For details see: http://web.lib.kansai-u.ac.jp/library/library/collection/nakamura_int2.html [accessed June 23, 2009; Murai’s text is entry number 4-27].

**#9 Woodblock; Undated**

This partial copy (only the second half of the text) is listed as belonging to Kyoto University as a part of Ebara Bunko 瀧原文庫 collection (a reference to Ebara Taizō 瀧原退蔵). Although there is no entry for the text in Kyoto University’s online catalog, a printed catalog of Ebara Bunko (Ebara Bunko Mokuroku 瀧原文庫目録) was published in 1959. I have not seen this catalog, but UCEJB includes a reference number from the Ebara collection, so I believe it will be included.

**#10 Woodblock; Undated**

This copy is listed as belonging to Tokyo University. However, no entry shows up in the available online catalogs for Tokyo University Library, so I have not been able to confirm whether the text is extant. Cf. http://www.lib.u-tokyo.ac.jp/index-e.html and http://rarebook.dl.itc.u-tokyo.ac.jp/gazo/cgi-bin/col.cgi [accessed June 23, 2009].
#11 Woodblock; Undated

This copy is listed as supplemental (hoi 補遺) and belonging to Kyushu University. However, No entry shows up in the available online catalogs for Kyushu University. Cf. http://opac.lib.kyushu-u.ac.jp/opac/basic-query?mode=2 [accessed June 23, 2009].

#12 Woodblock; Date unknown

This copy, not listed in UCEJB, was listed in Ōya bookstore (Ōya Shobō 大屋書房) catalog; I found it via an internet search as I was completing this appendix. The price listed was approximately $800 (as of June 2009). For the store's current catalog, see: http://www.ohya-shobo.com/index.php [accessed June 23, 2009].

#13 Early modern moveable type (katsuji 活字) edition; 1893 (Meiji 26; February)

This edition is listed as the only example of a katsuji version of Murai's text; it refers to a Shingaku dōwa anthology with the title Shingaku sentetsu dōwa 心学先哲道話. It is listed under the name of Yamanaka Kanjirō 山中勘次郎, apparently the editor of the collection: in the National Diet Library 国立国会図書館 (NDL) OPAC, the anthology is listed under the name of Nakazawa Dōni, presumably because the anthology contains works by him and other Shingaku teachers, including Murai. It was published by Kyōtō Shuppankan 京都出版館 in February 1893 (Meiji 26). The total page number is 263. A microfiche number is listed in NDL OPAC, indicating that the text is also available in that format; see: http://opac.ndl.go.jp/recordid/000000422006/jpn.

#14 Early modern moveable type edition; 1893 (Meiji 26; October)

This edition, not listed in UCEJB, is another early example of a katsuji version of Murai's text; again his work appears in a Shingaku dōwa anthology with the title
Shingaku dōwa sōsho 心学道話叢書, edited by Takahashi Reiko 高橋霊湖 (aka Takahashi Jitsugorō 高橋実五郎). I found it in the NDL Kindai Digital Library 近代デジタルライブラリー, where the entire anthology is digitized and available online.

Murai's work is listed as the fifth of five works the volume, which has a total of 256 pages. The anthology was published October 1893 (Meiji 26) by an old Kyoto publisher, Issaikyō Inbō 一切経印房 (founded in 1681 and still trading under name Baiyō Shoin 貝葉書院). This is the text I used for reference after transcribing the Hiroshima woodblock edition.

#15 Modern moveable type edition; 1993

This edition is the only version of Murai’s text that might be found in a regular bookstore in Japan today, although I was not aware of it until the closing stages of my thesis, in part because it is included in a collection of ghost stories rather than a Shingaku or educational source. According to the WorldCat database there are copies in just 18 US academic libraries, so it is relatively rare. The collection, with the title Zoku hyakumonogatari kaidan shūsei 続百物語怪談集成, was edited by Tachikawa Kiyoshi 太刀川清 and published in 1993 by Kokusho Kankōkai 国書刊行会 as vol. 27 of Sōsho Edo Bunko Series 叢書江戸文庫シリーズ. It is evidently a sequel to vol. 2 of that series, Hyakumonogatari kaidan shūsei 百物語怪談集成, published in 1987.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Original text

Murai Yoshikiyo 村井由清. Kyōkun hyakumonogatari 教訓百物語. Osaka: Naniwa Shoshi 浪花書肆, 1815. (Hiroshima University 広島大学: Kyōkasho collection 教科書コレクション)
http://ir.lib.hiroshima-u.ac.jp/00000960. [accessed June 23, 2009]