

**RECEPTION OF *JOURNEY TO THE WEST*
IN EARLY MODERN JAPAN**

by

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Abstract

As one of the most prominent works of Chinese literature, *Xiyouji* 西遊記 (literally, *The Record of the Westward Journey*, or *Journey to the West*) has received considerable attention in Western scholarship, focusing on issues of its antecedents, textual formation, authorship, character prototypes and religious allegory, which attests to its complexity in terms of the history of its composition and contents. However, not much has been written about the equally remarkable influence that the *Journey to the West* has had on literary and visual cultures of East Asian countries neighboring China, where it was appropriated, re-created either in full or abridged forms, and re-envisioned over the centuries—an impact greater than that of any other single work of vernacular Chinese literature.

Inspired by Professor Joshua S. Mostow’s scholarship in the reception history of classical works of Japanese literature, as well as by the work of his students Maiko Behr and Gergana Ivanova, this study is devoted to the exploration of the profound and continuous impact that the *Journey to the West* has had on Japanese culture—the importation of this vernacular Chinese narrative, the history of its translation, and an examination of specific works related to its literary and visual reception. This study will focus on the reception history of *Journey to the West* in the Japanese context, highlighting the history of its first Japanese translation that extended over a lengthy period of nearly seventy years (1758–1837) —an intermittent “relay” of changing translators—until its complete translation was made available to the widest audience of readers, and one of its adaptations, a *gōkan* (bound book) by Tamenaga Shunsui 為永春水 (1790–1844) *Fūzoku onna Saiyūki* 風俗女西遊記 (*Women’s Journey to the West in the Current Style*, 1828), in the context of the “writerly” reception of *Journey to the West* and cross-artistic phenomenon of *onna-mono* (items for women) in the Kaseiki years (1804–1830) of the late Tokugawa period.

Preface

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person, nor material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma of the university or other institute of higher learning, except where due acknowledgment has been made in the text.

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Preface	iii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Tables	v
Acknowledgements	vi
Dedication	ix
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Chapter 2: History of the Japanese translation of <i>Journey to the West</i>	8
Chapter 3: Reception of <i>Journey to the West</i> in Early Modern Japan	13
Chapter 4: Socio-literary Analysis of Tamenaga Shunsui’s <i>Fūzoku onna Saiyūki</i>	20
4.1 Socio-cultural Topography of the Late Tokugawa Period	20
4.2 Cross-generic Phenomenon of <i>Onna-mono</i>	28
4.3 Literary Analysis of <i>Fūzoku onna Saiyūki</i> (1828)	37
4.3.1 Title, Preface and <i>Dramatis Personae</i>	39
4.3.2 Plot and Text.....	45
Chapter 5: Conclusion	65
References	67
Appendices	71
Appendix A: Character Chart.....	71
Appendix B: <i>Mitate-e</i> Illustrations of the Main Characters	72
Appendix C: The Motif of the Hand of the Tathāgata	73
Appendix D: English Translation of <i>Fūzoku onna Saiyūki</i> (Vol. 1 and 2)	74
Appendix E: Japanese Text of <i>Fūzoku onna Saiyūki</i> (Vol. 1 and 2).....	99

List of Tables

Table 1 List of publications related to <i>JW</i> published in the Tokugawa period.....	17
Table 2 List of <i>onna-mono</i> works published in the Tokugawa period	35

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Dedication

For my parents who imparted to me most invaluable talents and love for Japan.

Chapter 1: Introduction

In a seminal study on the reception of Chinese vernacular narrative in Korea and Japan, Emanuel Pastreich identifies four strands of reception of Chinese literature in Tokugawa-period Japan.¹ The first strand was the massive influx of Chinese vernacular novels flowing into the intellectual circles of Edo and Kyoto through the port of Nagasaki from the seventeenth century on. Private Confucian academies, such as the Ken'en 護園 academy of Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666-1728) in Edo, and Kogidō 古義堂 academy of Itō Jinsai 伊藤仁斎 (1627–1705) in Kyoto, had a substantial following and advocated for the learning of Chinese as a spoken language and the reading of the Chinese vernacular texts as educational primers among its adepts. The movement known as *tōwagaku* 唐話学 (Vernacular Chinese studies) led Japanese intellectuals to take a serious interest in Chinese vernacular language and produced a number of influential figures that spearheaded the dissemination of Chinese vernacular literature among the general reading public outside the circles pursuing studies of spoken Chinese.

The second strand of reception was through annotated versions of Chinese popular novels produced by early eighteenth-century annotators as Okajima Kanzan 岡嶮冠山 (1674–1728) and Oka Hakku 岡白駒 (1692–1767),

[Which] made it possible for readers without a strong grasp of vernacular Chinese, but [with] some knowledge of literary Chinese, to enjoy these novels as literature. [...]

Related to these annotated editions were straight translations of popular Chinese narrative into Japanese that retained many of the turns of phrase from the originals. These popular

¹ I use Pastreich's framework with some modifications, such as I change the order of the third and fourth stages to follow the chronological order of occurrence. The stages of reception of Chinese vernacular fiction in Japan can be found in Emanuel Pastreich, "The Reception of Chinese Vernacular Narrative in Korea and Japan" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1997), 254-257.

translations of Chinese novels, aimed at a large readership, emerged at the end of the seventeenth century and retained a steady niche in the literary world through the early twentieth century. [...]²

The third strand of reception was the emergence of the literati novel of the mid-eighteenth century,

In which independent scholars of the Kyoto area transformed Chinese vernacular fiction into a new genre of indigenous literature (the forerunner of the *yomihon* 読本 [reading books]) by combining it with elements from the Japanese literary tradition. In the works of Tsuga Teishō 都賀 庭鐘 (1718–1794), Takebe Ayatari 建部 綾足 (1719–1774), and Ueda Akinari 上田秋成 (1734–1809), Chinese vernacular fiction was not merely rendered into a form more accessible to readers through happy analogies to Japanese equivalents; the relative weight in the final text shifted towards the reframing of Japanese subjects, not just the familiarization of the Chinese text.³

The fourth manner of reception for Chinese vernacular fiction in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century occurred via *gesaku* 戯作 (playful literature)—late *yomihon* and extended picture books of *gōkan* 合巻 (bound books).

Humorous juxtapositions between the highest and lowest registers of Chinese or Japanese culture, for example Confucius visiting a Japanese brothel, were a common theme in

² Ibid., 255.

³ Ibid., 256. Beginning with Takebe Ayatari's 建部綾足 (1719–1728) adaptation of *Shuihuzhuan* 水滸伝 (*Water Margin*, J. *Suikoden*, 1589) in the *yomihon Honchō Suikoden* 本朝水滸伝 (*Japanese Water Margin*, 1773) and Ueda Akinari's 上田秋成 (1734–1809) adaptation of *huaben* short stories known as *Ugetsu monogatari* 雨月物語 (*Tales of Moonlight and Rain*, 1776), the translation of Chinese vernacular fiction became integrated into the scholarly work of Japanese intellectuals related to *kokugaku*, or the nativist learning, and presented new means of reframing the Japanese literary tradition.

gesaku fiction. [...] Although these playful works are not necessarily renderings of Chinese vernacular fiction, the new approach in Confucian studies involving the combined study of both the vernacular and literary Chinese played a major role in their formation.⁴

The Kaseiki (1804–1830) years of the late Tokugawa period saw an unprecedented rise in the “wholesale ransacking” of Chinese (and Japanese classics) as inspirational material in the production of *gesaku* literature.⁵

As a result of the profoundly detrimental Kansei Reforms (1787–1793) that targeted *sharebon* 洒落本 (books of wit and fashion) and *kibyōshi* 黄表紙 (yellow cover illustrated books) fiction, *gōkan* (bound books) and *yomihon* (reading books) received new prominence in the attempt by contemporary writers to avoid restrictions of the *bakufu* 幕府 censorship.⁶ In the early nineteenth-century, Santō Kyōden 山東京伝 (1761–1816) and Kyokutei Bakin—the leading writers of popular fiction of the day—produced numerous adaptations of Chinese vernacular novels as lengthy serial *gōkan* and *yomihon* distinguished for their high literary seriousness.⁷

One of the most famous works from a series of such adaptations by Kyōden is the *yomihon Chūshin Suikoden* 忠臣水滸伝 (*The Loyal Vassal's Water Margin*; 1799–1801), which

⁴ Ibid., 256.

⁵ Ibid., 256. “Wholesale ransacking” expression belongs to Andrew Markus. In Andrew Lawrence Markus, *The Willow in Autumn: Ryūtei Tanehiko, 1783-1842* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 120. *Gesaku*, or vernacular “playful writing,” is a term inclusive of various genres of Edo’s popular literature (*dangibon*, *gōkan*, *kibyōshi*, *kokkeibon*, *sharebon*, *ninjōbon*, *yomihon*) that emerged in the mid-eighteenth century replacing *ukiyo-zōshi* (books of the floating world).

⁶ Haruo Shirane, *Early Modern Japanese Literature: An Anthology, 1600-1900* (Columbia University Press, 2013), 359, 484.

⁷ Emanuel Pastreich, “The Reception of Chinese Literature in Japan,” in *The Columbia History of Chinese Literature*, ed. Victor H. Mair. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 1093.

combined a resetting of *Water Margin* in the context of the popular *jōruri* play *Kanadehon Chūshingura* 仮名手本忠臣蔵 (*Chūshingura: The Storehouse of Loyal Retainers*, 1748).⁸ Bakin wrote about *Loyal Vassal's Water Margin* as a work of immense popularity and commercial success, deeming it the most remarkable publication since the days of Takebe Ayatari's *Japanese Water Margin*.⁹ Kyōden's adaptation was likely memorable to *gesaku* readers not because of its content but because of the ingenious use of literary devices and polished literary style as exemplified by Kyōden in previously published *kibyōshi*.¹⁰ In his subsequent works, Kyōden also adapted *Tsūzoku Kōshukuden* 通俗孝肅伝 (*Popular Edition of the Tale of Xiaosu*, 1770) based on a series of biographies of legendary Song dynasty (960–1279) governor Bao Zheng 包拯 (or, Bao Gong 包公, 999–1062), in a protracted vendetta story entitled *Fukushū kidan Asaka no numa* 復讐奇談安積沼 (*A Strange Story of Revenge in the Swamp of Asaka*, 1803) of Kohada Koheiji 小幡小平次, murdered by his wife's lover and risen from the grave to avenge himself as a ghost; and *Udonge monogatari* 優曇華物語 (*The Tale of the Three Thousand Year Flower*, or *The Tale of Udumbara Flowers*, 1804), another vendetta story built upon numerous tropes from a wide array of literary forebears.¹¹ However, the most outstanding of Kyōden's works, perhaps, is the *yomihon Sakurahime zenden akebono-zōshi* 桜姫全伝曙草紙 (*The Book of Dawn: The Complete Account of Princess Sakura*, 1805),¹² in which he combined elements of the early

⁸ Ibid., 1094. The same *sekai* and *shūko* were employed by a number of later writers. Shunsui has also used this combination of *sekai/shūko* in the writing of *Gedai kagami* (1838). In Ishikawa Hidemi, "Chūshin Suikoden ni okeru "fukai no riron" (jō)," *Tōhoku Daigaku daigakuin kokusai bunka kinkyūka ronshū* 9 (December 2001), 246.

⁹ Jane Devitt, "Santō Kyōden and the *Yomihon*," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 39, no. 2 (December 1979), 264.

¹⁰ Hidemi, "Chūshin Suikoden (jō)," 245.

¹¹ Devitt, "Santō Kyōden and the *Yomihon*," 265.

Qing's (1644–1912) *Jin Yun Qiao zhuan* 金雲翹傳 (*The Tale of Jin Zhong, Cuiyun, and Cuiqiao*, ca. 1660) with Japanese classics, *nō* and *bunraku jōruri* plays to produce most delicately imbricated narrative.

Kyokutei Bakin, formerly Kyōden's protégé, had surpassed his teacher¹³ in literary productivity by having produced an even larger number of inexhaustible *yomihon* productions based on classics of the Chinese literature, ancient and modern, that he “lorded as his unassailable domain.”¹⁴ In the early days of his career, when his literary oeuvre consisted of predominantly *kibyōshi*, Bakin already attempted to weave elements of Chinese vernacular fiction into plots of his novels. One example from his early works is the *kibyōshi* entitled *Hesoga wakasu Sayu monogatari* 濟沸西遊記 (*A Navel-boiling Record of the Westward Journey*, 1803)¹⁵—a compilation of humorous short stories collected from the travelers to Naniwa (Osaka). Bakin's first *yomihon* *Takao senjimon* 高尾船字文 (*The Ciphers of Takao*, 1796), represents a preliminary effort to create a new kind of fiction that exploited various literary forbears, indigenous and native—a technique that likely originated with Kyōden and was to be used again in the production of *Chūshingura: The Storehouse of Loyal Retainers*.¹⁶ In *Chinsetsu yumiharizuki* 椿説弓張月 (*Strange Tales of the Crescent Moon*, 1807–1811), Bakin integrates

¹² Yōji Ōtaka, “Bunka san, yonen no Kyōden, Bakin to *Sakurahime zenden akebono-zōshi*,” *Kokubungaku kenkyū shiryōkan kiyō Bungaku kenkyūhen* 34, no. 17 (2008), 125-126. For the discussion of *Sakurahime zenden akebono-zōshi* see Jane Devitt, “Santō Kyōden and the *Yomihon*,” 265-266, and, Satoko Shimazaki, “The End of the “World”: Tsuruya Nanboku IV's Female Ghosts and Late-Tokugawa Kabuki,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 66, no. 2 (2011), 236-238.

¹³ Yōji Ōtaka suggests that Kyōden and Bakin were “brother authors,” rather than teacher and disciple. In Yōji Ōtaka, “Development of the late *yomihon*: Santō Kyōden and Kyokutei Bakin,” in Haruo Shirane et al., eds., *The Cambridge History of Japanese Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 542.

¹⁴ Markus, *The Willow in Autumn*, 121.

¹⁵ Isobe Akira, *Tabi iku Son Gokū, higashi Ajia no Saiyūki* (Tokyo: Taiga Shuppan, 2011), 203.

¹⁶ Yōji Ōtaka, “Development of the late *yomihon*,” 542.

elements of a *nō* 能 play, *gunki-mono* 軍記物 (military chronicle) and the *Water Margin* to create a saga about Minamoto no Tametomo 源為朝 (1096–1156), the progenitor of the Ryukyuan monarchy. The most famous of Bakin’s *yomihon* is *Nansō Satomi hakkenden* 南総里見八犬伝 (*The Chronicle of the Eight Dogs of Nansō Satomi Clan*; 1814–1842), a tale consisting of 106 fascicles about eight dog warriors descended from Fusehime, which is also loosely based on the *Water Margin*.¹⁷

In the prime of his literary career, during his later years, Bakin also serialized the eight-volume *gōkan Konpira-bune rishō no tomozuna* 金毘羅船利生纜 (*Life Lines of Grace of the Konpira’s Boat*, 1825–1831), in which he adjusted the plot of *Journey to the West* to a Japanese setting, recast the King of Monkeys, Son Gokū, as the King of *Tengus*, Iwasaku,¹⁸ and replaced original religious topoi with myths from the *Kojiki* 古事記 (Record of Ancient Matters, 712) and motifs of the Konpira cult popular during the Tokugawa period; together with *Jin Yun Qiao zhuan* 金雲翹傳 (*The Tale of Jin Zhong, Cuiyun, and Cuiqiao*, ca. 1660) as the *gōkan Fūzoku Kingyoden* 風俗金魚伝 (*The Tale of the Golden Fish in the Current Style*, 1829–1831), *Jin Ping Mei* 金瓶梅 (*Plum in the Golden Vase*, 1368–1644) in another lengthy *gōkan Shinpen Kinpeibai* 新編金瓶梅 (*New Edition of the Plum in the Golden Vase*, 1831–1834), and many other Chinese vernacular novels into Japanese. In 1833, Bakin also published a critical appraisal entitled *Zoku*

¹⁷ Ibid., 548; and, in Pastreich, “The Reception of Chinese Literature in Japan,” 1093.

¹⁸ Iwasaku no Kami (Boulder Splitter) is the deity created by Izanami (He Who Beckoned) after he beheaded his son, the fire deity Kagutsuchi (Flickering Elder) who caused the death of Izanagi (She Who Beckoned) by his birth. The figure of Iwasaku no Kami became equivalent with Konpira (S. Kumbhira), a protective and healing deity, and one of Twelve Divine Generals in Buddhism. The cult of Konpira became widespread during the Tokugawa period. The original *Kojiki* myth can be found in Yoshinori Yamaguchi et al., eds., *Kojiki*, Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 1 (Shōgakusan, 2007), 43; the English translation of the same myth can be found in Gustav Heldt, *The Kojiki: An Account of Ancient Matters* (Columbia University Press, 2014), 13-14. For the discussion of the Konpira cult in Japan, please see Shanti Devi, “Hospitality for the Gods: Popular Religion in Edo, Japan, an Example” (Ph.D. diss., University of Hawaii, 1986).

Saiyūki kokuji hyō 続西遊記国字総評 (*General Commentary on the Record of the Westward Journey in the Native Script: Continued*) devoted entirely to the *Journey to the West*, which was later continued by Kimura Michiaki 木村 通明 (1787–1856) in *Go Saiyūki kokuji hyō* 後西遊記国字総評 (*General Commentary on the Record of the Westward Journey in the Native Script: Postscript*, 1834).

Chapter 2: History of the Japanese translation of *Journey to the West*

The first “official” Japanese translation of *Journey to the West* went through a lengthy relay of changing translators in the course of almost eighty years (1758–1837) until a complete version was finally made available to the widest audience of readers. Nishida Korenori 西田維則 (?–1765), a Confucian scholar and professional translator of Chinese vernacular fiction from Kyoto, was to become the first Japanese translator of *JW*.¹⁹ Not much is known about Nishida’s life, except that he was born in Ōmi Province (modern-day Shiga Prefecture) and was an acquaintance of Sawada Issai 沢田一斎 (1701–1782), a prominent Confucian scholar, a *litterateur* with wide connections to cultural figures in Western Japan, an author, a professional publisher and an owner of the Kyoto-based Fūgetsudō (Fūgetsu Shōzaemon) 風月堂 (風月荘左衛門) bookstore.²⁰ The postface to Sawada’s translation of *huaben*²¹ 話本 stories, *Engi kyōgiden* 演義俠妓伝 (*The Vernacular Tale of the Righteous Courtesan*), published around 1749, is attributed to Nishida. He was also a disciple of Oka Hakku 岡白駒 (1692–1767),²² a professional teacher and writer, and arguably the first intellectual to take up the promotion of Chinese vernacular fiction outside of Confucian circles.²³ Hakku was trained in Itō Tōgai’s (1670–1738) academy, the Kogidō 古義堂, lectured on *Shuihuzhuan* 水滸伝 (J. *Suikoden*, *Water Margin*) in

¹⁹ In the discussion of the Japanese translation of *JW* and its reception in early modern Japan, I rely on the extensive scholarship of Isobe Akira, and his voluminous research—Isobe Akira, *Saiyūki jūyōshi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Taiga Shuppan, 1995); and, Isobe Akira, *Tabi iku Son Gokū, higashi Ajia no Saiyūki* (Tokyo: Taiga Shuppan, 2011).

²⁰ Pastreich, “The Reception of Chinese Vernacular Narrative,” 400.

²¹ *Huaben*, or vernacular story, is a genre of a short or medium length narrative written in vernacular Chinese.

²² Kawaguchi Ken’ichi, “Nguyen Du (Guen Zū) to Bakin: Futatsu no Sakuhin o Megutte,” in *Nihongo-Nihongaku kenkyū* 3 (Kokusai Nihon kenkyū Sentaa, 2013), 200.

²³ Pastreich, “The Reception of Chinese Vernacular Narrative,” 395-419.

the 1720's for a growing audience for non-classical Chinese texts in Osaka and Kyoto and published several titles through the auspices of Sawada's Fūgetsudō.²⁴

Nishida has initially translated first chapters of *JW*, chapters 1 through 26, published under the title *Tsūzoku Saiyūki* 通俗西遊記 (literally, *Popular Edition of the Record of the Westward Journey*) in 1758, with the Kyoto publisher Araya Heijirō 新屋平次郎.²⁵ Isobe Akira describes an earlier publication of the translation of *JW*, published in 1756, under the title of *Saiyūki kangeshō* 西遊記勸化抄 (*Selection of the Buddhist Teachings from the Journey to the West*), which appeared in the book catalog of *Kyōto shorin gyōji kamikumi saichō hyōmoku* 京都書林行事上組濟帳標目 (1756).²⁶ This earlier publication was a “pilot version” created by Nishida for the preliminary evaluative purposes of *hyōban* 評判 (book critic).²⁷

Numerous other translations of vernacular Chinese texts were produced by Nishida aimed at a general reading audience. Among those titles—*Tsūzoku Zui no Yōdai gaishi* 通俗隋煬帝外史 (*Popular Edition of an Unofficial History of Emperor Yang of Sui*, 1760), *Tsūzoku sekijō kien* 通俗赤繩奇縁 (*Popular Edition of the Strange Fate of the Red Strings*, 1761), *Keinō jirei* 奚囊字例 (*The Pouch of Chinese Verses: Examples of Texts* 1762), and *Tsūzoku Kingyōden* 通俗金翹伝 (*Popular Edition of the Legend of Jin Zhong, Cuiyun, and Cuiqiao*, 1763)—were also published through Fūgetsudō. His translation of *JW* stood as close and the most accurate version

²⁴ Ibid., 400, 418.

²⁵ Isobe, *Tabi iku Son Gokū*, 194.

²⁶ Ibid., 192.

²⁷ Ibid., 193.

of the original text,²⁸ which may attest to Nishida's extensive knowledge of the Chinese vernacular language and Chinese culture which resulted in his straightforward and transparent translation.²⁹ Korenori seemed to be using *Xiyou zhengdao shu* 西遊証道書, or *Xiyou zhengdao qishu* 西遊証道奇書 (1662), a Qing-dynasty version of the *JW* in his work, which is a shorter, abridged version of the *JW* in comparison to the Shidetang version. He passed away in 1765 without completing the full translation of the novel.

After a long stall of twenty-six years, another translator by the name of Ishimaro Sanjin 石磨呂山人 (?-?) from Edo continued the work initiated by Nishida. Ishimaro translated chapters 27 through 39, which were published under the same title as the first chapters of *Tsūzoku Saiyūki* by the Kyoto publisher Maruya Ichibee 京都丸屋市兵衛 in 1784. Two years later in 1786, chapters 40 through 47 were also published. The review of the translation made by Sanjin shows that he was sufficiently knowledgeable in vernacular Chinese,³⁰ however, not much is known about his experience of translating other Chinese texts. Ishimaro used a different Qing-dynasty abridged ten-volume-version of *JW* entitled *Xiyou zhenquan* 西遊真詮 (1694), which is considered inferior to the version used in translation of the first twenty-six chapters by Korenori.³¹

²⁸ Ibid., 194.

²⁹ Pastreich, "The Reception of Chinese Literature in Japan," 1079-1095.

³⁰ Isobe, *Tabi iku Son Gokū*, 194-195.

³¹ Ibid., 194.

Thirteen years later, Ogata Teisai 尾形貞齋 (dates unknown) became the third translator to participate in the translation of *JW*. Ogata worked on chapters 48 through 53, which were published in 1799.³² Teisai used the same Qing-dynasty version of *JW* as Sanjin, *Xiyou zhenquan*.

In 1806, a revised and improved edition by Ishida Naotomo 石田尚友, (1737–1812?), of Nishida’s initial chapters (1-27) and Sanjin’s subsequent chapters (27-29) was compiled and published as Volume One of *Ehon saiyūki* 繪本西遊記 (literally, *the Illustrated Book of the Record of the Westward Journey*) by Osaka publisher Kawachiya Mohee 河内屋茂兵衛.³³ Illustrations for this volume were created by Oohara Tōya 大原東野 (1771–1840). The original *kanbun* 漢文 (Chinese text) preface was adopted from the Shidetang version of *JW*, which is attributed to Chen Yuanzhi 陳元之 (?-?), and contained interpretive information about the origins and reception of the novel in Ming-dynasty China, comparing it to a religious allegory.

In 1827, the same publisher released Volume Two of *Ehon Saiyūki*, which contained the subsequent chapters (30-47) by Sanjin and Teisai (chapters 48-53). Chapters that were incorporated into that volume were edited by Yamada Keizō 山田圭藏 (dates unknown), and illustrations were drawn by Utagawa Toyohiro 歌川豊広 (1774–1830).

Finally, Gakutei Kyūzan 岳亭丘山 (1786?–1848) became the last translator to enter the interminable “relay” in *JW*’s Japanese translation history. An *ukiyo-e* artist, book illustrator, *gesaku* (playful composition) writer and *kyōka* 狂歌 (comic *waka*) poet, Kyūzan was a disciple of Toyota Hokkei 魚屋北溪 (1780–1850) and Katsushika Hokusai 葛飾北齋 (1760?–1849). After translating chapters 54 through 79, which were finalized and compiled as Volume Three in

³² Ibid., 196.

³³ Ibid., 201.

1835, and chapters 80 through 100 as Volume Four in 1837, the translation of *JW* was complete and published under the title *Ehon Saiyū zenden* 画本西遊全伝 (literally, *Illustrated Book of the Complete Account of the Westward Journey*) by the previously mentioned Osaka-based publisher Kawachiya Mohee in 1837.³⁴ Both volumes were lavishly illustrated by Katsushika Hokusai.

After the publication of *Illustrated Book of the Complete Account of the Westward Journey* in 1837 by a number of publishers (such as Shimizu no Jirōchō 清水市次郎, Noriki Shooku 法木書屋, Tōkyō Kingyoku Shuppansha 東京金玉出版社), almost every three, five years, a reprint, abridgement or adaptation based on *JW* continue to reemerge in Japan right until the present day, such as, for instance, the most recent *manga* adaptation of *JW* by Minekura Kazuya 峰倉かずや, *Saiyūki Reload Blast*, published by ZERO-SUM Comics in 2014.

³⁴ Ibid., 201-202.

Chapter 3: Reception of *Journey to the West* in Early Modern Japan

Borrowing the language of Haruo Shirane in relation to the reception of the *Tale of Genji*, ever since the publication of the first chapters of *Journey to the West* translated by Korenori in the middle-Edo period (1758), it has been also possible to talk about the reception of this late-Ming novel in terms of both “readerly” and “writerly” reception in the Japanese context.³⁵ Especially distinguished was the writerly reception of *JW*, as it became the source of inspiration for numerous translations, abridged adaptations and variations received and re-created in a wide range of media, such as *ehon* 絵本 (illustrated books), *nishiki-e* 錦絵 (brocade pictures) prints, *jōruri bunraku* 浄瑠璃文楽 (puppet theater) and kabuki.

In the scholarly literature up to the present, *JW* has been interpreted as a religious allegory, “supra-mundane (*shenhua xiaoshuo* 神話小説), a “novel of gods and demons” (*shenmo xiaoshuo* 神魔小説), a “work of comic fantasy”, a satire of life and the world, a detailed treatise of internal alchemy, an illumination of the Confucian Dao, or simply as adventure or fantasy.³⁶ It has been pigeonholed as a Buddhist, Daoist or Confucian manual for self-cultivation or as an allegory to the Three-Religions-Joining-As-One movement (*sanjiao heyi* 三教合一).³⁷ In regard to the multi-layered-ness of *JW*, Anthony Yu wrote that, “the novel, in sum, represents a complex discursive heterology not disposed to easy assimilation or classification.”³⁸ Therefore,

³⁵ Haruo Shirane, *Envisioning the Tale of Genji: Media, Gender, and Cultural Production* (Columbia University Press, 2008), 9.

³⁶ Barbara Wall, “Transformations of *Xiyouji* in Korean Intertexts and Hypertexts” (PhD diss., Ruhr University, 2014), 17.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 17.

³⁸ Anthony Yu, *The Journey to the West*, Revised Edition, Volume 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 19.

due to its diverse facets *JW* makes multiple interpretations possible while denying any absolute resolution.³⁹

In the words of the Japanese Edo-period literati (*bunjin* 文人) Yamazaki Yoshishige 山崎美成 (1796-1856), who wrote about *JW* in his *San'yō Zakki* 三養雜記 (*Records of San'yō Zatsu*, 1837), the novel in the early modern period was perceived predominantly as a work of fiction, based on historical antecedents:

The book of the *JW* is thought to be a fictional account about the Heart-Monkey and the journey of the priest Xuanzang Tripitaka to the western regions based on the *Great Tang Records on the Western Regions* and *The Biography of Master Tripitaka of the Great Cien Monastery of the Great Tang Dynasty*.

西遊記の一書も、亦心猿をむねとし、玄奘三蔵の西域に行けるさまを、西域記・慈恩伝などにもとづきて、つくりし話説とぞおもはるる。⁴⁰

In a similar vein, Tōjō Kindai 東条琴台 (1795–1878), an Edo-period textual critic,⁴¹ also wrote about *JW* in *Shiko hitsudoku bokushomoku* 四庫必読墨書目 (*List of Works Written in Ink and Necessary for Reading from the Four Storehouse*, date of publication unknown) and drew a generic connection between the contemporary novels of his time and the novels like *JW* and *Water Margin*, calling them “romances” (*engi* 演義 or *ingeki* 陰劇):

³⁹ Wall, “Transformations,” 18.

⁴⁰ Isobe, *Tabi iku Son Gokū*, 201.

⁴¹ Isobe identifies Tōjō Kindai as a “kōshō gakusha” (考証学者), which refers to a *Kaosheng* 考證 (search for evidence) school and approach to studies of ancient Chinese texts, which became most prominent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in China. Since this particular approach corresponds to methods of modern textual criticism, I render “kōshō gakusha” as textual critic.

The novel (*JW*) is different from historical records and contains observations about [Chinese] people, and transmits parables and sayings. It is useful for gaining a profound understanding of all creatures, from beings of another world to various plants and animals. It is similar to writings of our land. Erroneously, like *Water Margin*, it is considered to be a novel (*shōsetsu* 小説)⁴² by people in our society. However, [both] the *Water Margin* and the *Journey to the West* belong to the kind of [Chinese vernacular] romance.

小説ハ正史実録ノ外、朝野ノ見聞ヲ記、賢愚ノ言談ヲ伝へ、幽冥現著ノ事ヨリ動植変異ノ跡マテ識得ハ、飛耳長目ノ裨益ト成ベシ、我土ノ家紀物語ト同様ノ事ナリ、世上ノ人水滸伝西遊記等ノ類ヲ以テ小説ト思ハ、大ニ非ナリ、水滸西遊ノ類ハ演義話トテ院劇ノ属ヒナリ。⁴³

In addition to these two examples, extant are at least two essays by Kyokutei Bakin on the subject of *JW*, containing extensive notes on the content of the novel, unclear textual instances, and even short criticism on the authorial problem of *JW*. *Saiyūki shōroku* 西遊記抄録 (*The Excerpts of Journey to the West*, 1830), a *JW*-reading diary of Bakin, contains detailed descriptions of each chapter, and instances of each and every linguistic challenge the writer encountered at reading it.⁴⁴ Another essay entitled *Saiyūki kokujihyō* 続西遊記国字評 (*Notes on the Journey to the West in the State Letters*, 1833)⁴⁵ represents a critical assessment of the late-

⁴² The term *shōsetsu* here refers to the Chinese term *xiaoshuo* used by Chinese scholars and literateurs to refer to Chinese vernacular novels like *Journey to the West* and *Water Margin*.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 202.

⁴⁴ The text of *Saiyūki shōroku* is available in Kanda Masayuki, “Kyokutei Bakin *Saiyūki shōroku* kaidai to honkoku (jō),” *Meiji Daigaku kyōyō ronshū* 492 (March 2013), 1-37; and Kanda Masayuki, “Kyokutei Bakin *Saiyūki shōroku* kaidai to honkoku (ge) tsuki *Konpirabune rishō no tomozuna* Bakin jijo,” *Meiji Daigaku kyōyō ronshū* 494 (September 2013), 27-64.

⁴⁵ The texts of *Zoku Saiyūki kokujihyō* and *Go Saiyūki kokujihyō* are available in Shibata Mitsuhiko, ed., *Bakin hyōtōshū* 5 (Waseda Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1988-1991).

Ming novel, in which Bakin attempts to treat a wide range of issues from epistemological differences in *JW* editions, such as the depictions of main protagonists of *JW* as more demon or bodhisattva-like depending on the philosophical intentions of the editors, or the allegorical meaning of each weapon in the possession of the characters of *JW*, to such metaphysical issues as the ways of achieving enlightenment, concealed in the name of Son Gokū, rendered by Bakin as “the ‘Monkey Mind’ Piercing into Emptiness.” Some historical records also suggest that Bakin consulted Buddhist writings, such as the *Avatamsaka Sutra* (*Flower Adornment Sutra*, Ch. Huayan Jing, J. *Kegonkyō* 華嚴經, ca. fourth century),⁴⁶ one of the most influential sutras of Mahāyāna Buddhism, probably to make sense of the text of *JW*, and to find answers to religious and philosophical questions posed by the novel. The treatment of all issues brought up in Bakin’s critical essay would probably require another chapter in this thesis, but examples such as *Notes on the Journey to the West in the State Letters*, attest of the ongoing interest of Japanese intellectuals in the esoteric and philosophical meanings of this masterpiece of the Chinese classical tradition, as well as the serious attitude behind the attempts to engage with the ideological critique of vernacular fiction,

The following list presents extant publications related to *JW* published in the Tokugawa period appearing in the chronological order (See Table 1),

⁴⁶ Kanda, “Kyokutei Bakin *Saiyūki shōroku* (jō),” 14-18.

Year	Genre	Author	Title
1784	<i>ehon</i>	Shimizu Enjū	<i>Tsūzoku kazu eiyūdan</i> (通俗画図勢勇談)
1816-1860	<i>bunraku jōruri</i>	Sagawa Fujitara	<i>Gotenjiku</i> (五天竺)
1825-1831	<i>gōkan</i>	Kyokutei Bakin	<i>Konpirabune rishō no tomozuna</i> (金毘羅船利生纜)
1828	<i>gōkan</i>	Tamenaga Shunsui	<i>Fūzoku onna Saiyūki</i> (風俗女西遊記)
1830	<i>zuihitsu</i>	Kyokutei Bakin	<i>Saiyūki shōroku</i> (西遊記抄録)
1833	<i>zuihitsu</i>	Kyokutei Bakin	<i>Zoku Saiyūki kokujihyō</i> (続西遊記国字評)
1834	<i>zuihitsu</i>	Kimura Michiaki	<i>Go Saiyūki kokujihyō</i> (後西遊記国字評)
ca. 1850	<i>ehon</i>	Ryūtei Senka	<i>Saiyūki eshō</i> (西遊記絵抄)
1883 ⁴⁷	<i>nishiki-e</i> album	Tsukioka Yoshitoshi	<i>Ehon Saiyūki zenden</i> (絵本西遊記全伝)
1883 ⁴⁸	press print	n/a	<i>Ehon Saiyūki</i> (絵本西遊記)

Table 1 List of publications related to *JW* published in the Tokugawa period

⁴⁷ The *nishiki-e* album by Tsukioka Yoshitoshi *Ehon Saiyūki zenden* was published in year 1883 (Meiji 16) in Meiji period. I add this visual work to this list to show a fuller trajectory of the reception of *JW* in Japan.

⁴⁸ This press print publication of 1886 entitled *Ehon Saiyūki* by various publishers represents a full 4-volume publication of the first complete translation of *JW* into Japanese.

Two of these works, a *gōkan* *Konpira-bune rishō no tomozuna* 金毘羅船利生纜 (*Life Lines of Grace of the Konpira's Boat*) serialized between 1825 and 1831 by Kyokutei Bakin, and another *gōkan* *Fūzoku onna Saiyūki* 風俗女西遊記 (literally, *Women's Record of the Westward Journey in the Current Style*, henceforth *Women's Journey to the West in the Current Style*) by Tamenaga Shunsui 為永春水 (1790–1843), published in 1828, loom as the most relevant to this study. Although both *gōkan* are based on *JW*, the way the original work is used in them is fundamentally different. Bakin's *Life Lines of Grace of the Konpira's Boat* incorporates *JW* as its principal *sekai* 世界 (world, or historical framework), while transposing its plot and characters into the familiar terrains of the Japanese classical tradition as its *shukō* 趣向 (innovative twist on plot). Bakin seamlessly combines the narrative of chapters 1-7 of *JW* (also known as *Great Havoc in Heaven* 大鬧天宮) with the Shinto legends of *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (*Chronicles of Japan*, ca. 720), motifs from *bunraku* theater, and historical figures of Japan, and creates a new, convoluted and thrilling tale about Ishikawa, the King of Tengus.⁴⁹ On the other hand, Shunsui's *Women's Journey to the West* uses *JW* as its *shukō* incorporated into the *sekai* of a vendetta narrative, reversing the gender of Priest Tripitaka and his disciples to women and adding motifs and allusions to other Chinese literary narratives. In order to limit the scale of this thesis, I will have to omit a discussion of Bakin's *Life Lines of Grace of the Konpira's Boat*, but

⁴⁹ In *Life Lines of Grace of the Konpira's Boat*, Bakin does not exactly call his main protagonist Ishikawa “the King of Tengus,” in the stead of Son Gokū, the King of Monkeys, but he does draw this parallel by depicting him as a long-nosed *tengu* coming out from a mountain in the episode of his birth at Mt. Hōben. Later, in the text Eisen, the illustrator of this *gōkan*, renders Ishikawa having a human-like figure with a long nose. Another work used as a *sekai* in *Life Lines of Grace* could be a *jōruri* play by Tsusui Hanji 筒井半二 (dates unknown) *Konpira rishōki hana no ueno homare no ishibumi* 金毘羅利生記花上野譽の石碑 (1778), a popular vendetta story that tells of an orphaned boy by the name Tamiya Bōtarō from the town of Marukame who travels across the Inland Sea to Sanuki Province to learn swordsmanship from *tengu* living in the mountain Zōzu to avenge the murder of his father Tamiya Gempachi by Moriguchi Gentazaemon.

Shunsui's *Women's Journey to the West in the Current Style* will be the subject of socio-literary analysis in the fourth chapter of this study.

Chapter 4: Socio-literary Analysis of Tamenaga Shunsui's *Fūzoku onna Saiyūki*

4.1 Socio-cultural Topography of the Late Tokugawa Period

The twilight of the Tokugawa period, *bakumatsu* 幕末, the beginning of which some Japanese historians place in the Tenpō (1830–1844) era, was marked by massive political, economic, and social transformations in Japanese society, accompanying the physical, and demographic expansion of major urban centers, and resulting in the differentiation, and pluralization of newly-emergent social identities that were difficult to assimilate to the categories of prevailing, Tokugawa-sanctioned political orthodoxy.⁵⁰ Cultural diversity brought about by the radical material expansion of the social urban environment exceeded the limits of its formal constraints, grew larger and more complex, and eroded older guarantees of social solidarity among the “four classes,” and the fixed identities in the binary system of the ruler and ruled.⁵¹ Inspired by the world of theater, the new cultural praxis enabled a re-conceptualization of the sociopolitical whole that allowed the accommodation of new, complex and diverse demands and expectations articulated by contemporary life, and proclaimed by, what was called in the research literature on the Tokugawa period, the “culture of play.”

⁵⁰ Harootunian suggests that the beginning of the “culture of play” that came to characterize *bakumatsu* started in the late eighteenth century, or the early 1800s, based on the argument of a number of Japanese scholars. In Harry D. Harootunian, “Late Tokugawa Culture and Thought,” in *The Cambridge History of Japan, Volume 5 The Nineteenth Century*, ed. Marius B. Jansen (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 168-258. Harootunian’s extensive scholarship on the intellectual history of the late Tokugawa has been of immense help and provides basis for arguments expressed throughout this study. For an exhaustive discussion of the intellectual history of the late Tokugawa, see also Harry D. Harootunian, *Toward Restoration: The Growth of Political Consciousness in Tokugawa Japan* (University of California Press, 1970).

⁵¹ Harootunian introduces the term of “cultural surplus” as a result of his reading of Hayashiya Tatsusaburō’s *Bakumatsu bunka no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1978). “Cultural diversity” is my own reading of Harootunian’s scholarship, in Harootunian, “Late Tokugawa Culture and Thought,” 169. The “Four classes” of Tokugawa: samurai (*shi*), farmer (*nō*), craftsman (*kō*), and merchant (*shō*).

During the “Kasei era,” (or “Kaseiki” 化政期) as the Bunka-Bunsei years (1804–1830) are often termed, which marked the “Indian summer” of the late Tokugawa period,⁵² right after the Kansei reforms (1789–1801) enacted by Matsudaira Sadanobu 松平定信 (1759–1829), and before the Tenpō reforms (1830–1844) of Mizuno Tadakuni 水野忠邦 (1794–1851), this culture of play had peaked in its efflorescence, and came to collectively signify countless new modes of social representation, cultural practices, and gender-ambiguous identities incongruent with the state-sponsored, dominant Confucian ideology.⁵³ Over the course of this cultural development, the interest of the urban populace shifted towards preoccupation with the contemporary customs of common everyday life, interiority, self-reflexive psychology, and a newly-formed social constituency, rather than recovering philosophical and ethical lessons from antiquity.⁵⁴ Keenly aware of such shift in consumerist predilections, producers of popular culture flooded the market with artistic works that invariably concentrated on the details and nuances of the contemporary life of the low-lying plebeian districts of Edo, abounded in eroticism and earthly satire, vigor and gallantry, “volatility, parody and pastiche.”⁵⁵ Activities of the body and often “gargantuan indulgences” became the central motif of the cultural practice of the late Tokugawa, which marked the “ascendency of a new kind of human subject”—the urban commoner—who “had

⁵² This metaphor belongs to Marius B. Jansen. In Marius B. Jansen, “Japan in the Early Nineteenth Century” in *The Cambridge History of Japan, Volume 5 The Nineteenth Century*, ed. Marius B. Jansen (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 50.

⁵³ Mostow describes a number of newly-emergent gender ambiguous identities in his insightful study, “Wakashu as a Third Gender and Gender Ambiguity through the Edo Period,” in Joshua S. Mostow and Asato Ikeda eds., *A Third Gender: Beautiful Youths in Japanese Edo-period Prints and Paintings (1600–1868)* (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 2016), 19-38.

⁵⁴ Harootunian, “Late Tokugawa Culture and Thought,” 177.

⁵⁵ In the following description of Edo aesthetics, I rely on Leslie Pincus’s *Authenticating Culture in Imperial Japan: Kuki Shūzō and the Rise of National Aesthetics* (University of California Press, 1996). Also, see Joshua S. Mostow, “Utagawa Shunga, Kuki’s ‘Chic,’ and the Construction of a National Erotics in Japan,” in *Performing “Nation”: Gender Politics in Literature, Theater, and the Visual Arts of China and Japan, 1880-1940*, Doris Croissant, Catherine Vance Yeh, and Joshua S. Mostow, eds., (Boston: Brill, 2008), 383-424, for another comprehensive critique of this conceptualization of *iki*.

come into possession of social and economic resources that enabled them to represent the life they actually lived rather than the life they were instructed to live.”⁵⁶

The late Tokugawa period was also marked by the emergence of a new provocative style of *iki* 粋, which characterized and shaped the ongoing sociopolitical and economic transformations. Emergence of the aesthetics such as *iki* was, nonetheless, according to Harootunian, also an experience of the late years of the Kamakura (1185–1333), manifested by a cultural style known as *basara* 婆娑羅, and *kabuki* 歌舞伎 (or, *kabuku* 歌舞く) in the Muromachi period (1392–1573).⁵⁷ In the modern era, too, historiographers were able to recognize the same subversive patterns of fascination with gender ambiguity and transgression of gender boundaries in the cultural developments of the Taishō period (1912–1926), defined as the feminine “culture of personality,” succeeding the masculine “civilization of character” of the Meiji (1867–1912), and giving prominence to discussions of sexuality and gender issues in popular periodical magazines, literature, film, music, and performative arts, such as, for instance, the all-female Takarazuka theater.⁵⁸ Those historiographers also suggested that the emergences of such counter-cultures in the “decadent and benighted” stages of their respective political continua were in no way unnatural, but, in fact, evolutionary and inevitable.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Ibid., 128-129; “Gargantuan indulgences” metaphor hails from Harootunian’s “Late Tokugawa Culture and Thought,” 173.

⁵⁷ Harootunian, “Late Tokugawa Culture and Thought,” 169.

⁵⁸ Donald Roden draws parallels between Weimer Germany and Taishō Japan, echoing Harootunian’s argument, “Meiji civilization summoned purpose and goal—self-sacrifice and nationalism—whereas Taishō culture [...] evoked new associations related to the nuances of consumers’ life, to individualism, culturalism, and cosmopolitanism,” in Donald Roden, “Taishō Culture and the Problem of Gender Ambivalence,” in *Culture and Identity: Japanese Intellectuals during the Interwar Years*, ed. J. Thomas Rimer (Princeton University Press, 2014), 42.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 54-55.

Invoking the strange, eccentric and the “different,” *iki* epitomized the burgeoning *chōnin* 町人 (townsmen) culture of a rising mercantile class that found itself in the center of economic and cultural life of the late Tokugawa, and was characterized by “restrained wantonness, and playful bravado,” resistance, and even disdain for the ruling ideology of the nearly-bankrupt samurai gentry; it capitalized on an expertise acquired in the practices of the pleasure quarters, or *akusho* 悪所 (“places of odium”), esteemed by the cultural sophisticates and affluent plebeians of the Kaseiki Edo.⁶⁰ Within this time period, stylistic attributes of *iki* disseminated widely among Edoites and served as a privileged sign of the highly conceptualized cultural refinement of the natural-born *Edokko* 江戸っ子 (children of Edo), in contrast to *yabo* 野暮 (boors, or even savages) migrating in large numbers to Edo from the provinces.⁶¹

The aesthetics of *iki* manifested itself through a number of external and internal attributes. External attributes included certain natural, sensory, and art objects, fashions and styles of architecture, furniture, and kimono; the internal attributes, however, were limited to the three characteristics—*bitai* 媚態, which is rendered in English by “seductiveness,” or “erotic allure”, *ikuji* 意気地 “fearless pride” that conveys “the sense of self-esteem, strength of will, and daring”, and *akirame* 諦め, “resignation” signifying an attitude of disinterestedness, and the Buddhist-like idea of freedom from attachment.⁶² These attributes of *iki* were elucidated and conceptualized by Kuki Shūzō 九鬼修三 (1888–1941), a philosopher, ideologue, and collector of Edo relics, who, in contrast to scholars of the imperial culture of the Heian period, elevated the Kaseiki culture of the late Tokugawa as the native place of a self-possessed Japanese culture. In his “*Iki*” *no kōzō*

⁶⁰ Pincus, *Authenticating Culture in Imperial Japan*, 16.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 107.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 126-135.

粹の構造 (*The Structure of Edo Aesthetic Style*, 1930), he attempted to pull from the extensive compendia of lists and notes on the *iki* aesthetics the eternal landscape of the Japanese spirit removed from its historical coordinates of the late Tokugawa into the “timeless reaches of national subjectivity.”⁶³

Among the Edo townsfolk most closely associated with the *iki* aesthetics were *haori geisha* 羽織芸者, a class of female musicians and entertainers from the unlicensed prostitution district of Fukagawa. By the Kaseiki, the *haori*, or *tatsumi* (“southeast”) *geisha* 辰巳芸者 had acquired a “strongly cemented identity” embodying a female ideal exalted and eulogized in *ninjōbon* 人情本 (sentimental fiction), who were financially independent, strong-willed, and defiant, as exemplified by the geisha Yonehachi, the main female protagonist of *Shunshoku umegoyomi* 春色梅児誉美 (*Spring-Color Plum Calendar*, 1832), who were distinct from the prostitutes (*keisei* 傾城) confined to the brothels of the licensed quarters. *Haori geisha* “wore men’s over jackets (*haori* 羽織), and shaved the tops of their heads like *wakashu* 若衆 (male youths). They wore lighter makeup than the professionals of Yoshiwara, and their professional names were often distinguishable from those of men. Their hairstyle became so popular that it was taken up by other townsmen as well,”⁶⁴ as demonstrated in the following passage from the *Plum Calendar*,

Ah, Futagawa,⁶⁵ where the people are as known for their chic sense of style as for their warm human emotions. It is here that all the trends and fashions of the floating world

⁶³ Ibid., 126.

⁶⁴ Mostow, “Wakashu as a Third Gender,” 36.

⁶⁵ The name of Fukagawa 深川 is transformed into *Futagawa* 婦多川 (lit. “many-women river”) in Shunsui’s *ninjōbon*. “As an enclave of play, Fukagawa was less ceremonious than the Yoshiwara, more apt to resist the

have their origin, from the bold designs of the costumes of the women of the quarter, to tastes in patterns and dyeing techniques. The Futagawa geisha are distinguished by the short, mannish jackets they affect, and among their number the most famous are Masakichi, Kunikichi, Asakichi, Koito, Toyokichi, Hisakichi, Imasuke, and Kohama. These geisha are the toast of the seven corners of the Futagawa pleasure district, and few are the women who are their equal; indeed, a visitor to this quarter could not consider himself a true connoisseur without being familiar with the names of these famous ladies.⁶⁶

あ あこのとち ふうぞく い き なさけ みなもと およそうきよ りう たつみ たてい
嗚呼此土地の風俗たる、意気と情の源にて、凡浮世の流を、思ひ辰巳の伊達衣

しやう もやう このみぞめいろ げにふ た さきがけ はしをりげいしや おほ わけ たうじ たてもの
装。模様の好染色も、実婦多川が魁にて、端折芸者の多き中、別て当時の名題

まさきち くనికిち あさきち こいと とよきち ひさきち いますけ こはま まれ
には、政吉、国吉、浅吉、小糸、豊吉、久吉、今助、小濱、これにつゞくはまた稀

なゝ ばしろうわさ ひ とつぶゑり まろうどこのしや な ふ たがはつう
にて、七場所噂の一ト粒選、客人此芸姉の名を知らずは、婦多川通とは言べからず。

67

Iki and *nasake* 情 (sensitivity, or *jō*, or, by implication, *ninjō* 人情), a “chic sense of style” and “human feeling”—a melodramatic and sentimental aesthetic became the overarching paradigm of literary production in all genres of literature from the beginning of the nineteenth century until the end of the Meiji period, according to Daniel Poch. Firmly established in the discourse on

pressures of orthodoxy. The Fukagawa geisha, increasingly the exemplar of Edo style and talent, was easily recognizable [...].” In Pincus, *Authenticating Culture in Imperial Japan*, 123-124.

⁶⁶ Tamenaga Shunsui, *Intimations of Spring: The Plum Calendar*, trans. Valerie Durham, in *An Edo Anthology: Literature from Japan's Mega-City, 1750-1850*, Sumie Jones and Kenji Watanabe, eds., (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2013), 96.

⁶⁷ Nakamura Yukihiko, ed., *Shunshoku umegoyomi*, Nihon koten bungaku taikai 64 (Iwanami Shoten, 1962), 178.

mono no aware 物の哀れ (pathos of things) and the transgressive nature of “human feeling” by Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730-1801),⁶⁸ the *ninjō* aesthetics was regarded as the core constituent of *Genji monogatari* (*The Tale of Genji*, ca. early eleventh century), as well as the very essence of *waka* 和歌 poetry, and ultimately of Japanese sensibility. It became increasingly appropriated by writers of sentimental fiction (*ninjōbon*)—the most widely circulated and consumed genre of popular literature of the late Tokugawa.⁶⁹

At the heart of this melodramatic mode was a juxtaposition of “human feeling” against the problem of the newly-aggrandized capital of the *chōnin* class—“the problem of money and its power in the world.” This mode promoted the social imaginary of a social utopia where money was powerless, “castigated and excised.”⁷⁰ The conflict between “human feeling” and capital was resolved in favor of the virtue of (female) love, and status—“the removal of the various characters from positions in a world of commerce and their restoration to positions within a feudal status society of lords and vassals.”⁷¹ Any change in the horizon of readerly expectations was never within the ideological dimension of *ninjōbon*, but rather a fulfillment of expectations “prescribed by a ruling standard of taste [*iki*],”

The melodramatic mode can be contestatory, even liberating, because it breaks through all of the social taboos of reality, because it offers a dream world in which anything may be

⁶⁸ For the most fascinating investigation of textual negotiations of *ninjō* (human feeling) and its ethically disruptive potential in the Japanese literature of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, see Daniel Poch, “Ethics of Emotion in Nineteenth-Century Japanese Literature: Shunsui, Bakin, the Political Novel, Shōyō, Sōseki” (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2014), 8.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁷⁰ This argument is made by Jonathan Zwicker. In his outstanding book on melodrama and social imaginary, Zwicker argues with the support of statistical evidence that melodramatic literature was the most widely read until the advent of the twentieth century. In Jonathan E. Zwicker, *Practices of the Sentimental Imagination: Melodrama, the Novel, and the Social Imaginary in Nineteenth-century Japan* (Harvard University Asia Center, 2006), 105.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 121.

said and in which all virtue is rewarded and all villainy punished; but this contestatory, liberating dimension of the mode is itself over when the dream is over and one is left where one began.⁷²

What *ninjōbon* offered was the space for liberation for a wide array of potentially transgressive feelings ranging from “desire and affection to despair and bewilderment” enacted through the empathetic, and tough female exemplars of *iki* like Yonehachi, or their male counterparts like kabuki’s Sukeroku,⁷³ whilst simultaneously constructing an ideology, in no way escapist, nor antagonistic towards the ruling samurai gentry but one in which the power of capital is confronted, disavowed and eliminated, and the Manichean structure of good versus evil is reiterated and restored amidst the reality of sociopolitical chaos of the late Tokugawa where class-roles were reversed, and right and wrong was no longer self-evident. Having reached an unprecedented degree of complexity and sophistication during the Tenpō era, *ninjōbon* offered readers sublimation, or the “happy satisfaction of an instinct,” and sustenance for imagination, crafted, in a free act of mythmaking, by private “ideologues” like those of Tamenaga Shunsui and Ryūtei Tanehiko (1783–1842) who existed outside legal, ideology-making authority.⁷⁴ The more *gesaku* writers moved to the edge of emotional intensity and liberation, the greater the degree of relief was, and the stronger the readers embraced the neither-fish-nor-fowl provocateurs from the fringes of Fukagawa’s *demimonde*, boldly dancing out the antic on the pages of melodramatic tearjerkers. The commercial success and popularity of these works, as well as the act of private manufacturing of ideology by their authors, presented itself as an

⁷² Ibid., 119.

⁷³ Pincus, *Authenticating Culture in Imperial Japan*, 125, 132.

⁷⁴ Zwicker, *Practices of the Sentimental Imagination*, 119-120, 123-124.

unsettling challenge to the ideological monopoly of the state, which eventually led to the crackdown on *ninjōbon* during the Tenpō Reforms.

4.2 Cross-generic Phenomenon of *Onna-mono*

In *Harutsugedori* 春告鳥 (*Harbinger of Spring*, or *The Feathered Herald of Spring*, 1836), one of the *chefs d'oeuvre* of sentimental fiction by Tamenaga Shunsui, we find the following descriptive sketch of one of its female protagonists,

She [Chidori] would not give in to illicit affairs, but since she has only just begun to bloom, she looked as pretty as a flower. What a shame it was to see her fingering the rosary and being addressed by a religious name of Shunshin-in. It was like beholding an enviable sight—of butterflies intertwined, fluttering to and fro, from a porch in the middle of spring. By herself she decided on the plain appearance, wearing white robes and purple *haori*⁷⁵ on top. And, when she was going out, all the more beautiful than Hama's⁷⁶ *Onna Narukami*,⁷⁷ some people, upon seeing her, would praise her beauty, and some were saddened too saying how pitiful this is, for her to be a widow.

うはき
浮気といふにはあらねども、まだやう / \ に咲初る、花の姿を我ながら、そぐは

ぬ珠数をつまぐりて、春心院しゅんしんいんと法のりの名を付られたるも恥かしく、春の心ににはもせ庭面を

⁷⁵ *Haori* were a typical part of wardrobe of a widowed woman belonging to the upper echelon of society.

⁷⁶ Hama, or Hamamuraya, is the *yagō* (shop name) of a house of actors. In this passage, *Hama* is used in reference to a famous *onnagata* of the period Segawa Kikunōjō III 三代目瀬川菊之丞 (1751–1810).

⁷⁷ *Onna Narukami* 女鳴神 (“Female Thunder God”), in this passage, refers to the main protagonist and the popular title of the kabuki play *Neko no koneko* 子子子子子 (*The Cat's Kittens*) first staged in 1696 at the Nakamura-za theater in Edo. The original male version was staged in 1684 at the Nakamura-za under the title *Kadomatsu Shitennō* 門松四天王 (*The New Year's Pine and the Four Heavenly Kings*). The female version of this play is widely believed to have been written by Ichikawa Danjūrō I 初代市川團十郎 (1660–1704)—creator of the original male version staged twelve years earlier, in 1684, at the same theatre. The *onnagata* actor Segawa Kikunōjō III first played the role of *Onna Narukami* in 1780 in the Ichimura-za theater.

見れば、つがひの蝶々も ^{うらやま}羨 ^{おのづから}しやと思ふより、自然なる化粧風俗、^{みだしなみ}白綾重着て

紫の被布を羽織し出立は、^{いでたち}故人の路考が ^{はま}女鳴神、^{おんななるかみ}猶それよりも ^{うつくし}美麗ければ、是

を見る他人毎に ^{ひとごと}賞 ^{ほめ}ざるものゝあそばこそ、あつたら者を後家さまとはいとしいこ

とやと、[...] ⁷⁸

Chidori's physical beauty, a young widow from the *Harbinger of Spring*, is described as surpassing the beauty of Segawa Kikunojō III, one of the most outstanding among the *onnagata* (female impersonators) in the history of the kabuki theatre.⁷⁹ Segawa Kikunojō III was particularly popular for his performance as *Onna Narukami*—arguably, the earliest *onna-mono* 女物 play staged in 1696 that had enjoyed a long-lasting success,⁸⁰ and appears to have marked the beginning of *kakikae onna kyōgen* 書替女狂言 (rewritten female plays)—an increasingly popular practice in Edo-kabuki production to recast the main masculine hero, or a number of male characters, into a woman (or a group of women), to be performed by a celebrated female impersonator.⁸¹

Although the appearance of female plays, as a distinct subgenre of *Genji nō* 源氏能 plays, can be traced as far back as the fourteenth century,⁸² it was not until the production of *Onna*

⁷⁸ Maeda Ai, ed., *Sharebon, kokkeibon, ninjōbon*, Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 80 (Iwanami Shoten, 2000), 548.

⁷⁹ Galia Petkova, “Performing Gender in Edo-period Kabuki” (PhD diss., SOAS, University of London, 2014), 239-240, 261-264.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 316.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 196.

⁸² Haruo Shirane writes about *Genji nō* plays in the Muromachi period, “*The Tale of Genji* became the subject of *nō* plays, particularly *onna-mono* (women plays)—concentrating on such figures as Ukifune, Yūgao, Lady Aoi, and Lady Rokujō—that took the form of double-structure dream plays. *Sandō* (Three Paths, 1423), which Zeami wrote for his son and which provides guidance on the composition of *nō* plays, notes that in composing “women plays”

Narukami, staged in 1696, that the vogue of recasting well-established, conventionalized “worlds” (*sekai*) in the newly constructed plot (*shukō*), in which its prominent, male character was either recast as a female, or, was intentionally conceived as a female (e.g.: a mother, a wife, a sister, or a daughter) to play a central role, started to hold sway. During this period, *onna-mono* plays were regularly staged in the kabuki theatres of both Kamigata and Edo regions, which led to the emergence of a host of female counterparts of almost all male protagonists, such as *Onna Narukami*, *Onna Shibaraku*, *Onna Goemon*, *Onna Sukeroku*, *Onna Seigen*, making up a large sub-category of the kabuki repertory. The female presence in these productions was marked and advertised in the title of a play by adding *onna* 女 (woman), *musume* 娘 (maiden), or *keisei* 傾城 (prostitute), followed by the name of the male hero (e.g.: *Onna Narukami*, or *Keisei Suikoden*).⁸³

The term *onna-mono*, in contemporary studies, has signified either the “female plays” of *nō* theatre,⁸⁴ or “items for women,” referring to educational primers, and conduct books in studies related to women’s education in early modern Japan.⁸⁵ Drawing upon the landmark scholarship of Galia Petkova Todorova Gabrovska that brings into focus the issue of female plays, and examines, with painstaking detail, all major kabuki productions staged between 1688–1803,⁸⁶ I would like to appropriate this term, and broaden its scope in relation to a literary

(*onna-mono*) the model should be female characters in *The Tale of Genji*, such as Ukifune and Lady Aoi.” Haruo Shirane, “*The Tale of Genji* and the Dynamics of Cultural Production: Canonization and Popularization,” in *Envisioning the Tale of Genji: Media, Gender, and Cultural Production*, ed. Haruo Shirane (Columbia University Press, 2008), 8.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 196.

⁸⁴ Shirane, *Envisioning the Tale of Genji*, 21.

⁸⁵ P.F. Kornicki, Mara Potession, and G. Rowley, *The Female as Subject: Reading and Writing in Early Modern Japan* (University of Michigan Press, 2010), 29.

⁸⁶ Petkova uses the term *onna-mono* in relation to: “(1) the female “imitations” of popular all-male performing arts: *onna sarugaku*, *onna kusemai*, *nyōbō kyōgen* in the late medieval epoch, *onna saruwaka* in the mid-seventeenth century, *o-kyōgen-shi* or *onna yakusha* in the late Edo period and during the Meiji era, *onna-gidayū* (from the second half of the eighteenth century, it is still practised today), *onna bunraku* (from the beginning of the twentieth

subgenre of *gesaku*. Therefore, the term *onna-mono* in this study will refer to an array of *gesaku* productions of the Tokugawa-period which construct a female as its central subject embedded within ethical, epistemological, political, socioeconomic, or cultural contexts, and was designated specifically for consumption by female audiences (but not severely restricted to), in the form, for instance, of a female play (*nyōbō-kyōgen* 女房狂言), or a sentimental novel (*ninjōbon*).⁸⁷

In her study, Gabrovska identifies four groups of *onna-mono* plays, “based on the extent to which they fit into the definition of the category *kakikae onna kyōgen*”:⁸⁸

1. The “core or central group” *chūkaku-gun* 中核群 includes productions whose plot is clearly rewritten, like *Onna Narukami*, the earliest example and one of the most representative plays of this category together with *Onna Shibaraku*.

2. The “peripheral group” *shūhen-gun* 周辺群 belong productions that cannot be added to the first category although the opening word of the title is *onna*, like *Onna Kudō Yoso'oi Soga* [...] In my view, this type of play is also worth investigating in more detail and should be categorized as *onna-mono*, since they attract attention to the representation of a certain female character and place her as more central in the plot, compared to previous productions or the traditional narrative in which the character originates. [...]

3. The “transitional group” *ikō-gun* 移行群 consists of plays that are on the border between the first two. They are typified by a twist in the plot that allows the *onnagata* to

century). [...] 2) the completely rewritten “female” versions of popular male heroes in kabuki, the “*kakikae onna kyōgen* proper,” such as: *Onna Narukami*, *Onna Hinin Kataki-uchi*, *Onna Kan Shōjo*, *Onna Shibaraku*, [...] etc. 3) all other kabuki productions whose title usually begins with *onna* and in which a heroine or a group of women related to a well-known male character play a major part: *Onna Shitennō*, *Onna Masakado*, *Onna Kusunoki*, [...] etc. In Petkova, “Performing Gender,” 342-343.

⁸⁷ A brief discussion on *onna-e* can be found in Shirane, *Envisioning the Tale of Genji*, 63-64.

⁸⁸ Petkova, “Performing Gender,” 217-219.

be the focus of the performance. This category was the most numerous one during the first period, from 1688 to 1735, and included mostly productions in which the main character was *onna budō*. These plays were created by and for certain *onnagata* such as Sodesaki Karyū (?–1730, active 1692–1727) with the principal aim to display their specific acting abilities. [...]

4. The fourth and last category of plays is defined by Terajima⁸⁹ as “unidentified” *fumei* 不明 since there is no information about their plots in the *hyōbanki* and further investigation is impeded by the lack of sources.

The *female presence* was central to performance in the three aforementioned groups, and “*onna*” in the title of a play was employed in order to attract spectators’ attention to this “unusual” *female presence* exactly because kabuki was, and still is, the all-male theater. The appearance of *onna-mono* looms as the way for the kabuki to balance gender representations on stage, and, Petkova argues that kabuki is, therefore, “essential for understanding gender construction in pre-modern Japan and its lasting effect on modern perception of “traditional” Japanese “ideal” femininity and masculinity.”⁹⁰

Despite the fact that kabuki plays, *gesaku* literature and *ukiyo-e* imagery belonged to different artistic domains, kabuki theater exercised the most powerful pull on all art forms of the early nineteenth century, resulting in an increasing use of its theatrical frameworks, characters, and plots across the boundaries of artistic media. *Kakikae onna kyōgen*, too, was effectively appropriated by *gesaku* writers, with Kyokutei Bakin leading the way. His voluminous

⁸⁹ Terajima Natsuko is a kabuki scholar. Petkova draws extensively in her dissertation on the article about *onna-mono* in Edo-period kabuki published in two parts, Terajima Natsuko, “Kakikae Onna Kyōgen no Keifu – Genroku kara Kyōhō made,” in *Geinō-shi Kenkyū* 117 (1992), 52-62; and “Kakikae Onna Kyōgen no Keifu – Genbun kara Kyōwa made,” in *Geinō-shi Kenkyū* 122 (1993), 17-26.

⁹⁰ Petkova, “Performing Gender,” 343.

adaptation of *Water Margin*, the *gōkan Keisei Suikoden* 傾城水滸伝 (*A Courtesan's Water Margin*, 1825-1835), became immensely successful and sold in thousands of copies.⁹¹

Tamenaga Shunsui, in the postface to the second volume of the *Plum Calendar*, conveys his affirmative attitude towards *kakikae onna shukō*,

Ah, the novelty of *shukō*—they are like fast-blooming plum trees growing inside mansions. This innovative ingenuity of female transformation [*henjō-nyoshi*] is like the refreshing taste of a pickled green plum, which is, no mistake, an auspicious happening indeed!

あゝしゆかう あたら こと むろざき うめ つひ およ へんじやうによし しんくふう あをづけ うめ
嗚呼趣向の新しき事、室咲の梅も遂に及ばず。変生女子の新工夫は、青漬の梅
のすいにして、あやま ちなしのえんぎきつけい [...] ⁹²

Especially prominent during the Kaseiki years, the vogue for *kakikae onna shukō* can be traced to a number of works in which it was employed, in Shunsui's terminology, with “innovative ingenuity.” The *yomihon* by Itami Chin'en 伊丹椿園 (?–1781) *Onna Suikoden* 女水滸伝 (*A Women's Water Margin*, 1783) represents an early eighteenth-century adaptation of *Water Margin* employing an all-female *shukō*. Later examples include Kōkadō Yotei's 好花堂野亭 (1788–1846) *yomihon Shinpen onna Suikoden* 新編女水滸伝 (*New Edition of the Women's Water Margin*, 1817), a *gōkan* by Shikitei Sanba 女水滸伝 (*A Women's Water Margin*, 1820), a *gōkan* by Ichikawa Sanjūrō VII 七代目市川團十郎 (1791–1859) *Fūzoku onna Sangokushi* 風俗女三國誌 (*Women's Romance of the Three Kingdoms in the Current Style*, 1824), a *gōkan* by

⁹¹ In *Keisei Suikoden*, Bakin tells the story of “108 valiant woman bandits operating from a base in thirteenth-century Ōmi.” In Markus, *The Willow in Autumn*, 121.

⁹² Nakamura Yukihiro, ed., *Shunshoku umegoyomi*, Nihon koten bungaku taikei 64 (Iwanami Shoten, 1962), 135.

Bokusentei Yukimaro 墨川亭雪麿 (1797–1856) *Keisei Sangokushi* 傾城三国誌 (*A Courtesan's Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, 1830), a *gōkan* by Tamenaga Shunsui 為永春水 (1790–1843) *Fūzoku onna Saiyūki* 風俗女西遊記 (*Women's Journey to the West in the Current Style*, 1828), and a *gōkan* by Tanehiko's disciple Ryūtei Senka 笠亭仙果 (1837–1884) *Onna Suikoden* 女水滸伝 (*A Women's Water Margin*, 1848-1851). The following table shows the chronological occurrence of these *onna-mono* works (See Table 2),

Year	Genre	Author	Title
1708	<i>bunraku jōruri</i>	Tachibana Masakatsu ⁹³	<i>Tsūzoku keisei Sangokushi</i> (通俗傾城三国志)
1783	<i>yomihon</i>	Itami Chin'en	<i>Onna Suikoden</i> (女水滸伝)
1817	<i>yomihon</i>	Kōkadō Yatei	<i>Shinpen onna Suikoden</i> (新編女水滸伝)
1820	<i>gōkan</i>	Shikitei Sanba	<i>Onna Suikoden</i> (女水滸伝)
1824	<i>gōkan</i>	Ishikawa Danjūrō VII	<i>Fūzoku onna Sangokushi</i> (風俗女三国志)
1825-1835	<i>gōkan</i>	Kyokutei Bakin	<i>Keisei Suikoden</i> (傾城水滸伝)
1828	<i>gōkan</i>	Tamenaga Shunsui	<i>Fūzoku onna Saiyūki</i> (風俗女西遊記)
1828	<i>nishiki-e</i> album	Utagawa Kuniyoshi	<i>Fūzoku onna Suikoden</i> (風俗女水滸伝)
1830-1831	<i>ninjōbon</i>	Tamenaga Shunsui	<i>Bandō Suikoden</i> (坂東水滸伝)
1830-1835	<i>gōkan</i>	Bokusentei Yukimaro	<i>Keisei Sangokushi</i> (傾城三国誌)
1850	<i>gōkan</i>	Ryūtei Senka	<i>Onna Suikoden</i> (女水滸伝)

Table 2 List of *onna-mono* works published in the Tokugawa period

⁹³ The full name of the *gidayū*–Tosa no Shōjō Tachibana no Masakatsu (土佐少掾橘正勝).

The cardinal motivation for the creative use of *kakikae onna shukō*, and the reversal of the gender of the main protagonists, was predicated on a number of factors. Firstly, in the aftermath of the Kansei reforms that targeted *sharebon* and *kibyōshi*, writers of popular literature had to develop new literary genres to avoid the scrutiny of censorship, which, in turn, led to the rise of serial *yomihon* and *gōkan*. Characterized by the superimposition of modernity on antiquity, these new genres necessitated the use of devices such as *kakikae onna shukō*, or a combination of numerous *sekai* and *shukō*, frequently resulting in a *naimaze*⁹⁴ 緋交ぜ of all things, in order to provide an intriguing, unusual new twist on familiar thematic staple culled from the Chinese or Japanese classics. Successful trend-setting precedents, such as Bakin's *Courtesan's Water Margin*, spurred on fellow *gesaku* writers, and their profit-driven publishers, for a severe, competitive race in the publication of another national best-seller.

Secondly, the sociopolitical developments of the late Tokugawa period and the ascendancy of the powerful class of *chōnin* constituted another important factor. In the way that the samurai class, after the establishment of the Tokugawa government, expropriated and adopted the values and ideals of the imperial court, so did the townsmen actively hijack the culture, values and ideals of the samurai gentry in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The late Tokugawa-period represented a conjuncture between the sociopolitical and economic events and their symbolic and cultural representations—the eminence of the playful subject, *iki* aesthetics, a fascination with identity ambivalence, and the transgression of gender boundaries were indicators of the sociopolitical chaos, in which everything seemed to be turning into its opposite. In the midst of this primordial chaos, the appearance of *onnadate* 女伊達(chivalrous

⁹⁴ Emmerich brings in this kabuki term denoting “the blending in a single script of two separate *sekai*.” In Michael Emmerich, “The Splendor of Hybridity: Image and text in Ryūtei Tanehiko’s *Inaka Genji*,” in *Envisioning the Tale of Genji: Media, Gender, and Cultural Production*, ed. Haruo Shirane (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 422.

woman) characters was only to be expected. As unsettling as the phenomenon of reactionary counter-culture might have been to contemporaries, it was nonetheless a foreseeable stage in the diffusion of the values and ideals of the warrior class among the female urban population. Permeated with the bordello-chic, strong-willed, and resolute, the figure of a chivalrous woman capable of self-sacrifice for the sake of romantic love, if only to thwart the power of the capital, became a celebrated motif in melodramatic literature of the nineteenth century.

Finally, another crucial factor for the use of *kakikae onna shukō* in the cultural production of Edo was the female segment of the market, which, since the Genroku period (1688–1704), had been continuously growing. Although the precise numbers are still needed, there is enough evidence to suggest that a special emphasis was given by the *chōnin* class to literacy among their daughters, and despite the chronological, regional, and social variations, “it was increasingly common for women of the Tokugawa period to be educated outside the home, and to engage in literary and intellectual pursuits.”⁹⁵ Women spectators, readers, and visual art consumers were an important economic factor for the cultural production generated specifically with the female audience in mind.

4.3 Literary Analysis of *Fūzoku onna Saiyūki* (1828)

Fūzoku onna Saiyūki 風俗女西遊記 (literally, *Women’s Record of the Westward Journey in the Current Style*, henceforth *Women’s Journey to the West in the Current Style*, or *WJW*) by Tamenaga Shunsui 為永春水 (1790–1843), published in 1828 by Eijudō 永寿堂, Nishimuraya Yohachi’s 西村屋与八 (1751–1869) publishing house is a work in the *gōkan* (bound book) genre—a vendetta story (*katakiuchi* 敵討) employing a canonical work of Chinese literature

⁹⁵ Kornicki, *The Female as Subject*, 37.

Xiyouji 西遊記 (J. *Saiyūki*, *Journey to the West*, ca. 1592, henceforth *JW*), and an all-female “cast” (*onna-mono*) as its *shukō*,⁹⁶ generously interlaced with the elements of sentimental fiction (*ninjōbon*) and the supernatural. Unlike Kyokutei Bakin’s 曲亭馬琴 (1767–1848) *Konpira-bunerishō no tomozuna* 金毘羅船利生纜 (*Life Lines of Grace of the Konpira’s Boat*) serialized between 1825 and 1831, which represents a more close adaptation (*hon’an* 翻案) of *JW* in terms of plot progression and character interaction, *Women’s Journey to the West in the Current Style* maintains a more tenuous connection with its literary antecedent. Shunsui’s *gōkan* depicts the exploits of four female protagonists—Mitsuhime 三姫 (Priest Tripitaka, or Genjō Sanzō), Takako 高子 (Son Gokū), O-Sago おさご (Sha Gojō), and O-Ino おいの (Cho Hakkai)—who set on a journey to exact a virtuous blood vengeance for the death of the master of the house of Kiyomi. Despite being a little-known and incomplete work (only two volumes were published out of six advertised by the Eijudō), *Women’s Journey to the West*, nonetheless, gains significant momentum when approached in the context of the reception of *JW* in Tokugawa Japan.

The appearance of *WJW* in 1828, during the Kaseiki years (1804–1830), its thematic selection and *gōkan* format, come as no surprise considering that this period saw an unprecedented rise in the use of Chinese and Japanese classics as inspirational material in the production of *gesaku* literature.⁹⁷ As a result of the profoundly detrimental Kansei Reforms (1787–1793) that targeted *kibyōshi* (yellow cover illustrated books) fiction, and *sharebon* (books

⁹⁶ *Shukō* (innovation) is the concept originally used in the process of kabuki play-writing. *Shukō* is employed to bring novelty and fresh twist to a kabuki play by rewriting (*kakikae*) of a conventionalized plot (*sekai*). The mechanisms of *sekai/shukō* were also employed in the literary production and visual arts. For a detailed description of the relation between *sekai* and *shukō*, see Satoko Shimazaki, *Edo Kabuki in Transition: From the Worlds of the Samurai to the Vengeful Female Ghost* (Columbia University Press, 2016), 66-72.

⁹⁷ Andrew Lawrence Markus, *The Willow in Autumn: Ryūtei Tanehiko, 1783-1842* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 120. *Gesaku*, or vernacular playful writing, is a term inclusive of various genres of Edo’s popular literature (*dangibon*, *gōkan*, *kibyōshi*, *kokkeibon*, *sharebon*, *ninjōbon*, *yomihon*) that emerged in the mid-eighteenth century replacing *ukiyo-zōshi* (books of the floating world).

of wit and fashion), *gōkan* and *yomihon* (reading books) received new prominence in the attempt by contemporary writers to avoid the restrictions of the *bakufu* censorship.⁹⁸

4.3.1 Title, Preface and *Dramatis Personae*

The Sino-Japanese noun “*fūzoku*,” in the title of *Fūzoku* 風俗 (current style) *onna* 女 (woman) *Saiyūki* 西遊記 (*Record of the Westward Journey*), has a number of meanings, and may be challenging to convey correctly in English. “*Fūzoku*” can refer to, a) manners and customs of contemporary life of a certain historical period and nation; b) public morals accepted in a certain society; c) a broad category of entertainment (including prostitution).⁹⁹

The title of a series of woodblock prints by Utagawa Kuniyoshi 歌川国芳 (1797–1861) *Fūzoku onna Suikoden hyakuhachi-ban no uchi* 風俗女水滸傳百八番之内, in the collection of the British Museum,¹⁰⁰ is translated as *Elegant* (and *Fashionable*, in some instances) *Women’s Water Margin: One Hundred and Eight Sheets*, and is perhaps not the finest rendition of “*fūzoku*.” Michael Emmerich conveys “*fūzoku*” more accurately, and rather elegantly, in my opinion, by rendering the title of Kyokutei Bakin’s *gōkan Fūzoku kin’gyoden* 風俗金魚傳 (風俗金翹傳) (1829–1833) as *The Legend of Kinjūrō and Uoko in the Current Style*, which is based on the early Qing novel *The Legend of Jin Zhong, Cuiyun, and Cuiqiao* (*Jin Yun Qiao*

⁹⁸ Haruo Shirane, *Early Modern Japanese Literature: An Anthology, 1600-1900* (Columbia University Press, 2013), 359, 484.

⁹⁹ Yasuo Kitahara, “*Fūzoku*,” in *Meikyō Kokugo Jiten*, ed. Yasuo Kitahara (Taishukan, 2002).

¹⁰⁰ “*Fuzoku onna Suikoden, hyakuhachi-ban no uchi* 風俗女水滸傳百八番之内 (*Elegant Women’s Water Margin: One Hundred and Eight Sheets*),” Collection online, accessed April 15, 2017, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3278697&partId=1&people=172090&peoA=172090-2-60&page=1.
“*Fuzoku onna Suikoden* (*Fashionable Women of the Suikoden*),” Collection online, accessed April 15, 2017, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3278702&partId=1&people=165506&peoA=165506-3-18&page=1.

zhuān).¹⁰¹ The English translation of the title *Women's Journey to the West in the Current Style* is suggested by the Emmerich's rendition.

In addition to the series of prints by Utagawa Kuniyoshi, *Women's Water Margin in the Current Style*, there is at least one more work in the *gōkan* genre containing a similar pattern (*fūzoku onna*) in its title. In 1824, Ishikawa Danjūrō VII (七代目)市川團十郎 (1791–1859) authored *Fūzoku onna Sangokushi* 風俗女三国志 (*Women's Annals of the Three Kingdoms in the Current Style*), which also employed a vendetta plot and *kakikae onna shukō*,¹⁰² which suggests that this trend was becoming more and more fashionable at this time. The possibility cannot be ruled out that *Women's Annals of the Three Kingdoms in the Current Style*, as well the tremendously successful all-female version of *Water Margin Keisei Suikoden* 傾城水滸伝 (*A Courtesan's Water Margin*, 1825–1835) by Kyokutei Bakin, which sold in the thousands of copies, might have been most motivating in Shunsui's choice of *JW*.

The preface to the *Women's Journey to the West in the Current Style* begins with the following sentence, “What is common is broad and widespread; and the ordinary is fundamental and profound beyond all comprehension,” which contains a pun in the fashion inherent from the books of wit (*kokkeibon* 滑稽本), where a humorous effect was achieved by the playful juxtaposition of *ga* 雅 and *zoku* 俗 registers (exalted vs. mundane), and, antithetical and unusual interplay between them. Hence, in spite of its didactic-like and lofty-sounding wording, this opening sentence is meant to achieve an opposite effect by meaning to say, “What is common is

¹⁰¹ Michael Emmerich, *The Tale of Genji: Translation, Canonization, and World Literature* (Columbia University Press, 2013), 68.

¹⁰² The full text of *Women's Annals of the Three Kingdoms in the Current Style* by Ishikawa Danjūrō can be found in Ishikawa Danjūrō, *Haiyū Zenzhū*, ed. Hakubunkan Hensankyoku, *Zoku Teikoku bunko* 35 (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1901), 399-424.

neither broad, nor profound,” and, in this way, to usher the reader into a light-hearted and humorous mood.

This device is used throughout the preface of *WJW*. Alluding to a Buddhist text, in the following passage, the *Amitayurdhyana Sutra* (*Amitayus Meditation Sutra*, Ch. *Fushuo guanwu liangshou fojing*, Jp. *Kanmu ryōju kyō* 觀無量壽經), one of the three major sutras of Pure Land Buddhism, Shunsui turns “eighty-four thousand signs of perfection of Buddha Amitayus” into “eighty-eight miles of deceit” spread by the novel *JW*, and, then appeals to his devout readers (*go-hiyiki* 御鼻眞), inhabitants of the Musashi plain (Edoites), to whom he dedicates his incessant writing of fiction, to continue their patronage, while hinting at the same time, that his current endeavor is all but for commercial success. By playing with cultural registers of *ga* and *zoku* and bringing in the reference to a Buddhist writing, Shunsui is perhaps referring to the centuries-old discourse, since the appearance of the *Tale of Genji*, that fiction is deceitful, and the writing of such, therefore, is sinful in the light of Buddhist ethics.

Shunsui continues then to remind his readers about the content of original novel, and talks about the initial stages of its reception in Japan,

Beyond the Western Sea, there was a country named Aolai, where, in the beginning, the Handsome Monkey King of the Water-Curtain Cave, after receiving magic teachings and having transformed himself, was called Disciple Sun, and came to the aid of Venerable Priest Tripitaka, time and time again, on his journey to the West in search of Buddhist sutras—such is the fancy tale of the Chinese. And, after its odd sentences and wordings were harmonized in Japanese, it has been added as a proud fellow among the “red books” of the Eastern Capital, written in the letters of our country, the “women’s letters.” After all, it is the Women’s *Westward Journey*!

あづまのうみ がうらいこく すいれんどう びこうわうせんけう うけ ミ へん そんぎやうじや せう さんぞう
東 海の傲來國。そも水簾洞の美猴王仙教を受て躬を変じ。孫行者と稱せられ。三蔵

そんし たすけ ぶつきやう もとめん さいてん おもむ もろこしびと かざり ちんぶんかんご
尊師を佐つゝ。浮屠典を求め。西天に赴くと。中華人の文美なす。珍文漢語を

やわらげ 糸 ど じまん あかほん なかま くわ おんなもじ やつぱりをんなさいゆうき
和解て。東都の自慢の赤本の。部中に加ふる国字。則女西遊記。

Having reminded the reader about the plot of the original *JW*, Shunsui draws connection between the writings in *kana* syllabary, traditionally ascribed to women, in difference to writings produced by men in *kanbun* (Chinese letters) and the genre of *akahon* 赤本 (“red books”) of Edo, of which *gōkan*, also written predominantly in *kana* 仮名 syllabary, constituted a significant segment, and goes on to say that his current work, *Women’s Journey to the West*, is designed for a female audience.¹⁰³ In the closing passage of the preface, Shunsui conveys a self-deprecating message, in which he humorously compares himself to one of the characters of *JW*, Cho Hakkai, a swine, halfwit, and incompetent writer, who is eagerly awaiting monetary gain from sales of this book, growing as “piles of gold.” He also includes a self-styled advertisement for the tooth powder refinery, Chōjiguruma 丁子車, which was in his ownership until the Great Fire of Bunsei (1829).¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ Because of the space limitation, I purposely avoid discussion of the *gōkan* genre in this study, which had been amply covered in the scholarship of Andrew Markus and Michael Emmerich. For more on the subject of *gōkan* see, Andrew Lawrence Markus, *The Willow in Autumn: Ryūtei Tanehiko, 1783-1842* (Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1992); and, Michael Emmerich, *The Tale of Genji: Translation, Canonization, and World Literature* (Columbia University Press, 2013).

¹⁰⁴ Some *gesaku* writers, such as Shikitei Sanba and Tamenaga Shunsui, in addition to their occupation as writers, were also business proprietors. Sanba is known for running a commercially successful pharmacy, and Shunsui owned a tooth-powder refinery producing Chōjiguruma, a brand of tooth-powder. He sometimes included advertisements of Chōjiguruma in the prefaces of his own books, and did not hesitate to even include it into conversations between his characters. One example can be found in a *ninjōbon* entitled *Kōjo futaba no nishiki* 孝女二葉錦 (1829). In *Ninjōbon Kessakushū (Zen)*, ed. Yamazaki Fumoto, Teikoku bunko 19 (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1928), 378.

Following the preface, Shunsui introduces the four main characters of *Women's Journey to the West*: Mitsuhide (Genjō Sanzō), O-Ino (Cho Hakkai), O-Sago (Sha Gojō), and Takako (Son Gokū) (see Appendix A for character chart), invoking a visual image of a strong-willed, chivalrous woman (*onnadate*) combined with a number of literary allusions and *waka* poems to enhance the visual appeal. The depictions of female protagonists appear to have drawn on the method of *mitate*-pictures 見立絵, where a prototype-character is positioned in a portrait-like circle in the top-right corner, and a full body-length character, taking after its prototype, filling the rest of space in the illustration. The images of the character prototypes seem to be inspired by pictures from the first installment of *JW* translated by Nishida Korenori 西田維則 (?–1765) and published in 1758 (see Appendix B).

A *waka* poem attributed to Reizei Tamemori 冷泉為守 (or, Fujiwara Tamemori 藤原為守, 1265–1328), included in the miscellany of stories (*zuihitsu*) about samurai-errantry *Jōzan kidan* 常山紀談 (*Records and Tales of Jōzan*, 1739) compiled by Yuasa Jōzan 湯浅常山 (1708–1781),¹⁰⁵ appears next to the illustration of O-Sago (Sha Gojō) wearing fisherman's clothes,

towoku nari
chikaku naru mi no
hamachidori
naku ne ni shio no
*michihi wo zo shiru*¹⁰⁶

The chirping of plovers
 was heard from afar,
 now it's close at hand—
 indeed, by this chirping I know
 the ebb and flow of the ocean tides.

¹⁰⁵ The poem appears in the second story of the section devoted to the poetic style of Ōta Dōkan 太田道灌 (1432–1486). Uesugi Norimasa 上杉宣政 (?–?), who was leading an army to Chōnan in Shimofusa country (present-day Chiba prefecture) and was about to cross a sea straight, but was unable to cross over the mountain, nor by the seaside. At night, he sent his chief retainer (Ōta Dōkan) to evaluate the situation who immediately returned telling his master that the sea tide was on the ebb. When asked how he knew that so quickly, he quoted the poem by Reizei Tamemori and how he understood the tide by the voice of plovers.

¹⁰⁶ The romanization system used in this study follows Joshua Mostow's method of transliteration of classical Japanese texts described in the *Pictures of the Heart*. In Joshua S. Mostow's *Pictures of the Heart: The Hyakunin Isshu in Word and Image* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), xv.

According to a story found in the *Records and Tales of Jōzan*, Ōta Dōkan 太田道灌, a highly reputed military tactician of the Muromachi period (1392–1573) and known for his skillful composition of *waka* poetry, was able to tell between the periods of ebb and flow by hearing the chirps of plovers. This poem is used by Shunsui to speak of the shrewdness and military prowess of O-Sago, whom he conceives to originate from a renowned family of fencing masters hailing from Owari (modern-day Nagoya prefecture).

In the illustration depicting all four main protagonists (possibly, three main characters and a sleeping maid) enjoying a festive meal together, there is another *waka* poem,

<i>kashimashiki</i>	They give the appearance
<i>sugata ha aredo</i>	of being loud and clamorous
<i>sannin ga</i>	but when the three come together
<i>Monju no chiwe yo</i>	the wisdom of Buddha springs forth—
<i>umi-yama no sachi</i>	the riches of the mountains and seas.

This poem is attributed to Yūtei Tamahito 雄亭多満人 (?–?) a little-known writer and illustrator of *gesaku* fiction,¹⁰⁷ who was perhaps Shunsui’s acquaintance. The poem incorporates a Japanese proverb, “*Sannin yoreba Monju no chie*” that can be translated as “Three people together have the wisdom of Monju (Maitreya),” and is the equivalent of an English proverb “Two heads are better than one.” The theme of joining forces to defeat a common enemy is repeated over and over again throughout the text of the *WJW*, and becomes a divinely sanctioned, dharmic enterprise after the Bodhisattva Kannon summons all four protagonists and commissions them with the virtuous vendetta.

¹⁰⁷ There are two extant works by Yūtei Tamahito, *Hokuritsū* 北里通 (1827), in which he is credited as an illustrator, and *Mushae hayamanabi* 武者絵早学 (1827), as the author.

4.3.2 Plot and Text

The plot of *Women's Journey to the West* revolves around the exploits of four women—Mitsuhime, Takako, O-Sago, and O-Ino—who embark on a lengthy quest to exact a noble vengeance for the death of the master of Kiyomi in order to restore it. The first volume of the book (chapters 1–3) focuses mainly on the insurgence and ensuing destruction of the Kiyomi household, which provides an impetus for the future vendetta, and one of the main protagonists of the story, Takako (Son Gokū), her birth and the exile of her parents. The second volume (chapters 4–6), introduces two more characters Mitsuhime (Priest Tripitaka, or Genjō Sanzō), and O-Sago (Sha Gojō), their individual tragedies brought about by one mutual enemy that incite them to join forces with Takako to exact retribution. O-Ino (Cho Hakkai), another female protagonist of the group, appears in the end of the second volume. However, the author does not include her individual story of how she comes to join the group in the published volumes.

The prologue starts with the description of a magistrate of Kiyomi, Yoshikage, who is a powerful vassal to the Minamoto, a paragon of polite and martial accomplishments and a distinguished military chief. In Yoshikage's household, an old retainer, Uramatsu Tomaemon, passes away and his son, Tomanosuke, inherits his father's estate at the age of twenty. Tomanosuke, like his master, is a *nonpareil* follower of literary and military arts, and a man of peerless beauty. He favors Sonare, a daughter of another retainer, Hamabe Isotayū, from the same household, who has grown into an unrivalled beauty and an epitome of all female virtues. The two parties are soon joined in wedlock.

On one occasion, Tomanosuke saves a white monkey attacked by an eagle, while on the hunt in the Ashigara Mountains, which he brings home and raises as a member of his own family. Sonare loves the monkey dearly and calls her Konoha.

Several years pass and Uramatsu Tomanosuke falls ill with the “crane’s knee wind,” an arthritic disease, which he sets to heal in the hot springs of Arima. During the time he is away, two evil brothers, captain Hirouji and district official Sueuji of Miho, rise in open rebellion against Lord Yoshikage, who suffers a crushing defeat. Sonare, Tomanosuke’s wife, is slain in the midst of the heroic fight and buried by her father, Hamabe Isotayū, who later sets on a journey to find Tomanosuke. The wife of magistrate Yoshikage, Lady Yasashi-no-Mae, now pregnant, escapes the scene of disastrous insurgence with the help of a loyal servicewoman, Tonami. Tomanosuke, while in Arima, catches word of the terrible news and returns to Kiyomi only to find the ashes of the formerly handsome estate of his master. Distraught, he is about to commit the suicide by disembowelment (*seppuku* 切腹), when, all of a sudden, his wife Sonare appears and persuades him not to take his life, but to go into hiding and wait for the right time to avenge the death of his master. During the years in exile, a beautiful daughter is born to Tomanosuke and Sonare, whom they call Takako. Takako is born in the year, month, day and hour of monkey. The first volume ends with a scene of Hamabe Isotayū, Sonare’s father, finding the hidden abode of Tomanosuke and, much to his bewilderment, seeing Sonare, his own daughter, whom he buried three years ago.

The second volume begins with the woeful monologue of Sonare revealing her true form as Konoha, the white monkey saved by Tomanosuke. Konoha had come to Japan from Aolai, a distant country beyond the Western Sea, which alludes to the mythical location in the original Ming-novel, the beautiful land of monkeys. Because Konoha was seen by Isotayū, she can no longer stay in human form and needs to conceal herself in Kōshin Mountain, her true home. Konoha flees, and Isotayū meets Tomanosuke, revealing the whole story to him. Deeply grieved, Tomanosuke decides to find Konoha, but, soon thereafter, he is summoned to the intendant’s

office, and while he is away, the house is attacked by a group of bandits, led by Kumayama Mamiemon (Gyū Maō), a retainer of the captain Hirouji of Miho, commissioned to find Takako and obtain her liver, which is believed will save Hirouji's younger brother from a deadly decease. Isotayū is killed in the fight, but Takako is miraculously saved by a horde of white monkeys.

In the meantime, Lady Yasashi-no-Mae, aided by her loyal servant Tonami, also lives in hiding. They are attacked by a gang of outlaws that kill Lady Yasashi-no-Mae on the spot. Tonami extracts a newborn girl from her dead body and escapes. Soon, she meets by serendipity Koshino Shichinoshin, her fellow countryman, who takes Tonami and the new-born child into his care. Mitsuhime, the daughter of Lord Yoshikage and Lady Yasashi-no-Mae, lives with Tonami in Shōzenji Temple in Akagi Mountain, and grows into a beautiful young lady inclined to the studies of Buddhist teachings and literary arts. By the time she turns fifteen, Priest Tripitaka himself appears in a vision and commands her to find the abducted heirlooms of the House of Kiyomi, which are now in possession of the evil Kumayama Mamiemon, and to restore Kiyomi's household.

Five years earlier, O-Sago, a daughter of the renowned master of fencing Samegai, has lost her father and was living a simple life as a fisherwoman. One day, assailants instigated by Kashira Kanzaemon attack O-Sago's house, murder her mother and steal secret writings on fencing, an invaluable family heirloom. O-Sago is determined to find the assailants and recuperate the treasure. On one occasion, when she was fishing, she was attacked by none other than a *kappa*, a malevolent water goblin. O-Sago, possessing supernatural physical strength, subdues the demon who, in return for his release, passes onto O-Sago the secret of immortality. Following this encounter, she resolves to become a courtesan of the capital in order to find the murderers of her mother. She finds the whereabouts of Kanzaemon, but he makes an escape. O-

Sago pursues him on a magical white horse (*hakuryūba* 白竜馬), which she pulls out of a picture transmitted in her family, and flies all the way to the Akagi Mountain, where she meets Takako and Mitsuhome. An old lady appears before them revealing that their true enemy is Kumayama Mamiemon, and they should bring him to ruin. After that, the old lady turns into Kannon Bōsatsu and vanishes from their sight in clouds. Second volume ends with an encouragement to read the original *JW* and compare it with this story.

Despite the fact that Eijudō advertised publication of the complete six volumes of *Women's Journey to the West in the Current Style*, appearing on the back fascicle of the second volume, the narrative comes to a halt at this point. Among the possible reasons for the discontinuation of the *gōkan* is the Great Fire of Bunsei that happened on the twenty-first of the third month in 1829.¹⁰⁸ The devastating fire might have damaged the manuscripts or the woodblocks of *Women's Journey to the West in the Current Style* as well as another Shunsui's *gōkan* of the same period, *Tsunagiuma Shichiyūfu-den* 繫馬七勇婦伝 (*Hitching Horses, the Tale of Seven Brave Women*), which was also discontinued.¹⁰⁹

Yet it is possible to predict development of the plot of the *Women's Journey to the West*, which, if a kabuki playwright framework is applied, belongs to a subcategory of vendetta narratives (*katakiuchi*) within the larger category of the household-disturbance plots (*oie-sōdō* 家騒動).¹¹⁰ Revenge plays, and vendetta narratives, had long been a thematic staple of puppet

¹⁰⁸ The fire “began in the lumber yards around Kanda, and cut a wide swath across Edo, destroying the Seirindō in its path.” In Alan S. Woodhull, “Romantic Edo fiction: A Study of the *Ninjōbon* and Complete Translation of *Shunshoku umegoyomi*” (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1978), 97.

¹⁰⁹ Hiyama Yūko, “Gōkan *Fūzoku onna Saiyūki* ni tsuite. Sono ni,” *Sō: Kinse bungaku enshū nōto* 34 (February 2013), 122.

¹¹⁰ Satoko Shimazaki writes about a manuscript called *Sekai kōmoku* (*The Handbook of Theatrical Worlds*), attributed to Tsuruya Nanboku IV, and compiled to “transmit knowledge to his grandson about the *sekai* and their characters. [...] A large majority of the *sekai* it contained were military worlds that were listed in the first category,

and kabuki theatres from the turn of Genroku era (1688–1704), as well as *gōkan* fiction well into the nineteenth century. Basic plot elements of *katakiuchi* can be summarized as follows:

The play opens with a scheme to take over the house, and the house collapses after the loss of a treasure, which leads to the lord's suicide. Attempts are made to poison the young heir, or an evil lord is tempted into drunkenness and debauchery. These events are followed by hardships and selfless sacrifices by former retainers and by strong, loyal female characters. Eventually, the evil plot against the house is exposed; there are punishments and confrontations; and finally the evildoers are crushed, the house is restored, and peace and unity are recovered.¹¹¹

The plot of the *Women's Journey to the West* might have been conceived to follow the same plotline. Having gone through unimaginable hardships to seize Kumayama Mamiemon, Mitsuhome, Takako, O-Sago, and O-Ino, aided by bodhisattva Kannon, succeed in exposing the evil plot against the house of Kiyomi devised by the two evil brothers, Hirouji and Sueuji of Miho who, then, are meted out a just punishment, and the name of Lord Yoshikage is equitted, the family treasure is returned, and the house of Kiyomi is restored to its former glory.

The chronological setting and historical frame of *Women's Journey to the West* established in the prologue takes the reader to the days of Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝 (1147–1199), the founder of the Kamakura shogunate (1192–1333), upon his inauguration as the

“*Sekai* for Kabuki History Plays” (Kabuki jidai kyōgen sekai no bu). The contemporary affairs of the *buke* (warrior houses) were placed under the heading “*Sekai* for Kabuki Household Disturbance Plays” (Kabuki o [ie] kyōgen sekai no bu), which included the subcategory “Revenge Plots (and Similar Types)” (Oie kyōgen no uchi katakiuchi no bu narabi ni rui), in Satoko Shimazaki, *Edo Kabuki in Transition: From the Worlds of the Samurai to the Vengeful Female Ghost* (Columbia University Press, 2016), 70.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 127.

Chief Superintendent of Japan (*sōtsuihoshi* or *sōtsuibushi* 惣追捕使) in 1186, after the end of the Minamoto-Taira (Genpei 源平) war (1180–1185). By introducing the historical figure of Minamoto no Yoritomo into the narrative, the author also indicates that the principal *sekai* of this work is *Taiheiki* 太平記 (*Chronicles of Great Peace*, ca. 1340s), which had been frequently used to by *gesaku* writers as a setting for their stories, together with other warrior tales (*gunki-mono*) such as *Heike monogatari* 平家物語 (*The Tales of the Heike*, mid-thirteenth century), *Soga monogatari* 曾我物語 (*The Tales of the Soga Brothers*, mid-fourteenth century), and *Gikeiki* 義経記 (*The Tale of Yoshitsune*, ca. 1411).¹¹² Another allusion to the same historical period appears in the farewell conversation between Uramatsu Tomanosuke and his wife Sonare before his departure for the hot springs of Arima, in which he mentions the name of Minamoto no Yoshinaka 源義仲 (1154–1184),¹¹³

All humans perish. Death comes to old and young alike.... Now, after the *Sengoku war* (emphasis added), there are still warriors out there disloyal to the Lord of Kamakura. Though it may seem quiet and peaceful, the remnants of the camp of Kiso Yoshinaka, and the house of Taira, may be hiding in all provinces. It's hard to predict when and how their uprising starts.

人 間(にん)は老 少 不 定 と言 中 にも、今 戦 国 の 後、四 海 や、鎌 倉 殿、武 徳 に 泥 み、穩 や
 かなる には 似 た れ ども、平 家 の 残 党 木 曾 の 余 類、諸 国 に 隠 れ 住 め ば、い つ 何 時 い かなる
 椿 事 出 来 せ ん も 計 り 難 し。

¹¹² Ibid., 70.

¹¹³ Minamoto no Yoshinaka rebelled against the rule of the Taira family in 1180, together with Minamoto no Yoritomo and other Minamoto warriors, but later, seized the capital and turned the Taira-Minamoto War into a triangular conflict, by thinking to defeat Taira on his own, and take control of the Minamoto, but was defeated by Minamoto no Yoshitsune and Minamoto no Noriyori.

The anachronistic intrusion in this passage of the Sengoku war, or rather the Ōnin war (1467–1477), which occurred three centuries later after the Genpei conflict, confuses the question of historical chronology in *WJW*, and is, perhaps, either an unconscious error made by the author, or a deliberate innuendo to the reader that the historical prototype of the magistrate of Kiyomi might have been Asakura Yoshikage 朝倉義景 (1533–1573), an influential daimyo from Echizen (present-day Fukui Prefecture), and a talented politician and diplomat, who was in a conflict with Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534–1582) that resulted in Asakura Yoshikage’s death. This connection, however, remains conjectural.

The motivation behind the choice to locate the story of *WJW* in Suruga (modern-day Shizuoka Prefecture) is most likely inspired by the *Chronicle of Great Peace*, where Kiyomi and Miho are mentioned in the “Toshimoto no Ason Goes Back to the Kantō” chapter of the Second Volume,¹¹⁴

At Clearview [Kiyomi] Beach, where once a barrier stood,
Like barrier guards the noisy waves
Suffered no passage to his dreams
That sought to turn back to the capital,
And brought the bitter tears.
But now ahead the Cape of Miho lay;
And passing Okitsu and Kambara he saw
Mount Fuji’s lofty peak, where high from the snow

¹¹⁴ Kiyomi and Miho had long been a well-established *utamakura* (pillow word) in waka composition by the time of writing of *JWJ*, and are also mentioned in *Makura no sōshi* (ca. 1005), *Sarashina Nikki* (ca. 1059), Muromachi-period tales *Isozaki*, and a *jōruri* play by Chikamatsu Monzaemon *Soga Kaikeizan* (1718) as *meisho* (famous places), renowned for the beauty of the scenery.

The smoke rose heavenward.¹¹⁵

きよみがた
清見瀉を過ぎ玉へば、都に帰る夢をさへ、通さぬ浪なみの関守に、泪を催されて、向むか

ひはいづく三保が崎、興津蒲原おきつかんばら打ち過ぎて、富士の高嶺たかねを見給へば、雪の中より

立つ煙、上なき思ひに比べつべし。¹¹⁶

Geographic allusions abound throughout *WJW* and encompass both the Edo and Kamigata regions, including the precise names and locations of temples, mountains and urban centers big and small, such as, for instance, the Ashigara mountain 足柄山 (located on the border of modern-day Kanagawa and Shizuoka Prefectures), also mentioned in the same passage from *The Chronicle of Great Peace*, where, in Shunsui's story, Tomanosuke saves the white simian Konoha, or the Shōzenji Temple 正善寺 in the vicinity of the Akagiyama Mountain 赤城山 (modern-day Gunma Prefecture), where Mitsuhide pursues studies of the Buddhist scriptures, and is commissioned to restore the house of Kiyomi by Priest Tripitaka.

By using *The Chronicles of Great Peace* as the *sekai*, Shunsui constructs a new story drawing from a shared historical and communal memory of the samurai epic, incorporating both *JW* and the *kakikae onna*-principle as its innovative *shukō*. *WJW* seeks to perpetuate the existing sociopolitical order, with the samurai households at the top of the class hierarchy, in which relations between the characters are reinforced by karmic bonds, and enacted through female-warrior characters carrying out a divinely sanctioned, dharmic vendetta. The world of the military epic in *WJW* communicates the “relational constitution of selfhood” in the context of the household (*ie* 家), which gave social standing and defined duties to the individuals belonging to

¹¹⁵ Helen Craig McCullough, *The Taiheiki: A Chronical of Medieval Japan* (Tuttle Publishing, 1959), 41.

¹¹⁶ Tadashi Nasegawa, ed., *Taiheiki 1*, Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 54 (Shōgakukan, 1994), 77

it, representing “a corporate entity to which each member contributed in order to guarantee its perpetual prosperity.” Vendetta in this context, “therefore, carried a moral implication that symbolized the subject’s selfhood as a member of a certain community and in the broader social order.”¹¹⁷

The karmic affinity 因縁因果¹¹⁸ in the newly-constructed plot validated relations between the members of the Kiyomi household in *WJW*, expressed in the words of Uramatsu Tomanosuke,

Though Konoha is just an animal, she knows how to be grateful. If we treasure our marriage and give our love away and take care of people and animals who need our nurture, although there’s a difference between us all, there is indeed a deep karmic tie between us, too, if we live like this together in one house.... We must not fail to take good care of everyone.

また、木の葉は畜生ながら、よく恩を知り、我／＼夫婦を大切にすれば、随分情けを掛
 けて、養ふべし人間と畜生と、その分は異なれど、かく一つ家に暮らすと言ふは、
 よく／＼深き因縁なるべし。構へて疎略にすべからず。

This “deep karmic tie” is especially important to signify the relation between Mitsuhide (Genjō Sanzō), and Takako (Son Gokū), whose linkage derives from the fact that Mitsuhide is born in the family line of the head of the Kiyomi’s household Yoshikage and Lady Yasashi, whereas

¹¹⁷ “In early modern Japan, blood revenge was supported under appropriate conditions by a formal bureaucratic procedure as an action that accorded with the moral foundation of Tokugawa society.” In Satoko Shimazaki, *Edo Kabuki in Transition: From the Worlds of the Samurai to the Vengeful Female Ghost* (Columbia University Press, 2016), 127.

¹¹⁸ Anthony Yu uses another term 前因後果 in his deliberation about karmic affinity and Tripitaka’s attempt at vengeance in the Chen Guanrui story, one of the antecedents of *Xiyouji*. In Anthony Yu, *The Journey to the West*, Revised Edition, Volume 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 57.

Takako is born in the family line of Kiyomi's chief retainer Uramatsu Tomanosuke and a white simian, Konoha—whose origin goes back to the breed of monkeys of the Aolai country, ruled by the King of Monkeys (Son Gokū) himself. Another, even more important revelation takes place towards the end of the second volume, when the bodhisattva Kannon reveals herself to all four characters gathered together through supernatural means and promises her divine protection,

It is so good of you to heed the words of Priest Tripitaka! Devising a great plan to seize Mamiemon, who's living in hiding now in the Asama Mountains, in order to return the stolen household treasure, and bring the enemy to ruin is indeed an admirable and praiseworthy act! Needless to say, since he is Takako's enemy and O-Sago's enemy too, you should act with one accord and aid Mitsuhide [in her great undertaking] by joining forces together.

なんぢよ、さんぞうほつし、ことばしたが、あさまかくす、まみゑもんたばか、
汝良くも、三蔵法師の言葉に従ひ、浅間の山に隠れ住む、魔魅衛門を謀りて、
いへ、たからと、かへ、かたきほろ、こうを、おもたつこと、しゆせうなり。たかこためにも
家の宝を取り返し、敵を滅ぼす大功を、思ひ立つこと殊勝なり。高子が為にも
かたき、いふに、およ、かたき、これより、こころあ、
敵なれば、言ふに及ばず、又おさごにも母の敵、これより心を合はせて、三
ツ姫を傳き、供に助力出だすべし。

Whereas Tripitaka's sanctioning of Mitsuhide for this blood vengeance in the vision is Mitsuhide's personal revelation, the Kannon's epiphany and mandating of the entire group of four provides a solid foundation that this seeking of the vendetta is not a personally motivated act, but a divinely sanctioned enterprise based on the Buddhist idea of dharma. Although all forms of violence are forbidden by the Buddhist doctrine, this divinely sanctioned enterprise is deemed

permissible if understood in the context of “hierarchical social relations and duty, [as] an auspicious act of social affirmation.”¹¹⁹

The cardinal motivation for the creative use of the *kakikae onna*-principle as *WJW*'s additional *shukō*, and the reversal of gender of its main protagonists is predicated on a number of factors: the aftermath of the Kansei reforms that necessitated the rise of new genres; the sociopolitical developments of the Kaseiki period and the emergence of the new, powerful class of *chōnin*; the new-fashioned “wholesale ransacking” of classics both Chinese and Japanese; emulation of commercially successful precedents; catering to female audience of readers—all these factors come to the fore if we attempt to analyze why *kakikae onna shukō* had acquired such a compelling aura in the production of fiction. What the *kakikae onna*-principle provided *ukiyo-e* artists, kabuki playwrights and *gesaku* writers with was the capacity for inexplicable variations on familiar, at times overly familiar, overused and hackneyed themes and tropes, giving way to an array of unconventional male and female roles that seemed to be fancied by broader audiences. The dissemination of *onna-mono* was also paralleled by the increase in literacy among the female urban population, and kabuki's growing female spectatorship and readership.¹²⁰ Women of Edo constituted a significant factor in the productions of kabuki plays, as well as representations of femininities in the literary domain—a broad segment of market to cater to. Therefore, the goal that Shunsui is most likely pursuing by producing *WJW* is reinforcement of the communal values of the samurai class, actively appropriated by the townsfolk, men and women alike, throughout the eighteenth-nineteenth century, and

¹¹⁹ In Satoko Shimazaki, *Edo Kabuki in Transition: From the Worlds of the Samurai to the Vengeful Female Ghost* (Columbia University Press, 2016), 127.

¹²⁰ The argument is made by Peter Kornicki in P.F. Kornicki, Mara Potession, and G. Rowley, *The Female as Subject: Reading and Writing in Early Modern Japan* (University of Michigan Press, 2010).

perpetuation of those values among the female population of Edo, in the fashion most becoming of the Kaseiki era—invocation of gender ambiguous characters—internally strong and samurai-like, and feminine and elegant on the outside.¹²¹

In addition to the characters exceeding in chivalrous femininity (*onnadate*), another outstanding figure among the characters of *WJW*, and obviously a major constituent in the representation of sentimental aesthetics in the story, is the figure of the white simian Konoha that bridges the gap between the historical world (*jidai* 時代) and the contemporary moment (*sewa* 世話), the supernatural and the quotidian, China and Japan. In the episode found in the second volume, Konoha, who magically transformed herself into Sonare, Tomanosuke's wife, reveals her true nature and origins,

I haven't always been a human.... I'm an old monkey from a place called Water-Curtain Cave in Aolai—a country far away from here in the east. After moving to the Ashigara Mountain in Japan, I'd been living here for a long time. One day, when Lord Tomanosuke went on hunting in that mountain, I transformed myself, becoming small in shape and was playing around picking up chestnuts. An eagle caught me, but Lord Tomanosuke saved me from imminent death. Since then, he took great care of me, and I'm always indebted to him—the savior of my life....

わらほもと
妾元より人間ならず、これより遙か東なる、傲来国の水簾洞といふ所に、年
ふるふる猿ざるにて、此日本にっぽんの足柄山あしがらに移りて、久しく住すみけるが、さきに苦く之の丞どの殿どの、彼か

¹²¹ Petkova contends that the rise of the mercantile, townsfolk class and ensuing contestation of the dominant, samurai-centered discourse on class, status and gender, gave rise to the aspiring figure of the chivalrous commoner (*otokodate*), gradually outshone by its female counterpart, a chivalrous commoner-woman (*onnadate*), which, in turn, gave way to the emergence of female versions of plays and literary works depicting an array of unconventional male and female roles most prominently during the Kaseiki years. In Petkova, “Performing Gender,” 207.

の山に狩し給ふ時、我が身小さく身を変じ、落ち栗拾いて遊びゐるを、驚といふ
 鳥に搔い掴まれ、危き命助けられ、その後久しく飼はるゝも、何卒命の親て
 ぶ大恩。

This motif of the white simian immediately brings to mind another famous character from the kabuki theatre, the white fox Kuzunoha 葛の葉 (literally, “leaf of the arrow root”) of a popular puppet theatre play *Ashiya Dōman ōuchi kagami* 蘆屋道満大内鏡 (*A Courtly Mirror of Ashiya Dōman*) by Takeda Izumo II 二代目竹田出雲 (1691-1756), staged for the first time in 1734 in Osaka, and adapted for kabuki the following year in 1735.¹²² Izumo’s play incorporates a legend about a hunter who saved a wounded fox in the Shinoda Forest; the fox reciprocated his kindness by assuming the form of a beautiful woman and marrying the man. The figure of fox-Kuzunoha combines many old beliefs and legends, and the earliest story of a fox disguised as a woman and coming to live with a man as his wife, was included in *Nihon ryōiki* 日本靈異記 (*The Record of Miraculous Events in Japan*, ca. 822)—a ninth century collection of *setsuwa* 説話, or “anecdotal” tales.¹²³

Not only did Shunsui appropriate the character of Kuzunoha, he incorporated also some of the textual elements from *Courtly Mirror of Ashiya Dōman* into the narrative of *WJW*. For

¹²² A brief discussion of the play and the translation of its most famous scene “The Parting of Kuzunoha from Her Son” can be found in Takeda Izumo II, *Lady Kuzunoha*, trans. Cody M. Poulton, in *Kabuki Plays on Stage: Brilliance and Bravado, 1697-1766, Volume 1*, James R. Brandon and Samuel L. Leiter, eds., (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2002), 140-162. Poulton also explains that prior to the Izumo’s play there had already been another “puppet drama entitled *The Shinoda Wife* (*Shinodazuma*) staged in 1674, and the famous puppet theatre dramatist Ki no Kaion (1663?-1742) wrote a play on the same subject.”

¹²³ Ibid.

instance, he borrows a farewell poem from the play, which according to the way it was played on the stage was written by Kuzunoha on paper doors holding brush in her mouth,

<i>koishiku ba</i>	If you long for me
<i>tadunekite mi yo</i>	come seek me in Izumi
<i>Izumi naru</i>	where, in the forest of Shinoda,
<i>Shinoda no mori no</i>	you'll find your Kuzu
<i>urami kuzunoha</i>	of the clinging vine. ¹²⁴

In the text of *WJW*, it transforms into the following poem,

<i>koishiku ba</i>	If you long for me
<i>tadunete kimase</i>	come and seek me
<i>itsumo sumu</i>	where I always live in Shimotsuke—
<i>Shimotsuke ni mi wo</i>	behind the curtain
<i>uramitaki tsuse</i>	of the backside-view waterfall.

The poems serve as a lyrical climax in the both works, whereas the phrase *urami no kuzunoha* 恨みの葛の葉 in the poem from Izumo's play, rendered as “Kuzu of the clinging vine,” stands for a poetic epithet for jealousy and regret (*urami* 恨み),¹²⁵ and the homophonous phrase *uramitaki tsuse* 裏見滝つせ in Shunsui's *gōkan* refers to a unique type of backside-view (*urami* 裏見) waterfalls, in which the view can be seen through the water curtain when approached from the back. In *JW*, as well as the Shunsui's adaptation, the mythical country of monkeys lies behind the waterfall of the Water-Curtain Cave in Aolai, or the Monkey's Castle of the Kōshin Mountain.

The similar motif of the white simian is also found in a short novel by Kada no Arimaro 荷田在満 (1706–1751) entitled *Hakuen monogatari* 白猿物語 (*Tale of a White Monkey*,

¹²⁴ Ibid., 158.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 143. Poulton suggests even the third meaning to “urami.” “The leaves of the kudzu (*kuzunoha*) were, but the word “urami” can also be written to mean “seeing the future,” underscoring the prophetic powers of the fox-mother and her son.”

1739),¹²⁶ which, in turn, was inspired by the Chinese early Tang-period vernacular novel *Baiyuanzhuan* 白猿傳 (*Biography of a White Ape*, ca. 620), and may represent a connecting link between the Kuzunoha and Konoha.¹²⁷ In the novel by Kada no Arimaro, the figure of the albino ape-demon from the Chinese legend seems to have gone through a number of alterations to turn into a female tribal leader of monkeys inhabiting a desert island, on which a man is stranded during a sea storm. The monkey saves the man by bringing him into the grotto in the inner part of the island, and takes care of him by providing him with food. A romantic relationship develops between the simian and the man, and a child is born to them. But the man, after three years, eventually, leaves the island on a passing ship, which leads to the suicide of the white monkey and her offspring.

Konoha also procures a chivalrous image (*onnadate*) in a number of episodes of *WJW*, such as she becomes a tribal leader of monkeys, similarly to the female simian from the *Tale of a White Monkey*, rescuing Takako from the imminent death in the second volume,

“He’s been suffering from this illness for a very long time, but according to some method, he can be cured by a liver from a female child born in the year and the month of monkey. If he is served that medicine, he will recover as if by magic! So this is the one I caught this time—this little bitch. Bring in the pot, and let’s obtain that miracle drug!”

And as he pulled the cover of the basket open, an unthinkable thing happened. As one monkey jumped out from the basket, a multitude of monkeys appeared coming from all directions, and, protecting that one white monkey, ran away into the mountains.

¹²⁶ For the discussion of the formation of *Tale of a White Monkey* and its connection with the *Biography of a White Ape*, see Masaya Morita, “*Hakuen monogatari seiritsuron*,” *Jinbun ronkyū*, 42. no. 3, 1-18, 1992.

¹²⁷ For the discussion of *Biography of a White Ape* and how it served as an antecedent to *Xiyouji*, see Glen Dudbridge, *The Hsi-Yu-Chi: A Study of Antecedents to the Sixteenth-Century Chinese Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 114-128.

つね／＼これを憂^{うれ}ひ給^{たま}ふに、我が名^{めい}方^{ほう}に猿^{ざる}の年^{ねん}月^{げつ}揃^{そろ}ひたる、女子^いの生^ぎ肝^{ども}を製^{せい}
法^{ほう}し、これをもて与^{あた}へるときは、病^{びやう}気^きたちどころに平^{へい}癒^ゆすることあり。この度^{たび}
押^おへ来^きたりしは、すなはちその女^め郎^ろなり。葛^{つづら}の蓋^{ふた}を引^ひき開^あくれば、不^{おも}思^ひ寄^よらず一^{いつ}
匹^{びき}の猿^{ざる}飛^とび出^いづるに、四^{ほう}方^{あひだ}の山^{あひだ}間^{あひだ}になどより、数^{あまた}多^{ざる}の猿^{ざる}ども群^{むら}がりて、彼^かの白^{しろ}
猿^{ざる}を敬^{うや}まひ守^{しゆ}護^ごし、山^{たか}高^{たか}くこそ馳^はせ行^ゆきけり。

The *Tale of a White Monkey* might have been known to the author of *WJW*, who used some of its motifs and tropes to develop the character of Konoha, and to lend a patina of maudlin sentimentality to the production. The dramatic ascendancy of sentimental and melodramatic aesthetics throughout the nineteenth century finds ample reflection in Shunsui's pre-*Plum Calendar* and post-*Plum Calendar* oeuvre, and is invariably engrafted into the very fabric of the household-disturbance plots revolving around the theme of the misrecognition of innocence and vice, and socially (or even divinely, as is in the case of the *WJW*) sanctioned vendetti to restore a status, name or virtue to its pristine state.

Numerous other allusions to Chinese historical and literary sources abound in the text of *WJW*: Uramatsu Tomanosuke is compared not only to Genji and Narihira, which is a clichéd metaphor used in many works of *gesaku*, but also to the Chinese poet Song Yu 宋玉 (ca. 290-223 BC) who was a semi-legendary figure, an icon of male beauty and an outstanding poet; moreover, Tomanosuke's literary prowess is described as “unrivaled even in the ‘quatrain of seven steps’” 七步詩 (Ch. *qibushi*), which is not a genre of Chinese poetry, but a famous classical Chinese poem attributed to Cao Zhi 曹植 (192–232), which appears in a number of literary works including the *Sanguo yanyi* 三国演义 (J. *Sangoku engi*, *Romance of the Three*

Kingdoms, ca. fourteenth-century); Tomanosuke's skill in archery is compared to Yang Youji 养由基 (ca. 550 BC), a general and archer of the Chu state (ca. 1030–223 BC) who “could shoot at a willow leaf from a distance of a hundred paces”; the author also includes a proverb of Chinese origin, “people of Song are like monkeys with crowns” (similar to an English expression, “no fine clothes can hide the clown”), which is a reference to an episode from *Taishigong shu* 太史公書 (*Records of the Grand Historian*, ca. 145 BC) by Sima Qian 司馬遷 (ca. 94 BC); in one of the conversations, Tomanosuke mentions the text of unidentified origin that tells the story of a Chinese official (Sonrin) and his wife (Yenshi) who could transform into a monkey.¹²⁸ Such profusion of allusions to the Chinese tradition suggests a considerable amount of acquaintance with the Chinese history, art and literature on the part of the author of the *WJW*.

One of the most visually striking episodes of *WJW* is the fighting scene of O-Sago (Sha Gojō) with a *kappa* 河童 (water goblin) found in the second volume of the work. The story is based on an episode from Chapter 7 of *JW*,¹²⁹ which tells the story Son Gokū's submission by Buddha (Tathāgata) under the Five Phases Mountain, as a punishment for causing great havoc in heaven (see Appendix C). Though the original story seems to be irrelevant to the episode in *WJW*, the pictorialization of the Buddha's hand and Son Gokū must have been too visually impressive and memorable—it was included in almost all *JW*-related works of the Tokugawa period. In the context of *WJW*, however, the hand of the Tathāgata becomes the hand of a water goblin who takes hold of O-Sago's boat and hurls it far away in the river. While still in the air,

¹²⁸ Since the source is unidentifiable at this stage, the names of characters are presented in their Japanese reading Sonrin and Yenshi (そんりん、えんし).

¹²⁹ Chapter 7 in Anthony Yu's translation of the *JW*, entitled “From the Eight Trigrams Brazier the Great Sage escapes; Beneath the Five Phases Mountain, Mind Monkey is Still” (八卦爐中逃聖 五行山下定心猿). In the translation of Nishida Korenori this chapter corresponds to Chapter 3 of the First Volume.

the tussle between O-Sago and the *kappa* ensues, and the latter is subdued by the invincible female super-hero. O-Sago incarcerates the monster in a cage and puts him on public display at her village, and, later, in return for *kappa*'s freedom, receives the gift of immortality.

This example becomes interesting in the context of the reception studies, in what Wolfgang Iser has called “the process of imaging in the act of interpretation.” Shunsui re-imagines and reenacts the episode of Son Gokū's submission in a completely different setting, and with another prominent character in the spotlight. We may frequently find this kind of reenactment in the works of *gesaku* writers, who were not only the producers of popular culture but, also, first and foremost, the readers of the classical works of literature. When interacting with a canonical works of literature like *JW*, readers-writers read and interpret it by engaging their own historically mediated cultural praxis,¹³⁰ and produce their own “versions” of the original work only to *replace* it. Works like Shunsui's are perhaps “to blame” for challenging the essential identity of the original production, and maybe the reason why the character of Sha Gojō becomes entirely domesticated in modern Japanese editions of *JW* as a *kappa*, but they are also the reason why the canonical works of literature like *JW* are extant, known and read today.¹³¹

It is not entirely clear why *Women's Journey to the West's* project was discontinued—perhaps due to the Great Fire of Bunsei in 1829, or perhaps because the work did not meet popular acclaim among the readers of Edo. Interestingly, Shunsui would speak in unsavory terms

¹³⁰ Mostow contends that “the very effort to reveal and explain these processes [of preservation and effacement] is historically mediated and every bit as much ‘consequent upon’ the very same kind of ‘complex and subtle social processes’ of our own time. [...] Our readings and our interpretations remain just that—readings and interpretations—and while we may avail ourselves of the work of our predecessors, that is no reason to believe our results will be any more correct.” In Joshua S. Mostow, *Pictures of the Heart: The Hyakunin Isshu in Word and Image* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), 4.

¹³¹ Michael Emmerich argues that the “canonical works of literature do not remain canonical because they are continually being reproduced [...] but because they are continually being replaced.” In Michael Emmerich, “The Splendor of Hybridity: Image and text in Ryūtei Tanehiko's *Inaka Genji*,” in *Envisioning the Tale of Genji: Media, Gender, and Cultural Production*, ed. Haruo Shirane (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 211.

about the practice of rewriting Chinese and Japanese classics in the preface to the third volume of his *Plum Calendar*,

The wise man has no fancy predilections. These days, Master Kyōkuntei¹³² is not surprised at much. Amidst the bustle and hustle of the city life, he goes on writing calmly about the human feelings that fluctuate together with this world. He isn't preoccupied with remaking of the Chinese and Japanese books of old reeking of logic and reason, or the writings of his predecessors. Again, just like stolen fabric will not do for the making of a new *kosode*, one cannot rely on the strength of the ancient sages.

それせいじん もの ぎやうたい いまきやうくんてい あるじ もの ぎやうてん さわ しちう すみ
夫聖人は物に凝滞せず。今狂訓亭の主人は物に仰天せず。騒がしき市中に住

ながら、ゆう ぜん よくと よおしうつ にんじやう かきあらは わかん りくつ こと
ながら、悠々然として能与世推移る人情を書著せしは、和漢の理窟くさき事を、

だつたいくわんこつ もの またきぬ ぬすみこそで したて やう せんてつ ちから かり
奪體換骨したる物にあらず。又衣を盗て小袖に仕立し様に、先哲の力を借し

もの
物にもあらず。¹³³

Most likely poking dry fun at Bakin and Tanehiko who continued their lengthy adaptations of classics, Shunsui would, nonetheless, publish other adaptations based on *Water Margin*, a *ninjōbon* *Bandō Suikoden* 坂東水滸伝 (*Bandō's Water Margin*) serialized between 1830 and 1831, and *Gedai kagami* 外題鑑 (*The Mirror of Titles*) in 1838, which exploits the same technique used by Kyōden in *Chūshin Suikoden* 忠臣水滸伝 (*The Loyal Vassal's Water Margin*, 1799–1801), combining *Water Margin* and *Chūshingura*, *The Storehouse of Loyal Retainers*. Regardless of the reasons for the discontinuation of *WJW*, the underlying ideological framework

¹³² The pen-name of Tamenaga Shunsui.

¹³³ Nakamura Yukihiro, ed., *Shunshoku umegoyomi*, Nihon koten bungaku taikei 64 (Iwanami Shoten, 1962), 138.

and aesthetics manifested in this work was to serve as a framework for the writing of the *Plum Calendar*, where the plot would revolve around four chivalrous, strong-willed women of Fukagawa.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

Women's Journey to the West in the Current Style is a momentary but peculiar instance in an extensive series of literary productions—culled from the canonical works of Chinese and Japanese literature, and rendered as “female versions”—written during a vogue that enjoyed an ever-increasing prominence in late Tokugawa Japan, and collectively called *onna-mono* in this study. This analysis of *WJW* stands as a modest attempt to look into the reception history of *Journey to the West* in early-modern Japan, and to provide a glimpse into the broad category of *onna-mono* works that has been largely ignored by both Japanese and Western scholarship.

The socio-cultural part of this analysis briefly examined the socio-political developments during the late Tokugawa period leading to the emergence of the “culture of play,” the principle elements of *iki* aesthetics, and the melodramatic mode of *ninjōbon* pervading Tamenaga Shunsui's oeuvre. Then, it turned to the discussion of the phenomenon of *onna-mono* observed in the visual, performative and literary arts of the late Tokugawa period. This socio-literary analysis of *WJW* is predicated on the argument established in the works by a number of Western historiographers, who maintain that a political continuum represented by a “civilization of character” eventually leads up to a “culture of personality” which, in turn, gives rise to newly-emergent social identities, unorthodox cultural practices, and gender ambiguous representations incongruent with the official discourse. Written by one of the most commercially successful writers of the late Tokugawa period, and the founder of the melodramatic genre of fiction, Tamenaga Shunsui, *WJW* shows concern with the gender ambiguous, sentimental and melodramatic aesthetics manifested in the main female protagonists—strong-willed, staunch and sturdy women who internalized the masculine values of the samurai class, and came to realize those values by embarking on a divinely-sanctioned mission pursuing justice, extolment of virtue,

and restoration of innocence, yet remaining paragons of feminine beauty and grace, and genuine exemplars of the *iki*.

The literary part of the analysis focused on the main constituents of the *WJW*—title, preface, main characters, plot, and text, as well as literary allusions, antecedents, and ideological influences of its *sekai* and *shukō*, against the broad backdrop of the sociopolitical context. By capitalizing on the Buddhist notions of karma and dharma, and bringing in a large number of allusions to Chinese history, art and literature, while employing the *kakikae-onna-shukō*, *WJW* represents a unique reading experience, both entertaining and edifying, and an amalgamated literary production that would perpetuate the values of the samurai class among a female audience. The framework employed in *WJW* is characteristic of Shunsui's oeuvre, more clearly conceptualized and realized in his post-*Plum Calendar* productions that continually negotiate between *ninjō* and ethicality through experimentations with gender-ambiguous forms that more broadly underlie the production of literature in the nineteenth-century Japan.

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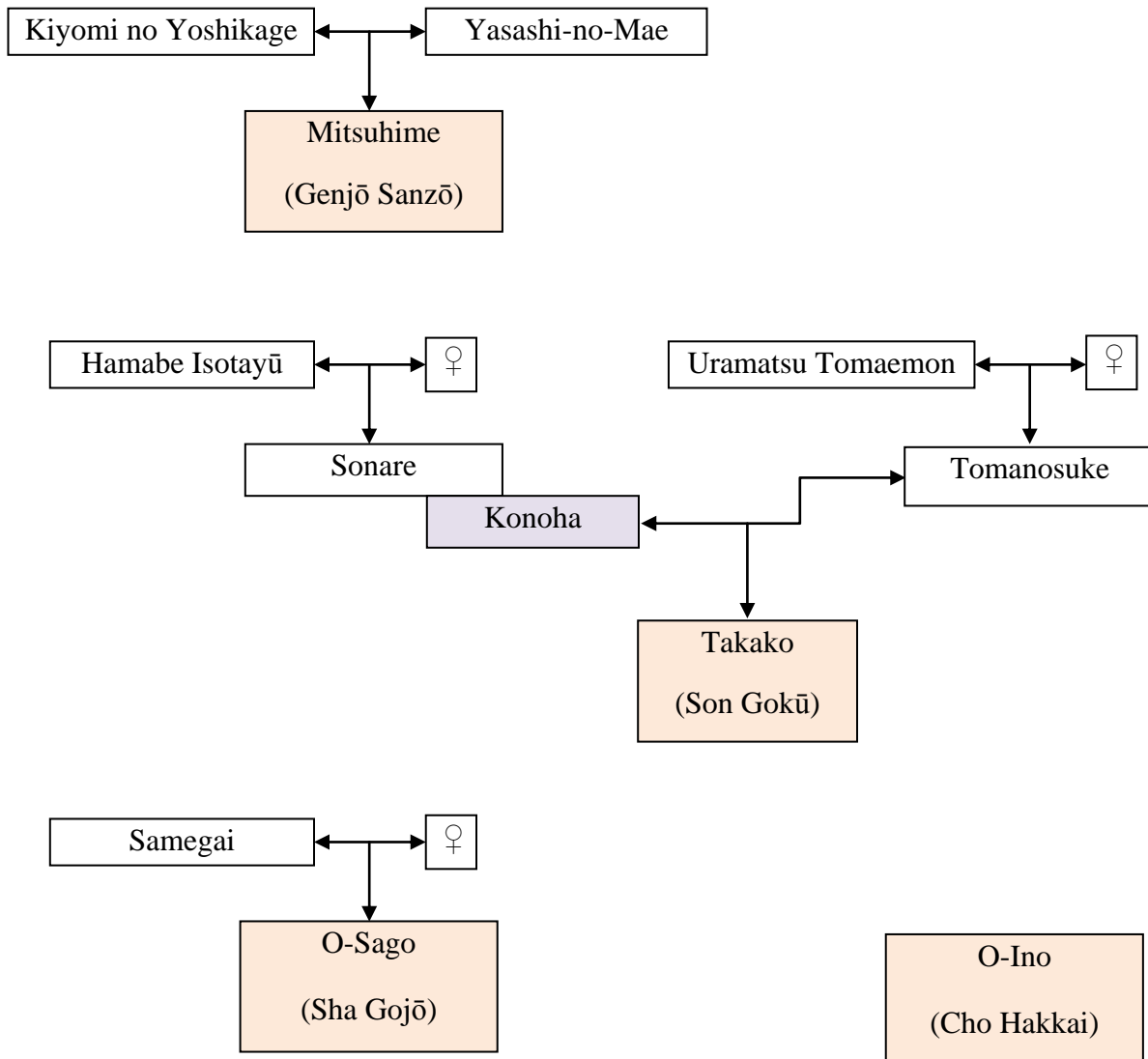
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Appendices

Appendix A: Character Chart



Appendix B: Mitate-e Illustrations of the Main Characters

The *mitate-e* illustrations of Mitsuhide (Genjō Sanzō) and O-Ino (Cho Hakkai) in *Fūzoku onna Saiyūki* (1828), and the original illustrations in the first volume of *Tsūzoku Saiyūki* (1758).
 (Courtesy of Waseda University Library, Collection of Japanese and Chinese Classics, Tokyo)



Appendix C: The Motif of the Hand of the Tathāgata

The Hand of Tathāgata. In *Tsūzoku Saiyūki* (1758) and *Fūzoku onna Saiyūki* (1828).
(Courtesy of Waseda University Library, Collection of Japanese and Chinese Classics, Tokyo)



Appendix D: English Translation of *Fūzoku onna Saiyūki* (Vol. 1 and 2)

Women's Journey to the West in the Current Style

Written by Somahito¹³⁴

Illustrated by Kuniyasu¹³⁵

A new edition of a book of the year of the rat¹³⁶

First volume

Printed in the spring of the year of the rat

A bookstore of the Eastern Capital¹³⁷

New release by Eijudō¹³⁸

What is common is broad and widespread; and the ordinary is fundamental and profound beyond all comprehension.¹³⁹

The glorious light of the Buddha shines upon this world of the ten quarters,¹⁴⁰ which is beguiled by the *Westward Journey* and its 80,800¹⁴¹ miles of lies—its guilt runs deeper than the depths of the Flowing-Sand River.¹⁴² And, yet, to trade [this tale full of lies] to the profit-driven world, it was expanded by making use of various quotations, thus, adding 800 miles of even

¹³⁴ Kyōkuntei Somahito, Tamenaga Shunsui's (1789–1843) pen name.

¹³⁵ Utagawa Kuniyasu (1794–1832) was an *ukiyo-e* artist of the Utagawa school.

¹³⁶ Eleventh year of the Bunsei era (1828) was the year of the rat.

¹³⁷ Eastern Capital, or Edo.

¹³⁸ Eijudō, or Nishimuraya Yohachi, was one of the most famous publishing houses of Edo.

¹³⁹ The phrase 深きことはかりなし *fukaki koto hakarinashi* “profound beyond all comprehension” may also be read as *fukaki koto bakari nashi*, which means “not necessarily profound.” The absence of *dakuten* in the original text complicates the choice of a correct reading.

¹⁴⁰ The phrase from the *Amitayurdhyana Sutra* (Ch. *Fushuo guanwu liangshou fojing*; Jp. *Kanmu ryōju kyō*), one of the three major sutras of Pure Land Buddhism. Amitayus, in the name of this sutra, refers to another name of Amitabha, the preeminent figure in Pure Land Buddhism. *Amitayurdhyana Sutra* focuses on meditations involving complex visualization and is considered apocryphal. The full passage reads, 无量寿佛有八万四千相。相中。各有八万四千随形好。好中复有八万四千光明。光明遍照十方世界。念佛众生摄取不舍。“Buddha Amitayus has eighty-four thousand signs of perfection, each sign is possessed of eighty-four minor marks of excellence, each mark has eighty-four thousand rays, each ray extends so far as to shine over the worlds of the ten quarters, whereby Buddha embraces and protects all the beings who think upon him and does not exclude (any one of them).” In *Buddhist Mahāyāna Texts*, Vol. XLIX, tr. by E. B. Cowell, F. Max Müller and J. Takakusu (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894), 180.

¹⁴¹ In the same passage, “Buddha Amitayus has eighty-four thousand signs of perfection,” which the author turns into “eighty-eight miles of deceit” spread by the novel *Journey to the West*. Refers to the Buddhist belief that all fiction is deceitful and thus sinful.

¹⁴² The Kaidu River, also known as Liusha River (literally, “Flowing-Sand River”) is a river in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of China. Sha Wujing (Jp. Sha Gojō), before becoming Xuanzang's disciple, had to live in the river reincarnated as a terrible man-eating sand demon to avoid the punishment of the Jade Emperor.

more beguilement. For the readers of Musashino,¹⁴³ this year, too, I'm occupied with writing [until the crack of dawn.]¹⁴⁴

Beyond the Western Sea, there was a country named Aolai, where, in the beginning, the Handsome Monkey King of the Water-Curtain Cave, after receiving magic teachings and having transformed himself, was called Disciple Sun, and came to the aid of Venerable Priest Tripitaka, time and time again, on his journey to the West in search of Buddhist sutras—such is the fancy tale of the Chinese. And, after its odd sentences and wordings were harmonized in Japanese, it has been added as a proud fellow among the “red books”¹⁴⁵ of the Eastern Capital, written in the letters of our country, the “women’s letters.”¹⁴⁶ After all, it is the Women’s *Westward Journey*!

Since *Journey to the West* is published by the Nishimura,¹⁴⁷ this petty and unworthy novel has nothing to do with Sha Wujing¹⁴⁸ and will only remind you of a number of new nonsense writers, the halfwits like Zhu Bajie. It bears the “flower seal”¹⁴⁹ of mine, [a sign of] my inherent trait—to be a “two-legs-and-a-cane”¹⁵⁰ writer. But, if my lack of talent is overlooked, and this book will receive your honorable praises,¹⁵¹ indeed, then flying on the swift, magical cloud,¹⁵² Eijudō, our publisher, will set in print the second and third volumes. Wishing for a fair profit

¹⁴³ Musashino, or Edo.

¹⁴⁴ The phrase “*fude o tori ga naku*” contains a pun: the character for “*tori*” is “*niwatori*” (chicken, cock), combined with “*fude o toru*” or “to write with a brush.”

¹⁴⁵ Red books or *akahon* together with *kurohon*, *aohon*, *kibyōshi*, and *gōkan* was a type of popular fiction of the Edo period (1600–1868) collectively called *kusazōshi*. *Akahon* were picture books with narrative and dialogue written in phonetic characters in the blank spaces between full-page illustrations. First appeared around 1662 and derived their content from children’s folktales.

¹⁴⁶ Starting in Heian period (794–1185), there were two major trends in Japanese literature, women’s literature written in *kana* (Japanese syllabic writing) and men’s literature in *kanbun* (Chinese writing). Since *gōkan* were written mostly in *kana*, the author included this pun by connecting “women’s letters” with “writings of our land,” emphasizing the title *Women’s Journey to the West in the Current Style*.

¹⁴⁷ The phrase contains a pun: “*Saiyū*” (西遊, *Westward Journey*) and “*Saiyū*, or *Nishimura*” (西邑, Western Village), referring to Nishimuraya Yohachi (Eijudō).

¹⁴⁸ The phrase contains a pun “*Sasō*” (沙僧, Sha Priest, or Sha Wujing) and “*sosō*” (麤相, petty, unworthy), indicating that the *WJW* is not a profound Buddhist teaching, but is a paltry and insignificant work.

¹⁴⁹ “Flower seal” (*kakihan*, *kaō*) is a seal that bears the name of a work’s author. The trend of applying a seal to one’s writing started in the middle of Heian period (794–1185). The names on seals were written in cursive (*sōshotai*, literally, “*quick hand*” or “*grass hand*”) script, and were sometimes called “flower seals” because of the difficulty of deciphering the names they were bearing.

¹⁵⁰ An allusion to the expression 猿は人間に毛が三筋足らぬ, which means that monkeys, though looking like humans, cannot be on par with humans because they lack three hairs; by implication “not good enough.”

¹⁵¹ Critical appraisal (*hyōban*).

¹⁵² Somersault cloud (*kintoun*) is a magical cloud that served as means of transportation and was used by Sun Wukong.

growing like a pile of gold,¹⁵³ owner of the “Clover Crest” tooth powder refinery,”¹⁵⁴ which is the same as the well-known Iwai Baiga’s (Kumeza) crest,¹⁵⁵ Kyōkuntei Somahito.

The spring of the eleventh year of Bunsei,¹⁵⁶ a *kaihon* version of an illustrated book.

Senrigan.¹⁵⁷ Junpūji.¹⁵⁸

An ancient story about the Handsome Monkey King from the Water-Curtain Cave who studied magic and reached unto gods, then aided Tripitaka and subdued demons.

Sanzō.

She’s kind and stouthearted. In spite of myriad hardships, she accomplishes a great undertaking, Mitsuhime.

Hakkai.

A young lady, who plays the fool in the group and detests bravery.

Sha Priest.

<i>tooku nari</i>	The chirping of plovers
<i>chikaku naru mi no</i>	was heard from afar,
<i>hamachidori</i>	now it’s close at hand—
<i>naku ne ni shio no</i>	indeed, by this chirping I know
<i>michihi wo zo shiru</i>	the ebb and flow of the ocean tides. ¹⁵⁹

¹⁵³ Referring to the Nishimuraya Yohachi’s (Eijudō) crest, looking like a mountain.

¹⁵⁴ A clover crest (*Chōjiguruma* 丁子車) was a crest owned by the Iwai lineage of kabuki actors. The same design was apparently used by Shunsui in advertizing the tooth powder “Clover Crest.” In the Edo period (1600–1868), kabuki actors often appeared in the advertisements. The author may refer in this passage to a *nishiki-e* picture by Utagawa Toyokuni II (1777–1835) published in 1825, that depicts two kabuki actors Ichikawa Danjūrō VII and Iwai Baiga advertising the tooth powder “Edo Scent.”

¹⁵⁵ The name of “Iwai Baiga” can refer to either Iwai Kumesaburō I (Iwai Hanshirō V) (1776–1847), or his son Iwai Kumesaburō II (Iwai Hanshirō VI) (1798–1836), who were *onnagata* (“female impersonator”) kabuki actors in the lineage of Iwai family in the Edo period (1600–1868). Both of them had stage names of Baiga (other than Iwai Hanshirō III (1698–1760), who was not cotemporaneous with the publication of *Women’s Journey to the West in the Current Style*). Iwai Kumesaburō II is depicted wearing a kimono decorated with *chōji-guruma* (clover) pattern on a *yakusha-e* (actor painting) print by Utagawa Toyokuni (1769–1825) titled *Shichikenjin no mitate, Iwai Baiga*.

¹⁵⁶ Y. 1828.

¹⁵⁷ Senrigan (“Thousand Mile Eye”, Ch. *Qianliyan*), a Chinese deity that overlooks the world and is a messenger of the sea goddess Mazu.

¹⁵⁸ Junpūji (“Fair Wind Ear”, Ch. *Shunfen’er*), a Chinese deity that overhears the world and is a messenger of the sea goddess Mazu.

[Son Gokū]

She has gorgeous dark hair like a cloud that smoothly contrasts with her skin as white as snow. The moment when she knits her beautiful eyebrows, strong men shake with fear.

[Group Illustration]

kashimashiki
sugata ha aredo
sannin ga
Monju no chiwe yo
umi-yama no sachi

They give the appearance
of being loud and clamorous
but when the three come together
the pearls of wisdom spring forth—
the riches of the mountains and seas.
A poem by Tamahito.¹⁶⁰

“Looks beautiful like a Bodhisattva’s, but the heart as dark as a Yaksha’s,”¹⁶¹ this is a single-handed blow by the Buddha. Wise and stupid, right and wrong are among men and women alike. *The Mirror of the Wise Women of Japan*¹⁶² and *The Biographies of Exemplary Women*.¹⁶³ Disguised townsfolk of Honchō. A play by a deceased Komatsu.

Chapter 2

In the days, when Lord Yoritomo¹⁶⁴ of Kamakura had assumed the title of Chief Superintendent of Police¹⁶⁵ of all Japan, and the four seas were at peace for a little while, there

¹⁵⁹ A poem attributed to Ōta Dōkan (1432–1486) who was a warrior of the Muromachi period (1333–1568). Highly reputed as a military tactician, Dōkan was also known for his poetic skill. According to a narrative appearing in *Jōzan kidan (Records and Tales of Jōzan, 1739)* compiled by Yuasa Jōzan (1708–1781), Ōta Dōkan was able to tell between periods of the ebb and flow by hearing the chirps of plovers. This poem is used by the author to speak of the shrewdness of O-Sago, whose prototype was Sha Wujing.

¹⁶⁰ Yūtei Tamahito 雄亭多満人 (?–?) was a writer and illustrator of *gesaku* fiction.

¹⁶¹ Yaksha is the name of a broad class of nature-spirits that appear in Hindu, Jain and Buddhist writings. A yaksha may be inoffensive, but there is also dark yakshas, which are perilous ghosts that haunt the wilderness and waylays and devour travelers.

¹⁶² *Nippon kenjo kagami*, is a *jōruri* play by Chikamatsu Yanagi (1762–1803) written in 1802, describing events of the Sengoku period (1467–1568) and life of Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537–1598).

¹⁶³ *Biographies of Exemplary Women (Ch. Lienu zhuan)* is a book compiled by Liu Xiang (ca. 18 BC), which includes 125 biographical accounts of exemplary women, taken from ancient Chinese histories such as *Chun Qiu*, *Zuo Zhuan*, and the *Records of the Grand Historian*. Served as a textbook for the moral education of women.

¹⁶⁴ Minamoto no Yoritomo (1147–1199) was the founder of the Kamakura shogunate (1192–1333), the first warrior government in Japan.

¹⁶⁵ Minamoto no Yoritomo assumed the title of Chief Superintendent of Japan (*sotsuihoshi*) in 1186. In Okuma Shigenobu, Huish M. Bourne, ed., *Fifty years of new Japan* (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1909), 300.

was, in Senshū,¹⁶⁶ a magistrate of Kiyomi¹⁶⁷ by the name Yoshikage, a man of great learning and a distinguished military chief. Each and every person in Yoshikage's household was a wholehearted follower of the path of literary and military arts, and there was no one in the least negligent among them.

In this household, there was an old retainer¹⁶⁸ Uramatsu Tomaemon who had a son named Tomanosuke. Tomaemon died at the ripe old age, and Tomanosuke inherited his father's fortune when he was only eighteen. From early childhood, he devoted himself to the path of the literary and military arts, perfecting himself incessantly in all eighteen arts of war,¹⁶⁹ and in letters, too, he surpassed Sima Xiangru,¹⁷⁰ unrivaled even in the "quatrain of seven steps."¹⁷¹

Truly a handsome young man, he was blessed by gods at birth, in the same way as the Chinese poet Song Yu,¹⁷² or, as Genji,¹⁷³ or Narihira¹⁷⁴ of our country, his looks were just as ravishing. Not only the daughters in all the households, but also servant girls, were running out of their houses to try to catch his eye or touch quietly his sleeve, when he was passing by. But Tomanosuke didn't give in to such flirtatious conduct.

At times, free from service, he enjoyed hunting and grew especially adept in the skill of archery. He could shoot at a willow leaf from a distance of a hundred paces, just like Chinese,¹⁷⁵

¹⁶⁶ An alternative name for Suruga Province. It was an old province in the area that is today the central part of Shizuoka Prefecture.

¹⁶⁷ Kiyomi is the name of an existing urban area in Shizuoka Prefecture.

¹⁶⁸ Retainer (*fudai*) is a hereditary vassal or servant. A term used from the Heian period (794–1185) onward to denote one whose family stood in hereditary subordination to another family.

¹⁶⁹ The eighteen martial arts of Japan: (1) archery (*kyūdo/kyūjutsu*), (2) horsemanship (*bajutsu*), (3) swimming (*suiei-jutsu*), (4) fencing/sword fighting (*kendō, kenjutsu*), (5) sword drawing (*iaijutsu*), (6) short sword (*tantō*) skills, (7) polearm or long sword manipulation (*naginata jutsu*), (8) staff (*bojutsu*) skills, (9) spearmanship (*sōjutsu*), (10) *yawara* (*jūdō/jūjutsu*), (11) firearms (*teppō*) skills, (12) spying (*ninjutsu*), (13) dagger throwing (*shurikenjutsu*), (14) needle spitting (*fukumibarijutsu*), (15) chained sickle throwing (*kusariganajutsu*), (16) roping (*torite*) skills, (17) barbed staff (*mojiri*) skills, (18) truncheon (*jitte*) skills. In William E. Deal, *Handbook to Life in Medieval and Early Modern Japan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 152.

¹⁷⁰ Sima Xiangru 司馬相如 (ca. 150 BC) was the Chinese poet, musician and litterateur.

¹⁷¹ The Quatrain of Seven Steps (Ch. *qibushi*), is an allegorical poem attributed to Cao Zhi (192–232). The poem's first appeared in the classic text *Shishuo xinyu* (*A New Account of the Tales of the World*), published in 430.

¹⁷² Song Yu (ca. 290–223 BC) was a semi-legendary figure, an icon of male beauty and an important poet. In Geng Song, *The Fragile Scholar: Power and Masculinity in Chinese Culture* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004), 140.

¹⁷³ Hikaru Genji, or Prince Genji, is the protagonist of Murasaki Shikibu's (ca. 1014) *The Tale of Genji*. Also, a symbol of male beauty in Japanese literature.

¹⁷⁴ Ariwara no Narihira (825–880) was a *waka* poet of the early Heian period (794–1185). Great-grandson of Emperor Kammu (r. 781–806). He is counted as one of the *Rokkasen* ("Six Poetic Geniuses") and *Sanjūrokkasen* ("Thirty-Six Poetic Geniuses"). Also, a symbol of male beauty in Japanese literature.

¹⁷⁵ A reference to Yang Youji, a famous general and archer of the Chu state in the Spring and Autumn period (770–476 BC) China. In Stephen Selby, *Chinese Archery* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2000), 134.

a bird flying in the sky or a beast running on the ground that caught his eye—nothing would be able to escape Tomanosuke’s arrow.

Such was this young man Tomanosuke. And though people in all the families with daughters soon-to-marry would speak in hope, “If only we could have Tomanosuke as our son-in-law,” he was not fond of amorous affairs and never chose by outward looks. “I will take a wife who is righteous in conduct”, was his sole measure of choice.

In the Kiyomi household, among the families of old retainers, there was another man named Hamabe Isotayū. He had a daughter, Sonare, who met her twenty-eighth spring that year, attracted myriads of proposal letters. Anyone who saw her thought that she was beautiful beyond compare, just like Princess Sotoori¹⁷⁶ and Ono no Komachi.¹⁷⁷ She could play musical instruments most deftly, arrange flowers and was skilled in composing classical poetry—she was learned and excelled in every sort of true lady’s craft.

Besides, since she was also a very virtuous young lady, Tomanosuke heeded closely to the message about Sonare’s noble character and enquired if he could marry her. Isotayū, knowing from before that Tomanosuke was a devout follower of the literary and military arts and an upright youth without any deviousness, liked this promising young man dearly and, because Sonare was his only daughter, he was very glad about Tomanosuke’s proposal and quickly sent back his agreement for the engagement.

Tomanosuke too felt deeply obliged and grateful. And when both sides submitted a request for marriage to the master of the household, magistrate Yoshikage also thought that Tomanosuke and Sonare were a fitting couple and quickly granted his consent for their wedding. The happiness of both families was great beyond measure. Therefore, they requested an intermediary and set on an auspicious day, and after all final arrangements for the wedding ceremony were made, the families had exchanged the greetings of “ten thousand years of longevity.”¹⁷⁸

On one occasion, Tomanosuke was free from service and went hunting to the Ashigara Mountain¹⁷⁹ in the neighboring country. On the opposite side of a valley, he spotted an eagle that had caught a monkey and was already about to eat it. Tomanosuke felt sorry for the monkey, he put an arrow to his bow and pulled it really hard, and, unerringly, shot right through the eagle’s throat.

When eagle died, Tomanosuke picked the monkey up and had a better look at it. She was very small and her fur was completely white. Tomanosuke felt very happy for having saved the monkey and made a beater carry her in his arms on their way back.

When he returned home, his wife Sonare came out to meet him and hearing the whole story she also felt very sorry for the monkey. “It was so dangerous indeed”, she kept on saying. When she looked at her, the monkey was so small that she could ride in the palm of Sonare’s hand, and her fur was all white, as white as snow. Because Sonare, by nature, was always deeply

¹⁷⁶ Sotoorihime, or Princess Sotoori, a legendary beauty and poetess.

¹⁷⁷ Ono no Komachi (fl. mid-9th c.), a renowned beauty and poetess. One of Japan’s most famous poets. Ki no Tsurayuki, compiler of the first official anthology of poetry, the *Kokinshū* (ca. 905), ranked her among the “Six Poetic Geniuses” (*Rokkasen*).

¹⁷⁸ “Ten thousand years of longevity” (*senshū-manzai*; lit. thousand autumns and ten-thousand years). A traditional blessing (also, a decoration) for longevity used in a number of festive events, such as New Year celebrations, wedding ceremony, etc.

¹⁷⁹ Mount Ashigara is located on the border of Kanagawa and Shizuoka prefectures.

sympathetic, she also felt very happy that the monkey was rescued. She called her Konoha and loved her like her own child.

Konoha loved Sonare like her mother too and didn't leave her side for a single moment. Moreover, she understood human speech very well, and, just like a human, she could stand on her feet and do myriad different things, which was so lovely that everyone couldn't help but adore her all the more.

“Those dressed beautifully must endure people pointing, the high and mighty must face divine wrath.”¹⁸⁰ It could be said that Sonare and Tomanosuke's were truly an ideal couple—a match made in heaven. But as the saying goes “joy and sadness always go together”—their happiness didn't last long. All of a sudden, Tomanosuke began having spots on his feet. Gradually, his legs grew very heavy, and he became ill with the “crane's knee wind.”¹⁸¹

Sonare's was beyond herself with despair. If there was any famous doctor, she would invite him to their house, and she tried all sorts of different remedies, but there was no sign of even slightest relief. Tomanosuke's illness became worse with each day, and he was unable to walk anymore. Hamabe Isotayū, Tomanosuke's father-in-law, also tried to help in every way he could but to no avail.

Then, there was somebody who said, “There is no medicine for this illness. To cure it, only if you go to the hot springs of Arima¹⁸² and have baths for treatment, you may have a speedy recovery.”

Though Tomanosuke too thought this might be the right course of action, he said, “Whatever you say, since I'm in the service to my master, I do not have the freedom to decide what to do.” Then, he made a request to the Lord magistrate if he could take a leave, and, since it was a rare request, and magistrate Yoshikage used to speak of Tomanosuke before calling him “my poor, sorrowful retainer,” and also because of the disease Tomanosuke was dealing with, he quickly permitted him to go for the bath treatment.

Tomanosuke was very glad and quickly made arrangements for departure. One day, he spoke to his wife Sonare, “All humans perish. Death comes to old and young alike... Now, after the Sengoku war,¹⁸³ there are still warriors out there disloyal to the Lord of Kamakura. Though it may seem quiet and peaceful, the remnants of the camp of Kiso Yoshinaka¹⁸⁴ of the house of

¹⁸⁰ Lines from the poem Thoughts I of IV (Ch. *Ganyu si shiu zhi yi*) by Zhang Jiuling (678–740). Zhang Jiuling was a prominent minister, noted poet and scholar of the Tang Dynasty. This poem is the first in the collection of *300 Tang Poems*.

¹⁸¹ “Crane's knee wind” (*kakushippū*) is an arthritic rheumatoid disease. Symptoms include swelling of one or both knees with subsequent atrophy of the area above or below, hence resembling the legs of a crane.

¹⁸² Arima Hot Spring (*Arima onsen*). Located on the northern slope of the mountain Rikkōsan, in the city of Kōbe, Hyōgo Prefecture. There is a popular belief that thermal waters may cure such conditions as arthritis, skin diseases, rheumatism, and nervous disorders.

¹⁸³ Sengoku period (1467–1568; Sengoku *jidai*), also known as the Warring States period. The years from the beginning of the Ōnin War (1467–77) until Oda Nobunaga entered Kyōto in 1568. Probably used as an anachronistic error by the author of WJW.

¹⁸⁴ Minamoto no Yoshinaka (1154–1184), also known as Kiso Yoshinaka, was a warrior of the Heian period (794–1185). With Minamoto no Yoritomo and other Minamoto warriors Yoshinaka rebelled against the rule of the Taira family in 1180.

Taira¹⁸⁵ may be hiding in all the provinces. It's hard to predict when and how their uprising starts. You and I are now husband and wife, and you shouldn't cry about me, because I'm leaving to the place where I'll be healed, although it is a hundred miles away... If I can cure this illness, even just a little, I will quickly return home. If during my leave an uprising occurs, by all means, don't be reckless. I asked Lord Isotayū to take good care of you and so I can surely put my mind at rest now. Though Konoha is just an animal, she knows how to be grateful. If we treasure our marriage and give our love away and take care of people and animals who need our nurture, although there's a difference between us, there is indeed a deep karmic tie between us all, if we live like this together in one house... We must not fail to take good care of anyone.”

Riding in a basket, Tomanosuke set off to Arima, and Isotayū walked two or three miles with him along the way. Having bid farewell, he stood on the road and didn't go back.

Konoha, in Sonare's arms, also went to a front door to see Tomanosuke off and looked terribly heartbroken when he departed. They both were weeping and screaming, and only when Tomanosuke left, they calmed down and together went into the inner chambers of the house.

This indeed was the parting of husband and wife forever, and such affection (displayed by the monkey) was not known to human beings—this was understood only later.

At this time, there were two brothers in magistrate Yoshikage's subordination, captain¹⁸⁶ Hirouji and district official¹⁸⁷ Sueuji of Miho,¹⁸⁸ people of no-good intentions. Lately, they were planning on a *coup* intending to unlawfully overtake the household of Kiyomi and were just waiting for the right opportunity to arise. When Uramatsu Tomanosuke went away to Arima for the bath treatment, they pressed false charges against him, reporting to the house of Hōjō¹⁸⁹ that he was conspiring with the enemy. Then, Lord of Kamakura also thought these charges to be true. When he gave an order to the captain to strike, the brothers were happy that their old plan was about to realize. They quickly returned home, prepared the troops and soon advanced on the castle of magistrate Yoshikage. Suddenly, hearing the war cries of an invading army, Kiyomi's castle was in great tumult.

Wrecking chaos high and low, the governor's soldiers quickly entered the castle, killing everybody in their way. Since most of the people in the castle were killed, the magistrate called his wife and said, “You are in the third month of pregnancy. Please, run away from here. Give birth to the child you're bearing and wait for the right time to restore the house of Kyomi! This will be a greater honor than dying now,” saying this, Lord Yoshikage passed on the house's lineage to his wife, cut his stomach open and died. Lady Yasashi-no-Mae was so consumed with grief that she seemed to have lost her body and soul. Like a madwoman, not dead and not living, she yearned for heaven and wailed unto earth, falling down and rolling on the ground, as if she had completely lost her mind.

¹⁸⁵ The Taira family was one of the four great families, including the Minamoto family, Fujiwara family, and Tachibana family, that dominated court politics during the Heian period (794–1185). The story of the Taira family is recounted in *The Tale of the Heike*.

¹⁸⁶ *Gunryō* were military officials among the ranks of *gunji* (district officials) under the *ritsuryō* system of government. *Gunryō* were further divided into great captains (*tairyō*) and minor captains (*shōryō*).

¹⁸⁷ *Gunji* were local officials charged with the administration of the *gun* (districts), administrative subdivisions of the *kuni* (provinces) under the *ritsuryō* system of government that had evolved after the Taika Reform of 645.

¹⁸⁸ Miho is the name of an existing urban area in Shizuoka Prefecture.

¹⁸⁹ The Hōjō family was a warrior family of the Kamakura period (1185–1333).

At this time, lady-in-waiting Tonami was pursuing the enemy and was wounded in the fight. Stained with blood, she returned to the castle. When she saw Lady Yasashi-no-Mae rolling on the ground she helped her to stand up. Tonami listened to what had happened to Lord Yoshikage and obeyed his last words (adhered to his last will). Together, they fled to wait elsewhere for the right time.

However, although Lady Yasashi-no-Mae had the family tree with her it was of no use without the house's treasure—mirror of Hagaromo and ink-stone of Matsukage. Tonami was about to fetch those two things stored away in the treasury, but a great number of soldiers suddenly appeared blocking her way, demanding she deliver Lady Yasashi-no-Mae to them. Tonami couldn't get hold of the treasure. She retreated and, together with Lady Yasashi-no-Mae, fled to some unknown place.

Chapter 3

Hereupon, Tomanosuke's wife Sonare had no other choice but to join the battle. She pulled a long sword out of its sheath and attacked the enemy with it. However, there were a great number of soldiers, and it was too hard for her to fight. When Sonare was already on the verge of peril, Konoha ran over to her. Jumping to and fro on soldiers' heads, she plucked and pulled them and aided Sonare all she could. The soldiers too seemed unable to counter Konoha's attacks. But the army before their eyes was enormous. New soldiers replaced the wounded ones and fought with renewed strength, and people fighting for the Kiyomi castle seemed meager in numbers. Since Sonare went out fighting with only the light protection of her armor and helmet, she had been already wounded several times. A countless number of people were injured in the battle. Parents who were attacked were helped by their children, and everybody was desperate fighting the enemy.

Sonare was already depleted of strength and had injuries all over her body, when she put her sword into a cane and went about looking for her father. A servant of captain Hirouji saw that Sonare's face was pretty-looking and became very glad. Approaching her, he leaned rakishly towards her and said, "Surely, you must be a wife of a man from the Kiyomi's household. Great captain Lord Yoshikage is already dead. There's no one from your household who has survived. Not a single soul... Rather than keeping loyalty to your dead husband, if you obey me now and become my wife, I will have mercy on you." Sonare pushed him aside and said, "Should I hear these filthy things? My master Lord Yoshikage is already dead, and if my husband Tomanosuke was in the country, he would fight with all his strength on the battlefield. But, unfortunately, since he's away now on a trip, there's nothing to do about it... I would rather die courageously, than go on living being put to shame by the enemy!" The next moment, she was cut down and staggered—a regular soldier jumped back and shook blood off his blade. "Though you were the enemy, I was merciful to you and wanted to help you. Though I proposed you to become my wife, in return you were biting me back—what sort of thing is that? In this case, I will do as you wish and shorten your life!"

Sonare was slit deep in the shoulder and fell down to the ground. But, since she had a yearning inside her to see her father and husband, holding to that one desire, she was still drawing breath. Leaning against the sword in the cane, she raised herself up. Teased and slashed by the soldiers, she didn't see anything because of the agony of death but continued to plunge the sword, fighting back. From a distance, Isotayū saw Sonare and ran quickly towards her. He grabbed the enemy soldiers, pushed them away and with just one stroke cut them dead.

Holding Sonare in his arms, he drew his lips to her ear, “Sonare, take heart. This is Isotayū, your father.” As he was affectionately calling out to her, Sonare gasped for breath, “Father, it’s too late... Now, other soldiers from the enemy’s army will come here and dishonor me. But if I die, I won’t lose my honor.” Although, at heart, she was bracing herself, she had exhausted all her strength in fighting a great number of soldiers. And because of many deep wounds she bore, it was hard for her to live on.

“Please, cut my head off and relieve my pain quickly! Although, I regret dying like this now, I want to die after seeing my husband’s face, if only just once,” so sincerely she yearned for her husband. Father Isotayū, full of pity, moved his lips even closer to her ear, “Our master, the Lord magistrate is already killed, but his wife Lady Yasashi-no-Mae can’t be found anywhere, it’s very likely she has managed to escape this place. Lady Yasashi-no-Mae is in the third month of pregnancy, and be this child in her womb a boy, or a girl, there are no other heirs. This child will be born and grow up, and will start declaring the message that his father was innocent of crime, and the house of Kiyomi will be restored. Though it would be honorable of me to die right here and now, I will prolong my life. And, first of all, though I thought I should go into hiding, I will look for Tomanosuke, my son-in-law. I will tell him how you died saving your honor. And, together, we’ll retain our lives and wait for the right time. A year even hasn’t even passed, since you became husband and wife, with Lord Tomanosuke, and you’ve already parted... And now being murdered like this by the hand of a stranger—what a cruel fate this is! I couldn’t have imagined in my dreams that such a revolt would happen until yesterday, or until even today... All I wanted was to quickly see the face of my first grandchild. It’s all in vain now, like foam on water.”

They both were choking with tears of grief. Isotayū tried to take care of Sonare’s deadly wounds, but after having told everything in this meeting with her father, Sonare collapsed and passed away at last.

Weeping bitterly, Isotayū cut off his daughter’s head. Then, he cut off a sleeve of her kimono, wrapped her head in it and went to some place to hide her body. Suddenly, a crowd of enemy soldiers came in attack, and because there was nothing else he could do, he tied Sonare’s head to his waist and dashed into the midst of the crowd. Slashing his way through, he barely managed to escape. Then he went to a temple and requested a funeral (he requested a funeral at a family temple) after telling everything that had happened. He buried his daughter’s head and acquired a posthumous name for her. The sleeve of her kimono, he always carried with him as a remembrance to present to his son-in-law. He then left this place and, heading for Arima, he went to the Kamigata region.¹⁹⁰

Konoha stayed with Sonare until the very last moment. She wept and grieved but, finally, disappeared somewhere and no one knew where she was. Isotayū was not too concerned about the monkey, but thought to himself with pity, “She might have been killed all the confusion of the battle,” and chanted sutras also for her peace and happiness in the afterlife.

In the meantime, Uramatsu Tomanosuke was repeatedly receiving treatment in the hot springs of Arima, and his illness was partially cured. However, he didn’t recover from it completely. “I will have one more round of treatment and will just take it easy,” he thought to himself during his sojourn at Arima. But, one day, a courier came from Kamakura and said, “The household of Kiyomi in Senshū planned a *coup*. An attacking force was sent from Kamakura and, in just one day, the household was completely destroyed.”

¹⁹⁰ An old name for the Kyoto-Osaka region.

Hearing this, Tomanosuke was profoundly shocked, “What should I do?” he thought in blank bewilderment. “Well, even if I had stayed in my country, because of this illness, I would have been of no use. I would definitely die from the hand of some regular soldier. By some good luck, I’m away from my country and not on the battlefield now. I’m spared my life, which is a miracle indeed. And I didn’t have to see the death of my master in battle. But even if I live a long life of one hundred years, it’s of no avail... Then, also, if I cut my stomach here and die, people will only say that I’m a madman. So, I won’t do that... Well, well, first of all, I will return to my country and make apologies to my master, and then I will cut my stomach in my home.”

Having made up his mind, Tomanosuke departed from Arima and returned to Senshū, his native country. Since there were too many people’s eyes at daytime, he passed by the battlefield at night. And when he saw the tiles on the rooftop of the building that belonged to Lord Yoshikage, of which remained only an outer nave, Tomanosuke broke into tears at sight of its miserable state. “No doubt, my father-in-law Isotayū and my wife Sonare are both dead...” The thought of suicide was once again curling up in his mind—he thought he should’ve been dead by now, and what else was there that he could do.

People of old used to say, “One must die when it’s due and not miss one’s time, for life in dishonor is more terrible than death.” Tomanosuke thought, “I will cut my stomach and go to the hell of hells. I will make amends to my master and father-in-law...”

He chopped off a piece of wood from an old tree that grew beside the house and took out a case with brush-and-ink. In the light of the moon, he wrote “Uramatsu Tomanosuke confronted his final death in this place.” He took off his clothes and drew his sword that glittered like ice. When he was already about to pierce his stomach, suddenly somebody fell out from the nearby bushes, and a person came into his view.

Tomanosuke looked in front of him trying to figure who it was. All of a sudden, he realized that that it was his wife Sonare. Her hair was in a mess like a thorn bush, and her clothes were stained with blood and torn. She clung desperately to her husband’s hand and only wept in silence. Utter disbelief surged through Tomanosuke, “You are not Sonare! For sure, she’s been killed by someone! How could she survive until today? This is just so suspicious... My father-in-law, Lord Isotayū, how is he?”

When he asked this, tears were rolling down Sonare’s face, “Father cut through a crowd of soldiers and went away looking for you. I, too, was about to die but just managed to escape. I hid in the mountain woods in daytime. And, I came down to the village and begged for food at night. I barely managed to stay alive, because I wanted to meet you just one more time.” Again, she began weeping bitterly.

Tomanosuke was on the verge of weeping too, “This means, Lord father-in-law is still alive. But even if my father-in-law is living, I wasn’t beside my master at his final hour... I’m the world’s most useless man! Living on like this, what will I do? Rather than living surrounded by children until somebody takes care of me and looking for the glory of my latter days, I will vanish with the dew of this place and follow my master. All I ask is a remembrance service at a time when you remember me again...” Having finished talking, Tomanosuke took up his sword and was about to pierce himself.

Sonare rushed over to stop him, “This is so much not like the Tomanosuke I always knew! Father Isotayū too extended his life and ran away unconcerned with the death of the master. Although Lord Yoshikage had died, his wife Lady Yasashi-no-Mae was saved by the woman-in-waiting Tonami. They have fled, and I’m absolutely sure that they are hiding somewhere. Because of that too, my father decided to go on living. As you already know, Lady Yasashi-no-

Mae is in the third month of pregnancy, and after safe delivery, like my father said, we'll wait for this child to grow up and make him or her rise in the world again. Thinking it his duty, he ran away. Considering how deeply he thought of that, he doesn't appear cowardly at all. Since father is growing old, it's doubtful he will be able to see the child of Lady Yasashi-no-Mae growing up and rising in the world. But, thank goodness, since you're still young, you will protect this child until he restores the everlasting House of Kiyomi—such duty wins over death. You always used to tell me that if you let small things bother you, you will not achieve great things. Not knowing what to do next, if you give in to panic and do not prolong your life, that means you're not thinking about the glory of latter days. You're clever and bright. If I'm right and what I say is true, you are to spare your life," so she pleaded with Tomanouke.

Tomanosuke thought it was true. Indeed, as the saying goes, "A wise man can be taught by a child—we need to pass on shallow waters." Then, he said to Sonare, "I think my logic was wrong. I will run away together with you. Somehow, we'll stay alive and look for my father-in-law. And we'll come for support to Lady Yasashi-no-Mae." After that, they quickly departed from this place.

Then, Tomanosuke and Sonare, with assistance of some people, went to live in a solitary place in the Irumagawa area of Musashi country. Sonare was occupied with weaving for living, and, because of that, had turned into a common person. Because the silk she made was very beautiful, villagers were arguing and asking for the silk, which she would sell as cheap as possible just to have enough to sustain her husband and herself.

Unawarely, they spent years living in this place. Sonare became pregnant and gave birth to a girl fair as a jewel on the tenth month. Since she was born in the monkey's month, monkey's day and monkey's hour, she was called Takako. And her nickname was like a monkey's too, Taka-no-miko, or High Daughter. Tomanosuke and Sonare loved Takako dearly. Spending springs and autumns without notice, three years swiftly passed by, and Takako had already turned three years old.

Hereafter, Sonare's father Isotayū went to Arima in search of Tomanosuke, but, since Tomanosuke had already returned to his native country, there was nothing else for Isotayū to do, and he started looking here and there for Lady Yasashi-no-Mae. No one knew in the capital where she was, thus, taking a trip from one place to another, years went by.

Three years had passed, when Isotayū was traveling again through Musashi country. At some shrine, he spotted a name-tag with the name of Uramatsu Tomanosuke. Isotayū entered a *sake* shop that was in that area and asked people there, "Do you know anybody by the name of Sir Uramatsu living in the neighborhood?" There was a person who knew Tomanosuke and said, "He's in such and such place." Isotayū was very happy. He hurried, looking for that hidden house. From the outside, he looked in and saw a child, and his own daughter who had passed away three years ago. She hugged and played with her three year old daughter. Isotayū was utterly flabbergasted. In blank amazement, he stood still at the gate, gazing at the scene.

Copied by Insei

Written by Nansen Somahito

Illustrated by Utagawa Kuniyasu

Text in conversations between the characters.

Chap. 2, p. 8 *omote*.

“Oh, Konoha. Come on in! There’s a saying “people of Song are like monkeys with crowns,”¹⁹¹ but, there’s nobody among the people of this world who knows more than you how to be grateful.”

Chap. 2, p. 9 *omote*.

“Hello. How are you feeling today? No matter what, your wife is so beautiful... It’s indeed because of that beauty treatment, isn’t it? Hahaha...”

Chap. 3, p. 10 *ura*.

“Do not attempt anything! You must get away from here!”

“Tonami, don’t get wounded!”

“No! Whoa!”

Chap. 2, p. 12 *ura*.

“Oh father, you’re a little too late.”

“At last, my daughter! Take heart! I already killed the enemy!”

Women’s Journey to the West in the Current Style

Written by Somahito

Illustrated by Kuniyasu

Second volume

New release by Nishimuraya¹⁹²

Chapter 4

Thereupon, Sonare, when Tomanosuke was away, [stood outside on the veranda] holding Takako in her arms—her gaze towards the sky. Then, she slipped in the shadow of the house and, looking into Takako’s face, could not keep back her tears. Patting Takako on the back, she said, “You are three years old this year. Listen closely to what I have to say. I haven’t always been a human.... I’m an old monkey from the place called Water-Curtain Cave in Aolai—a country far away from here in the east. After moving to the Ashigara Mountain in Japan, I lived here for a long time. One day, when Lord Tomanosuke went to hunt in that mountain, I transformed myself becoming small and was playing around picking up chestnuts. An eagle caught me, but Lord Tomanosuke saved me from imminent death. Since then, he took great care of me, and I’m always indebted to him—the savior of my life.... I thought to return the favor, though just a little, and stayed in his house. When, all of a sudden, a tragedy struck. I couldn’t do anything in my

¹⁹¹ A reference to an episode from the *Records of the Grand Historian* by Sima Qian. Similar to an English expression, “no fine clothes can hide the clown.”

¹⁹² Nishimuraya Yohachi, or Eijudō, was one of the most famous publishing houses of Edo.

animal strength to help. Sadly, Lady Sonare was killed by the enemy. And, after that, when Lord Tomanosuke was about to cut his stomach open, I took the form of Lady Sonare and stopped his sword. Since then, oh, what a shame, I have been deceiving people. We became husband and wife with Lord Tomanosuke, and then I became pregnant with you and was moved by my love for you.

Also, because Lord Tomanosuke did not have any occupation to make the living, I wove cloth, though just a little to repay the kindness of the past. Seeing how lovely you are, I thought to raise you up until you become a lady. But I bear this guilt, this sin, which I repented of a thousand times and even thought to take my own life and die.... But, today, Lady Sonare's honorable father, Lord Isotayū, saw me here, and, though it breaks my heart, I must leave.

You have to be obedient even more than you have been until today. Listen to what your father says and do not do anything wrong. Soon, when you grow up, apply yourself as hard as you can to studying and bring honor to the family name you bear. Though your mother is not with us anymore, she is the beloved Lady Sonare. But if her name is spoken ill of by many people, what else is there to do? So if you're not obedient and disobey your father, people will be pointing fingers at you saying, "Truly, a child of the beast she is!" Even the name of your mother will be dishonored. You are three years old now, and I was feeding you with my breast and hugging you to sleep. How lovely and sweet this is! Only people who have children will understand it. Leaving you behind like this, abandoned and alone—it's breaking my heart, but what am I supposed to do?

Takako is healthy, and not a trouble-maker. She used to catch cold once in a while and was cured by moxa. Now, when I go away, your father's hand is all you have to keep you safe in heat and cold. Takako never parted from me, even for a single moment, so when I go away, she will surely cry and call on me. But when she realizes I'm not at home, she will calm down....

When I think of Lord Tomanosuke, since I'm not by his side from now on, it will be very hard for him. There is no one to make his food in the morning or evening, and no one to draw water from the well. And he has no job to get by in the world. Please, find yourself a good maid-servant who will make the burden of your hard work easier and will not let this child be cold, but will put clothes on her and bring her up. More than anything, take good care of yourself and stay healthy. I want you to become an outstanding warrior in the future as you used to be. I await with joy until that time." Tears were rolling down her cheeks, and as she wept, she spoke at the top of her voice as if Tomanosuke was there with her. She was squirming and rolling on the floor in agony as if she had gone insane. Takako too was weeping bitterly, "Mommy, where are you going? Stay with me, always!" She said with lisp. But her mother's thoughts were as cold as the "eight cold hells." Sonare seemed as cold as ice, her speech calm and resolute.

"You said it so well. Though, if I say so too, we cannot be together anymore. So better do not say anything. Although you say 'let's be together,' I must go.... Or should I take my life? Oh no, no, no.... And to leave this wretched body behind? Now this would be even more shameful. Since I am concerned about Takako's future, I will always be with her following her like a shadow. We will inquire Lady Yasashi-no-Mae and will restore the house [of Kiyomi]. I will not take my life and, until then, will keep her safe in secret."

As she talked like this all by herself, she took out the inkstone and ground the fine ink. And clearing off the dark thoughts that clouded her mind, she took the brush and wrote a poem right on the lantern shining through the darkness.

In the meantime Isotayū stood hesitantly in the doorway. That, before him, was indeed Sonare, curling up in front of the lantern and writing something. Thoughts were racing through

his mind, “It’s a ghost! Or some devilish creature.... No, no! There are many people in this world that look alike! I’m very old and have bad eyesight. And the light in the room is very dark! What if I just took her for someone else?” So thinking to himself he was standing in the doorway. But upon entering the house, to his amazement, the woman had disappeared to the sound of an opening door. Only Takako was there weeping uncontrollably and squirming on the floor.

Tomanosuke, in a hurry, was returning home and, having any idea what was going on, he walked into the house. He said, “The sun has already set down. Why the light is not on? Hey, you there, who are you?”

“Ho, ho! Lord Uramatsu!”

Surprised to hear the voice of his father-in-law, and at such an unexpected visit, Tomanosuke was at loss for words.

“My, my! And, Sonare, where is she?” he asked. Takako said through tears, “Mommy is gone somewhere.... I was calling her,” and as she cried, Tomanosuke said irritably, “Silly, what is going on here?” And as he became more and more suspicious, Isotayū intervened, “My, my. How should I put it.... Some time ago, Sonare was killed by the enemy [in the battle]. And we have buried her body. This is, so to say, the memento that is left of her,” and he pulled out Sonare’s bloodstained sleeve. “In any event, I don’t understand everything myself, but, after seeing me, the woman that was here had disappeared without a trace. It must be, in all likelihood, an act of transfiguration.”

Tomanosuke was stunned as he heard those words, “This is just unthinkable!... Until today, I had a wife and a child.... She might have been a ghost or some apparition.... But to hear that my wife Sonare is dead, I can’t believe it! First, let’s think about it all, one by one. What should we do?”

Then, they noticed a poem written on the lantern,

<i>koishiku ba</i>	If you long for me
<i>tadunete kimase</i>	come and seek me
<i>itsumo sumu</i>	where I always live in Shimotsuke—
<i>Shimotsuke ni mi wo</i>	behind the curtain
<i>uramitaki tsuse</i>	of the backside-view waterfall.

Taking a good look at the poem, Isotayū noticed that even the handwriting was not any different from Sonare’s, and, reciting the poem to himself quietly, all of a sudden, he flipped his hand, “Of course! A few years ago, when you my Lord, were hunting in the Ashigara Mountain, You rescued the monkey and kept her at home! She must have taken the form of Sonare to repay your kindness! The backside-view waterfall, there are two of them in Shimotsuke. The one is in the Futara Mountain,¹⁹³ and the other one is in the Akaiwa Kōshin Mountain!¹⁹⁴ Its current is strong and it falls down from a cliff, separating a valley in two. People can walk across the back of the waterfall and see the view through the water curtain. That’s why it is called the Backside-view Waterfall! The Kōshin Mountain is inhabited only by monkeys. And because there are no

¹⁹³ Mt. Futara-san (二荒山), also called Nantai (男体山) is a mountain in the Nikkō National Park in Tochigi Prefecture, north of Tokyo.

¹⁹⁴ Mt. Kōshin-zan (庚申山), is a mountain in the Nikkō National Park located between Tochigi and Gunma Prefectures.

other other animals, people living there call that mountain, The Monkey's Castle! I heard that from a certain person, named Itoi, who lives in that vicinity, in the Hanawa Village.¹⁹⁵ So, Konoha must have gone there. This is where she lives now.”

Tomanosuke, listening to this, thought it to be true, “I also heard the tales that, in that mountain, there is a place called Okunoin.¹⁹⁶ Many hunters who went there saw a beautiful woman weaving cloth. And Sonare too could sustain three people by her weaving. Besides, Takako was born in the Monkey's year, month, day, and hour—all these match too. Now, when I think of it, I remember there was in China a certain Sonrin, whose wife, Yenshi, could transform herself into a monkey and could speak a human language,¹⁹⁷ despite that she was just an animal, and she knew how to be grateful [just like Konoha]—how praiseworthy this must be.” And as two of them spoke like this, they both became overwhelmed with feeling and began to weep.

But before the night was out, someone came knocking at the gate. “Who is that?” Tomanosuke asked opening the door. A man standing at the gate said, “A notice of an official business just came from the magistrate. You must appear in the office of the village chief, right now.” And as the man finished saying this, Tomanosuke figured the meaning of his visit, and told the news to Isotayū. Then, he put sleeping Takako, in the breast pocket of Isotayū's kimono, and went off together with the messenger.

Right after he left, two or three men kicked the backdoor open and broke in to the house. Isotayū put off the light of the lantern hurriedly and, as he was about to run away from the thugs in the dark, was wounded two times. One thug came from behind Isotayū and cut the right stole of his vestment, and made blow after blow as Isotayū staggered. Three others followed up attacking Isotayū with their swords to cut him into pieces. He didn't move away trying to protect Takako from being hurt in the attack. But as he was injured, he fell on his back with the thud and pushed Takako deeper into his bosom so that she wouldn't make a cry [and expose herself].

Then, one bandit stepped forward and lifted his hood, “How very strange, Hamabe Isotayū... Who do you think I am? I'm Kumayama Mamiemon Munetomo, retainer of Captain Hirouji of Miho. When Magistrate [Yoshikage] died, my brother Munesuke fell in love with your daughter Sonare, but because she refused his help we took her life. When you arrived, you killed Lord Hirouji and left. How regretful that was! Then, I became a *rōnin*,¹⁹⁸ and was looking for you everywhere, my brother's enemy! This evening I found you living here. Luckily, we could fool Tomanosuke, the strong one, and lured him out. Now I will take your life, my enemy! And that girl, since she is born in the monkey's year and month, we'll use her liver to make a medicine. As I heard her story, I knew it was to time to get her, but I didn't even think I will be able to take your life too. The blood offering to the god of war!¹⁹⁹ Well, well, the chanting for the dead has reached my ears. Be gone to hell!” And as he scooped and turned, the blood fountain

¹⁹⁵ Possibly Hanawamura (花輪村) of the present-day Yamanashi Prefecture.

¹⁹⁶ Okunoin (奥の院), or the Inner Temple.

¹⁹⁷ The reference to an unknown Chinese source.

¹⁹⁸ Masterless samurai.

¹⁹⁹ “Kado de no chimatsuri,” is a phrase that signifies a blood offering to the god of war (Ikusagami) before the battle. This phrase also appears in *The Tales of the Soga Brothers* and kabuki plays such as *Reigen Soga no magaki* (1809).

gushed forth “out upon the sea white waves of the Mount Tatsuta, can you cross those hills by night all alone?”²⁰⁰ The path of the Mountain of Death, how is it? It is pitiful even to think of it.”²⁰¹ One loyal retainer, who will be greatly missed, being fifty-eight years of age, saw through to the end the dream of this world.

Meanwhile, Tomanosuke was in a hurry headed to the office of the village chief. Since the messenger had other things to do, he parted on the way, and Tomanosuke went there alone. When he came to the office, there was no one there, so he quickly returned home. Upon his return, he only found Isotayū murdered, [and as it is usually the case], the thugs were already gone, and there was no way of pursuing them. Tomanosuke only stood astounded.

Chapter 5

Hereafter, Mamiemon, upon leaving this place, was staying in the mountains. “It is a lie that I found disfavor with my masters. The truth is I am planning on a revolt [against the *bakufu*] together with the younger brother of general Hirouji, and general Sueuji of Miho,” he said [once] to his henchmen. “Secretly, I had become a bandit. I was collecting money for the use by army of my masters. However, the young Lord Sueuji is deaf-mute from birth—that is a very serious illness. He’s been suffering from it for a very long time, but according to some way of treatment, he can be cured by a liver from a female child born in the year and the month of monkey. If he takes that medicine, he will recover as if by magic! She is the one I caught this time—this little bitch! Bring in the pot, and let us obtain the miracle drug!” And as he pulled open the cover of the basket, an unthinkable thing happened. A monkey jumped out from the basket, and a multitude of monkeys appeared coming from all directions and, protecting that one white monkey, ran away into the mountains.

That was Konoha.

Lady Yasashi-no-Mae accompanied by her lady-in-waiting Tonami was headed to the Shimotsuke country,²⁰² where lived Tonami’s relative Shōji of Nasu.²⁰³ “[My Lady], you should get there quickly,” said Tonami on their way.

Suffering many hardships and walking only at nights, they finally reached Musashi country. In the place called Todanohara, the gang of mountain bandits came out and attacked the two. Tonami was encircled on all sides, but as she bravely fought back, the bandits were saying

²⁰⁰ An allusion to a poem in the *Kokinshū* (vol. 18, 994), and the *Ise Stories* (third poem of episode 23).

kaze fukeba
okitsu shira-nami
Tatsuta yama rise
yoha ni ya kimi ga
hitori koyuran

When the wild wind blows,
out upon the sea white waves
—Mount Tatsuta!
can you, by night, truly mean
to cross those hills all alone?

In Joshua S. Mostow and Royall Tyler, *The Ise Stories: Ise monogatari* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2010), 67.

²⁰¹ The Mountain of Death (死出山) is believed to be located in the hell. Used as a poetic epithet signifying death.

²⁰² Shimotsuke Province is an old name of the present-day Tochigi Prefecture.

²⁰³ Nasu (那須) is the the city in Tochigi Prefecture.

among themselves, “Tonami is a woman, but she is way stronger than any man! Watch out!” But at the mighty swoosh of Tonami’s sword, the ruffians cried out, “Spare us! Forgive us!” and ran away in all directions. “Come here! Come back!” Tonami shouted, chasing after them. Lady Yasashi-no-Mae to Tonami, “Don’t run after them, or you’ll get hurt! Oh no, it’s dangerous! Quickly come back!” her voice came echoing across from valley.

Suddenly, a big ruffian jumped out before Lady Yasashi-no-Mae pulling a large weapon in his hand. As he took hold of her, she looked bravely into his face. He said, “Hey! I am a brute, Mamiemon! Remember me!” And, as he said this, he cut her down, “Take this!” A crowd of Mamiemon’s henchmen ran in from everywhere. Lady Yasashi-no-Mae tried to defend herself the best she could, because this was the month she was to give birth, but the attackers were too many. She was struck dead, and her head was cut off.

Seeing this from a distance, Tonami ran back at full speed cutting all those skillful bandits left and right, who were running away for their lives. As she reached Lady Yasashi-no-Mae she took her in her arms calling out to her. But because she sustained many wounds, she was already dead. Tonami threw herself on Lady Yasashi-no-Mae’s dead body and wept bitterly.

But, right at that time, a crying voice of a child could be heard coming out from a cut in Lady Yasashi-no-Mae’s body. Tonami remembered that this was the month when she was to give birth. So, quenching her tears and forgetting the pain of her injuries, she received the birth of a baby girl, [so beautiful] as if made of jewel.

She took the girl in her arms unsure what to do next. The night had lighted up, and there was a palanquin coming from the distance before her escorted by a group of young coolies armed with spears. “This is suspicious,” they said among themselves, looking at [blood-soaked] Tonami with the child. And as they stopped the palanquin, a fine samurai stepped out forty-years of age. As he looked at Tonami he understood that she must be a refugee of the Kiyomi’s House. Greatly surprised he said, “I am Koshino Shichinoshin, a country samurai²⁰⁴ from Mizunuma²⁰⁵ of Kamitsuke.²⁰⁶ I am now on my way back from Kamakura.”

There was in this group a certain person with the connection to the House of Kiyomi, who said to Tonami “Tell [everything] in open.” And, Tonami too thought that there was no reason for her to hide truth from these men, and she told them the whole story as it happened. Koshino Shichinoshin nodded in accord saying, “The death of Lady Yasashi-no-Mae is regrettable indeed. The birth of this girl is a miracle, and is an auspicious omen that the House of Kiyomi will rise again.” Then he ordered his aides to help Tonami into the palanquin, and to bury Lady Yasashi-no-Mae’s body in the nearby temple and, after that, they were on the way to his residence.

Meanwhile, Tomanosuke, looking for his daughter Takako, first went to the village of Akaiwa,²⁰⁷ which is in Ashio,²⁰⁸ in Shimotsuke country, and stayed there with Ikkaku

²⁰⁴ Country samurai (*gōshi*) were low-ranking samurai living in the countryside and supporting themselves from holdings they personally oversaw.

²⁰⁵ Mizunuma (溝沼) is the city in Saitama Prefecture.

²⁰⁶ Kamitsuke (Kōzuke) Province is the modern-day Gunma Prefecture.

²⁰⁷ Akaiwa Village (赤岩村) probably was located in the area of the present-day Ashio in Tochigi Prefecture.

²⁰⁸ Ashio (足尾) is the town in western Tochigi Prefecture.

Takettoo,²⁰⁹ whom he knew from before. He lived in hiding there waiting for the right time and teaching letters for the living.

Time flew like an arrow, and Takako had grown up becoming seventeen years of age that year. Though raised in the mountain village, there was no match for her in spirit and beauty. She was gentle of heart and, to everyone's wonder, so physically strong that she was unrivaled even by men.

She was thinking for a long time to kill her father's adversaries. In the daytime she would climb and hide in the Kōshin Mountain. There, she put a rope over a branch of a tree and tied a huge log to it. And as she kicked that log it swang left and right, and she was fighting with it. As her rod-fighting skills improved, she took an oath to kill her enemies and was asking people about the Backside-view Waterfall. But no one knew where it was.

One day, Takako felt drowsy and fell asleep in the valley of the Kōshin Mountain. In the dream, her mother Sonare appeared and said, "In a distance of six *ri*²¹⁰ from here, southward, there lives Lady Yasashi-no-Mae's surviving offspring, Lady Mitsuhime. You should join forces with her and kill your father's enemy, Mamiemon!" Then, a white monkey came out. "This monkey will lead the way. You should go where she takes you." Then, Tomanosuke also appeared, "Do not go home, but go [with the monkey] at once. Lady Mitsuhime will tell you everything, and, together, you will go where Mamiemon lives, and take his life! I will renounce my warrior status, seclude myself in the mountains, and learn the art of wizardry. My name will be, Rintōsen. We will keep you safe together. Go quickly now!" Flabbergasted, Takako woke up from the dream. And right in front of her, stood a white monkey, beckoning Takako to come with her. So she scooped her training rod and, dashing through the valley and mountains, headed south.

Hereupon, lady-in-waiting Tonami was released from service to the country samurai of Mizonuma and left together with the child. But, since she sustained deadly wounds, she soon passed away to the next world.

Takako left entirely alone. But as she was Kiyomi's only surviving orphan, [she came into the service to the local lord], and was named Mitsuhime.

Time flies and seasons vanish, from spring to autumn and winter. Mitsuhime had become fifteen years old that year. Truly, she was blessed by the heavens to become an honorable wife. She was beautiful and noble-minded and, with her countenance as beautiful as a jewel, she far surpassed the renowned beauties of the past and now. She usually devoted herself to reading and learning, and, as she was grieving the death of her parents, she was also dedicated to the chanting of the Lotus Sutra.

There was a Zen temple called Jōganji²¹¹ in that area, that upheld the teachings popular at that time, of monks Unshū²¹² and Tanryū.²¹³ They built a temple called Shōzenji²¹⁴ in the Akagi

²⁰⁹ Akaiwa Ikkaku (Taketoo) (赤岩一角武遠) was the fictional character in Kyokutei Bakin's *yomihon Nansō Satomi hakkenden* (*The Eight Dogs Chronicles*, 1814–1842).

²¹⁰ Six *ri* would equal the distance of three kilometers.

²¹¹ The location of Jōganji Temple (常願寺) is not entirely clear. It was perhaps the part of the bigger temple complex together with the Shōzenji Temple (正善寺).

Mountain,²¹⁵ where, Takako dwells for the time being in Jōganji. General Koshino, upon seeing Takako in the temple, spoke kindly to her, “This lady will improve her fortune. She is the one who will restore the house of one of the lords of this land. However, your parents had passed away, it is difficult for them to reach enlightenment. They are receiving the torture from demons right now. In order to improve their fate, you must chant the *Feast of Lanterns Sutra*,²¹⁶ and copy the *Lotus Sutra*.²¹⁷

Takako was very glad as she was assigned to chant these sutras. Assisted by the monk Unshū, in assembly with many acolytes, she began learning the *Great Wisdom Sutra*.²¹⁸

Once, Takako was in the inner chamber of the temple copying the Lotus Sutra. When she finished copying, she was sitting in the inner pavillion resting her hands on the railing, and listening closely to the chanting of the multitude of monks. She was carefully committing their every word to heart, and quietly slipped into a dream. The sixteen benevolent gods, protectors of families, appeared in front her, and from their midst, came out Tang’s Priest Tripitaka and, approaching her, said in a subtle voice, “Well, well. How admirable this is! The House of Kiyomi is to be restored! The name of Mitsuhiime too, is like my name, Sanzō. It signifies the three holy treasures, and is naturally written with the characters of “three” and “storehouse.”

So the enemy of yours, Mamiemon, now lives in Asamagatake,²¹⁹ on the Shinano Road,²²⁰ in the Ghostly Cave, having many men in his submission. In the time of insurrection, he stole two treasures from the Kiyomi House, the Hagaromo’s mirror, and the Matsukage’s inkstone. They are now in his possession there. Though you do not have anyone to support you now, you must go to Asama at once to apprehend the two treasures. Right now, Mamiemon is planning to take over this whole country in a *coup*. The time has come to destroy him. When you will have accomplished this, the House of Kiyomi will be restored. In due course, the helpers will come to your aide!” As he finished saying this, a trail of purple smoke appeared and concealed his figure out of sight.

²¹² Is a likely reference to a Buddhist monk Unshū Sōryū 雲岫宗竜 (1394–1479) of the Sōtō sect. He was the founder of Kōgon-in Temple (広嚴院) in 1460 located in present-day Yamanashi Prefecture.

²¹³ Tanryū is the reference to an unknown historical figure.

²¹⁴ The location of this temple is not entirely clear. There is the Shōzenji Temple (正善寺) in Shibukawa city of the present-day Gunma Prefecture. However, it belongs to the Tendai sect, not Sōtō sect.

²¹⁵ Mt. Akagi (赤城山) is located in present-day Gunma Prefecture.

²¹⁶ *Feast of Lanterns Sutra* (Ja. *Urabonkyō* 盂蘭盆經, San. *Ullambana Sutra*) is a sutra of Mahāyāna Buddhism. It represents in a brief conversation between the Buddha and the monk Maudgalyayana on the practice of filial piety.

²¹⁷ *Lotus Sutra* (Ja. *Hokekyō* 法華經, San. *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka Sutra*) is one of the most popular and influential sutras of Mahāyāna Buddhism, and the basis on which many schools of Buddhism were established.

²¹⁸ *Great Wisdom Sutra*, or *Large Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* (Ja. *Dai Hannya Haramitakyō* 大般若波羅蜜多經, Sn. *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sutra*) is a collection of Buddhist texts translated, among others, into Chinese by Xuanzang.

²¹⁹ Asamadake (浅間嶽) is the town in Nagano Prefecture.

²²⁰ Shinano Province (Shinshū) is an old name of present-day Nagano Prefecture.

At that moment, a young lady came out in the garden and said, “Lady Mitsuhide, is that you? Follow me!” And, taking Mitsuhide by the hand, they both vanished as if in a dream.

Chapter 6

Five years ago.

Hereupon, in the Bandō region,²²¹ there is the Tonegawa River, which is the biggest river of that region. There lived a certain Samegai—master of *kenjutsu*²²² in the place called Shiratsuka. O-Sago, his daughter, was the person of fair appearance and gentle heart. After her father passed away, she lived with her mother doing fishing in Tonegawa for the living. It was a very modest livelihood, and, since O-Sago was very attractive, there were many who tried to marry her. But, besides her beauty, since her parents had already passed on to her the secret teachings of *kenjutsu* and *jūjutsu*,²²³ she needed a man equally excelling in the martial arts in order to continue the family line. And as there was no such man in sight, she remained single.

So, day and night, O-Sago would be steering a boat in the Tonegawa River casting nets and catching fish. People did not make careless jokes behind her back, fearing her physical strength and sleight of hand, but would speak well of her.

One night, O-Sago was steering her boat with a pole, casting nets as usual. The moon was especially bright, and as the catch was not as big as she had expected, O-Sago was sitting in a boat enjoying the night-view around her. When, all of a sudden, a huge hand of a horrific monster appeared from the water and lifted O-Sago’s boat up in the air. But since she had always been a courageous woman, she remained unmoved and continued smoking her pipe. Then the monster pulled the boat down in the water and was about to sink it, when she jumped into the river and began wrestling the hand. The monster was startled to see that O-Sago was a skillful swimmer, and tried to flee. O-Sago grappled with the monster, which had now turned small, and finally took hold of him. She pulled him into the boat, tied him with ropes and returned home. On the next day, she found the monster to be a *kappa*,²²⁴ and as the news spread around the area, people came from everywhere to see the creature.

One day, the *kappa* apologized to O-Sago [for the wrong-doing], and taught her the way of immortality. After that he gave promise to never bother people of the Shiratsuka Village again, and was released into the river.

One night, O-Sago, as usual, went for the night-fishing. Some people sneaked in to her house, killed her mother in just one blow of a sword, and stole the secret writings about *kenjutsu*. Shouting loudly, O-Sago pursued the attackers, but they fled away. Thinking to herself, “There are many people in the pleasure quarters. So if I become a prostitute, I will get leads tracking them down from there.” And she sold herself to the Koigakubo²²⁵ quarter in Musashi country.

²²¹ Bandō is an old name signifying Kantō region consisting of Tokyo, Chiba, Saitama, Kanagawa, Gumma, Ibaraki, and Tochigi prefectures.

²²² *Kenjutsu* (or *kendō*) is the Japanese fencing based on the techniques of the two-handed sword of the samurai.

²²³ *Jūjutsu* (or *jūdō*) is one of the Japanese martial arts, a form of unarmed combat.

²²⁴ *Kappa* is an amphibious supernatural creature inhabiting waters and derived from the Japanese folklore.

²²⁵ A reference to an unknown location.

She changed her name to Masago, and after she started applying cosmetics, her looks became so ravishing that she put all flowers of spring to shame, moving hearts of men. Her skin was so white that the moon envied her, and she made an impression of being covered with all the colors of autumn. Many men fought among themselves to get her favours. Connoisseurs of the pleasure quarters, hearing that Masago had always disliked men, and had decorated her residence in an usual way and, also, that no man had ever touched her skin, found this character of her extremely appealing. "I'd want to pop a cherry of that prude so bad!" men clamoured among themselves. And as there were many customers visiting Masago, there was no break in their growing numbers.

Once, several bad guys, wanting to embarrass Masago, did a few bad things and even behaved violently towards her. And when they were about to run away, she chased and grabbed them, and started punching them. They couldn't even return a blow. And, seeing that she is stronger beyond an average person, they ran away without even turning back.

Among the prostitutes who were looking at the tussle between Masago and the thugs, stood their head, Kanzaemon. He ran to Masago and grabbed her by the wrist, but she threw him away without even looking at him. Then, Kanzaemon drew the sword and stood into an attacking position. And as he said with contempt, "Watch out to not get hurt," he took the position of *shuren*.²²⁶ Then, scattering the ashes from the tobacco pipe, he took the position of *koran*,²²⁷ and made the move with the sword sending forward a strong gust of air. Masago seeing this understood everything, "That is the technique passed on in our family. No other man should know it!" Then, Kanzaemon stood on the lower stair of a bridge and said, "Oh, Kinkaku Daiō is only my nickname. I am Kumayama Mamiemon! The one who took the life of your parents, and stole the secret writings is me!" Hearing the noise of the fierce fighting, a crowd of people had gathered from the nearby houses and watched the two. Masago was glad that she would now kill her enemy, and pulled a short sword from her kimono. And as she was about to attack, Mamiemon made a sign with his hands and pronounced a spell. A black cloud descended, and, covering his whole body, rose up in the air, and flew away towards the north. Masago, seeing this, was very angry and went chasing after the cloud.

The sun set down, and the sky darkened. Mamiemon's figure had already disappeared from sight. But because of the secret of immortality Masago received from the *kappa*, her feet did not hurt in the least from running barefoot. She had reached the northern country. "I need to hurry, and get him!" she thought to herself. Then, all of a sudden, she saw a horse flying in the air that came right in front of her. Masago, losing patience, said "Get out of my way!" But the horse did not move. In the moonlight, she could tell that the pattern on the saddle flap was exactly like on the picture transmitted from generation to generation in her family. She always had that picture with her. And as she reached into the pocket and took it out to see it, miraculously, the horse drawn on the picture was as if cut out. "This picture has a miraculous quality. And it will help me," Masago said gladly. As she sat on the horse, it flew in the sky, and in just a moment, they crossed the mountain and waters, and arrived in a place called

²²⁶ *Shuren* (手練) is a combative position in *kendō*.

²²⁷ *Koran* (虎乱) is a combative position in *kendō*.

Yunosawa,²²⁸ which is on the foot of the Akagi Mountain, in Shimotsuke. There is a hot spring there called Akaginoyu.

The horse stopped [in that area]. And when O-Sago came down from the horse, she saw two women standing in front of her. As she came closer she asked why they were there, but the women looked very surprised too, and then an old man appeared before them dragging in another woman with one hand. The woman was screaming on the top of her voice, “Hey, let me go!” Then she turned towards Mitsuhide and said, “So good of you to heed the words of Priest Tripitaka! Devising a great plan to seize Mamiemon, who’s living in hiding now in the Asama Mountain, in order to return the stolen household treasure, and bring the enemy to ruin is indeed an admirable and praiseworthy act! Needless to say, since he is Takako’s enemy and O-Sago’s enemy too, you should act with one accord and aid Mitsuhide [in her great undertaking] by joining forces together.

O-Ino, since you’ve committed a murder, your wrong-doing is great. But you must submit to Mitsuhide and follow her to the Road of Shinano. Your father told you about this. He used to be one of the Kiyomi retainers. Then, he became a masterless samurai and hunter. You must all join forces together, and destroy evil Mamiemon!

Mamiemon possesses magic powers and can fly freely. So it will be difficult to strike him. I will grant you my protection, and you must fight, from now on, with all your strength. I will give Mitsuhide a secret power too. The binding technique! When she will speak that spell in quite, a man will be bound by it, and will not move. It is called *teishin shingen*,²²⁹ and you must never doubt this!” As she finished saying this, the wind blew and lifted her high in the air. That was bodhisattva Kannon. And all four knelt down and worshipped her.

Then, they made preparations, and after sitting Mitsuhide on the horse, all four headed to the Shinano Road.

Mamiemon was in his residence in Asama. He gathered many beauties there, and spent endless days and nights in drunken feasts, secretly, bringing in allies and planning on the *coup*.

After this, the four women had gone through many hardships, and even broke apart once after being lost on their way in the mountains. Kannon led their way, and, after reaching Asama, they became female street performers.²³⁰

One day, they were performing a monkey show,²³¹ and a *jōruri*-singing performance called Asama.²³² Mamiemon realized that they are trying to captivate the hearts of people by their performance, and closed himself behind the stone gates [in the residence]. And as the four attacked him there, he fled away.

²²⁸ Yunosawa (沢温泉) is the location in Gunma Prefecture.

²²⁹ *Teishin shingen* (定心真言) is the name of a mantra used by Priest Xuanzang to subdue Son Wukong in *JW*.

²³⁰ Female street performers or *onna-dayū* reciting dramatic narratives to the *shamisen* accompaniment.

²³¹ Monkey show (*saruhiki*) was a popular type of street performance.

²³² Could be a reference to a kabuki play entitled *Keisei Asamagatake* (*The Prostitutes of Asamagatake*, 1698).

[Meanwhile], Tomanosuke, while secluding himself in the Ontake Mountain,²³³ learned the secret art of wizardry and menaced Mamiemon as well.

Then, Mamiemon fled to Kamakura and lived there. The three women became geishas and followed him to Kamakura. The news of Mamiemon's *coup* leaked out, and he was destroyed by Mitsuhide. But, there is a long story until then. You would need to wait until the last volume to see how it all happens.

Dear all, here is the beginning of *Journey to the West*. From now, many plots will be devised, and you will need to compare it to the real *Journey to the West* having later volumes of the novel in hand.

The shop of Somahito selling the medical toothpaste, Chōjiguruma.
Written by Nansen Somahito
Illustrated by Kuniyasu
Copied by Insei

Text in conversations between the characters.

Chap. 4, p. 16 *ura*.
“Mommy!... Wait! Mommy!...”

Chap. 4, p. 17 *ura* and p. 18 *omote*.
“Monkeys are very close to humans. Animals too understand empathy. There are some people though with human face, but with beastly hearts. The great wrong committed by Miho's general overtaking the land of our lord. The Heaven will not leave him unpunished. Oh, there's no escape [from divine retribution]...”

“This blood-stained sleeve.... After Sonare's death until today, it reminds me of her all this time, as if nothing has changed.”

“Grandpa, give me that red cloth.”

Chap. 4, p. 19 *omote*.
The picture of Akaiwa Kōshin Mountain, the Backside-view Waterfall

Chap. 4, p. 20 *ura*.
Who did this? What a merciless thing to do! Even if I follow them now, this loss is such a pity! What a pity! What a pity!

Chap. 6, p. 28 *ura* and p. 29 *omote*.
Karasu Kanzaemon, also called Kinkaku Daiō, was the head of a Kinkaku gang sauntering the pleasure quarters. The treasure of the House of Samegai, the brush of Ogiwara Tōkei,²³⁴ the picture of the white horse. It was transmitted in this family from the ancient days.

²³³ Mt. Ontake-san (御嶽山／御岳山) is located on the border between Nagano and Gifu prefectures.

²³⁴ Probably a reference to Ogiwara Tōkei (Ogura Tōkei) (?-?) who was the Tokugawa-period artist.

Their family name was written as “well of the white horse,” but was changed to “well of the shark.”²³⁵

Desert Dragon God became the white horse. The picture by Teisai. Lord Tōyō Hoshino learned painting from the elder Karasukawa of Kamakura. He was a famous man of his day.²³⁶

²³⁵ By explaining the origins of the family name Samegai spelled as “well of the white horse” (白馬井) changed to “well of the shark” (鯨ヶ井), Shunsui establishes connection this old family and the magical picture of the white horse.

²³⁶ The passage contains references to historical three figures (Teisai, Tōyō Hoshino, and Karasukawa) whose identity is uncertain.

Appendix E: Japanese Text of *Fūzoku onna Saiyūki* (Vol. 1 and 2)

楚満人作 国安画 ねのとしのしんはん艸昏 ふうぞくをんなさいゆう き 風俗女西遊記 前篇 子春発兌 東都書房 永寿堂新鐫

普ハ廣々として周。遍ハ底々として深きことばかりなしと。光明遍昭十方世界。食言八
ふ くわうへん あまねく へん ていへん ふか
 びやくり はちまんり かのさいゆうきのめつほうかいまう ご かい つみふかき りうさがハ
 百里八萬里ハ。彼西遊記大空界妄誤戒の罪深ハ。砂漠にもまさるべき。其亦空を世利賣に引
つぐうそ はつびやくり このむさしの ご ことし ふで とり あづまのうみ がうらいこく すいれんどう
 用誑も八百里。此武蔵埜の御ひゐきに。今茲も筆を鶏がなく。東海の傲來國。そも水簾洞の
び こうわうせんけう うげ ミ へん せんぎやうじや せう さんぞうせん し たすけ ぶつ きやう もとめん さい
 美猴王仙教を受て躬を變じ。孫行者と稱せられ。三蔵尊師を佐つ。浮屠典を求ため。西
てん おもむ もろこしびと かざり ちんぶんかん ご やわらげ ぶ ど じまん あかほん なかま くわ
 天に赴くと。中華人の文美なす。珍文漢語を和解て。東都の自慢の赤本の。部中に加ふる
おんなもじ やつばりをんなさいゆう き さいゆうもとよりさいゆう おも おこ にしむら しんちよ かづ であらめ さくしや けん
 国字。則女西遊記。西遊原稿西邑から。思ひ起して西邑の。新著の數に漫綴の。作者ハ獸
す ちよはつかいしやそう そう しやうせつ ためのじさる かきはん さんぼん おのれ せうとく そのつたなき すと
 子の猪八戒沙僧にあらで麁相の小説。○の花押ハ。三本たらぬ予が生得。其拙を捨給
ご ひやうばん
 ハず。御評判をかふむらバ。これぞ書林の金斗雲。乗て二編も三編も。つゞく梓の氷壽堂。
うるる こがね やまかたに・どんごあたる
 利潤黄金のハ ○ 當をこゐねがふ。欲心作者ハ御ぞんじの。岩井梅我齒磨精製所
てうじぐるま あるじ
 丁子車の主人 狂訓亭楚満人
 文政十一子春新繪艸紙の魁本

千里眼 順風耳 すいれんどう びこうわうせん まなびしん つう さんざう たすくがう ま ふること
 水簾洞の美猴王仙を学神に通じ三蔵を佐降魔の古事

三蔵 さんざう おだやか こゝろつよく ひやくせつせんま くしん つひ たいぎやうなる みつひめ
 温良にして心剛 百折千磨の苦心 終に大業成 三姫
はつかい あほう ぎ いつ こ せうちよ しんたんなほ ゆうぎ
 八戒 獸子に偽する一個の小女 真膽直くして勇義にくみす

沙僧 しやそう 遠くなり近くなるみの浜千鳥なくねに汐のみちひをぞしる
くものびんづらぬめらか ゆきのはだへ こまやか いったんりう び あぐ とき れつぜん ぢやうぶ
 雲鬢滑に雪膚は濃なり一旦柳眉を揚る折は烈然として 丈夫をおそれしむ

姦 かしまし すがた 姿はあれど三人が文殊の智恵よ海山の幸 多満人詠
さんにん もんじゆ ち 丞 うみやま さち

外面如菩薩 内心如夜叉。それは釈氏の片手打。賢愚邪正は男女を不隔。からやまと賢女鑑
げめんによ ぼさつ ないしんによ しゃ しやくし かたてうち けんぐじやしやう なんによ へだてず けんぢよかみ
れつちよでん ほんちやう しん ことまつそくげ
 や列女伝 本町の市隠 小松即戲

二の巻 ほつたん 発端 鎌倉の武將頼朝公、日本惣追捕使に任じられ給ひ、四海しばらく静謐
かまくら (ぶしやう) よりとも (こう) につぼん (そう) ついほ し にん (し) かい せいひつ
 に治まりし頃に当たり。駿州の管領清見の判官、義景と聞こへしは、文に富たる良將に
おさ あたり すんしう (きよみ) (はん) ぐはん よし (か) ぎ ぶん とみ りやうしやう
 おはしければ、御家のこの面／＼も、文武の道を励み学ぶ者から、一人として、文武に疎き者
おんいへ めん ぶん ぶ はげ まな もの ぶん ぶ うと もの
 なし。其家中に譜代の老臣、浦松苦右衛門と言ふ者の子に、苦之丞と呼べる若者あり。苦右衛
そ が なか ふだい らうしん うらまつとま 丞 もん い とまのすけ よ わかもの
 門は去ぬる年身罷り、苦之丞十八歳にして、父の遺跡を相続しけるが、この苦之丞は、とりわ
い とし みまか ちん いせき そうぞく
 け幼けなきより、文武の道を励み、十八番の武芸こと／＼く、諦めずと言ふことなく、文学
いと ぶん ぶ みち はげ ばん ぶ げい あきら い
 は張範馬郷が上を越して、その身おきく、七歩にも恥ぢず。天生美男にして、中華の宋玉、
うへ こ ほ は てんせいびなん もろこし (そうぎやく)

我が朝の源氏業平にも、恥ぢざるほどの器量なりしかば、何家中の娘子供は、言ふも更なり、
 下女婢妾にいたるまで、苦之丞が通る事には走り出、目引袖引せざるもなし。されど、苦之
 丞は露ばかりも、さる戯れたる行ひをなさず。勤仕の暇には狩を好み、とりわけて弓射る技
 に長じ、百歩の堀に柳を射たる中華人はものかは、天を翔る翼、地を走る獣も、目に遮る
 物ならば、苦之丞が鏃を逃るゝこと能はず。かゝる若者なれば、何家中にて娘持たる人は、
 何卒苦之丞を婿にと望むと言へども、また苦之丞は、色を好まざれば、顔貌の善悪を
 選ばず、行ひの正しからんを娶らんと、専らその人を選びしに、これも清見家、譜代の家
 柄に、浜辺磯太夫といふ者あり。この磯太夫が一人娘に、磯馴と言へるは、今年一八の春を迎
 へて、その美しきことは、王昭西施はいざ知らず。衣通小町と言へども、かくまでにはあ
 らじと思ふほどの美人にして、糸竹の調べ、絵描き、花結び、三十一文字、何れも真女子の特技
 極め、学ばずといふ事なし。しかのみならず、貞烈類なかりければ、苦之丞は、磯馴が貞烈な
 る由を甚く聞て、娶らんことを請ふに、磯太夫も日頃より、苦之丞が文武の道に暗からず、
 しかも疾から正中の若者にと、末頼もしきを心の中に愛しければ、たゞ一人の娘なれど喜び
 て、早速贈らんことを約しけるにぞ。苦之丞も深く、その恩を感じ、双方より殿へ願ひを上げ
 し所、殿にも似合はしき縁組なりとて、早速許し給ひければ、両家の喜び大方ならず。改め
 て媒を頼み、吉日良辰を選び、婚姻こと故なく整ひて、千秋万歳とぞ祝しける。かく
 てある時、苦之丞はたま／＼半日閑得ければ、隣国足柄山に狩しけるに、とある谷を隔て
 向ふに、一羽の鷲小猿を掴みて、すでに食らわんとする体たらくに、苦之丞は不憫に思ひ、
 弓に矢を番ひ、よつ引き、ひやうと放てば、過たず鷲の喉笛を射貫けるにぞ。鷲は頓に死
 ければ、苦之丞は彼の猿を捕へて、見るに、此猿いたつて小さく、その毛こと／＼く白かりけ
 れば、苦之丞は喜び、これを勢子の者に抱かせ、我が家へ立ち帰りければ、妻の磯馴は出向ひ、
 彼の猿の事を聞て不憫に思ひ、「それは、危ふきことにてありし」と言ひつゝ、猿を見れば、
 その形至つて小さく、掌にも載るべく、かつ惣身の毛白くして、雪を欺くが如きに、磯
 馴は元来、情け深き生れ付きなりければ、大きに喜び、この猿を木の葉と名付け、我が子
 の如く慈しみけるにぞ。木の葉も又、磯馴を慕ふこと親の如く、片時も側を離れず。しかのみ
 ならず、この猿良く人の言葉を解し、また人の如く立ちて、万の用を弁じければ、一ト入不憫
 さも弥増さり、寵愛かぎりなかりける。

○美服人の指さゝんことを憂ひ、高明神の憎みに迫ると、磯馴が苦之丞に嫁げるや、眞に
 佳人才子に会ひし良縁と言ふべし。楽しみ尽き哀しみ来たる諺の如く、苦之丞はふと、足
 に腫物出で来けるが、次第に重り、羸疾風と言へる病に成りにけるにぞ。磯馴が歎き大方
 ならず、有ると有らゆる名医を招き、いろ／＼療治を加へけれども、多年気の凝りし故にや、
 頓には治すべき風情も、更に見へざりける。苦之丞が病日に増して重り、行歩自在ならざり
 ければ、舅浜辺磯太夫も驚き、色／＼様／＼心を尽くせど、更にその甲斐もなかりける。

こゝに或る人の言ふには、「この病なか／＼以て、針灸薬治の及ぶところあらず。たゞ、これを治さんには、摂砦有馬の温泉に湯治せば、速やかなるべし」と言ふ。苦之丞も実にもと思へど、「何を言わんにも、主持のこともなれば、私の自由にもならず」と、かくと判官殿へ聞こへ上げ、しばしの御暇を願ひければ、判官義景公も予て、悲愴の臣下苦之丞が事と言ひ、かつは病の事なれば、早速湯治を許し給ふにぞ。苦之丞喜び頓に、その用意を為しにけるが、妻磯馴に向ひ言へりけるは、「人間は老少不定と言ふ中にも、今戦国の後、四海や、鎌倉殿武徳に泥み、穏やかなるには似たれども、平家の残党木曾の余類、諸国に隠れ住めば、いつ何時いかなる椿事出来せんも計り難し。御身と我と夫婦になりて、今行くほどもなくして、かく百里の方に遠ざかるも、病の為すところなれば、かならずしも歎くべきにあらず。病少しにても快くは、早速帰国すべし。もしや、我が留守の中に、万一の椿事出来るとも、かならず短慮を出だすべからず。御身の手児、磯太夫殿に御前の事は、万事頼み置いたれば、そのことは必ず、安ずべからず。また、木の葉は畜生ながら、よく恩を知り、我／＼夫婦を大切にすれば、随分情けを掛けて、養ふべし人間と畜生と、その分は異なれど、かく一つ家に暮らすと言ふは、よく／＼深き因縁なるべし。構へて疎略にすべからず」と、こま／＼と言ひ残し。籠に打ち乗りて、有馬へ発足するに、磯太夫も道のほど、二三里が間送り来たり。別れて立ち帰りぬ。木の葉は、妻の磯馴に抱かれて、玄關まで送り出でけるが、別れおや惜しみけん、涙を溢し、泣き叫びて、諸共に従ひ行かんとするを、やふ／＼のことにて、いろ／＼と赚し慰へて、奥へ伴ひける。これぞ、夫婦が長き別れとは、神ならぬ身の知らざるぞ哀れとは、後にぞ思ひ知られけり。

○こゝに又、判官義景の幕下に、(三保)の郡領供氏、同じく郡司季氏と言ふ、兄弟のものありしが、心良からぬ者にて、予て謀反の企てあつて、折もあらば、清見の家を横領なさばやと窺ひけるが、浦松苦之丞が有馬へ湯治に発足せしを、敵国へ内通せしよふに、北条家へ讒言せしかば、鎌倉殿も眞なりと思し召し、郡領に打手に向かふべき由を、命じ給ひければ、兄弟は年頃の計略なりぬと喜び、早速家に帰り、軍勢をも用し、義景が館へ押し寄せ、急に関をどつと挙げしかば、清見の館には騒動大方ならず。上を下へと騒ぎ立ちて、太刀よ物よ具よと言ふ間に、郡領が手の者は我も／＼と込み入りて、四方八面に切つて、回るに詮方なく、館の者ども大半討たれければ、判官は奥方殿を近く召され、「汝身籠りて、すでに三月に及ぶ。何卒この場を遁れ、腹なる子を産み落とし、時節を待ちて再び、清見の家を起しくれよ。これ今、死するに勝る貞烈なり」と、家の系図を渡し、腹十文字に掻き切りて、遂に儂くなり給ひければ、屋差の前は身も世もあられず、死ぬにも死なれぬ、この場の仕儀、天に懂れ地に叫び、狂気の如くに臥し転び、前後正体なかりける。かゝる折から、となみの局は敵を追つ散らして傷を負ひ、朱に染みて立ち帰り、この体を見て、泣き伏してみ給ふ屋差の前を助け起し、委細の様子を聞、しからば殿様の御遺言に従ひ、一ト先づ、この所を落ち延び、時

せつまつにしかず。さりながら御家の重宝、羽衣の名鏡、松陰の硯の二品、かくては例へ、
系図が有りとても益なしと、かび／＼しくも宝蔵へ駆け入りて、彼の二夕品を取らんとするに、
はや雲霞の大勢道を遮り、「屋差の前を渡せ」と呼ばわるにぞ。となみは宝を取り得ん暇な
く、追っ散らし／＼奥方の御伴して、何処ともなく落ち失せける。

三の巻 ○こゝに浦松苦之丞が妻磯馴は、この騒動に詮方なく、長刀の鞘を外して、敵に渡り
合ひ戦ひしが、多勢に武勢敵ひ難く、すでに危うき所へ、木の葉は走り来たり。彼方此方の
軍兵の首頭に、取り付き筆り付き支へければ、さしもの敵兵も、あしらひ兼ねて見へけれども、
目に余る大軍なれば、新手を入れ替へ／＼攻め戦ふに、館の者は多く、見出すはだにて到る
にぞ。甲冑にて身軽に出で立ち、さる事なれば、数箇所の手傷を被り手負ひ、死人の数を知ら
ず、親討たるれども子、これを助くる暇なく、必死に成りて挑みける。磯馴は力すでに尽き
て、彼処此処に手傷を被り、刀を杖に付きて、父が行方を彼処此処と、探し求めしところ、
郡領が手の者、磯馴が顔良きを見て、大きに喜び近く進み、「御身は定めて、清見家の身内
の人の妻なるべきが、大将義景公さへ、すでに討たれ給ひ、されば御内の者誰あつて、存ゆる
者一人だになし。死ゝたる夫に操を守らんより、我に従わば、今より女房と成して、慈し
むべし」と、撓垂れ掛ゝれば、磯馴はとつて突き除け、「汚らはしき事を聞くものかな。さて
は、はや御主人義景公には、討ち死にし給ひしとや、我が夫苦之丞、健やかにて国ゝ居らば、
必死を極めても戦ふべきに、折悪しく旅路に赴きたれば、詮方なし。とても生き永らへ敵の
ために、恥づかしめられんより、潔く死なんにしかず」と、蹠踉めきながら、切つて掛ゝれ
ば、彼の雑兵は飛び退りて、刀を払ひ落し。「我情心を持つて、敵ながらも助け得させ、
我が女房とも為さんと思ふに、却つて汝は我に齒向ふ。これ何の通りぞや。しからば、望み
に任せて、命を縮めてくれんず」と、肩先深く切り込めば、あつと倒れて打ち伏せしが、親と
夫を慕へる一念、凝り固まりて息吹き返へし、刀を杖に身を起せば、雑兵は颯り切り、此方
はもはや断末魔の、目は見へねども滅多打ち、磯太夫は遠目に見て、韋駄天走りになり付き、
彼の雑兵を取つて投げ、たゞト刀に切り倒し、磯馴を助け起し、耳に口を寄せ、「磯馴、
気を確かに持つべし。磯太夫なるぞ。父なるぞ」と、大恩情に呼ばわれれば、磯馴は苦しき息の
下、「父上か。遅かりし。今こゝへ、敵が他の雑兵来たりて、妾を恥づかしめんとせし故、
例へ死すとも操は破らじ」と、心は弥猛に逸れとも、最前より多くの敵と戦ひたれば、力
尽きて遂にかくの如く、深傷を負ひければ、もはや長らへ難し。「何卒妾が首を討ちて、早く
苦痛を免れしめ給へ。今死ぬる命は、さら／＼惜しまねども、攻めて今はに夫の顔、たゞ一
目見て死にたい」と、夫を慕ふ真心を、不憫と父の磯太夫、猶も耳に口を寄せ、「殿判官公
は、すでに討ち死にし給ひたれど、奥方屋差の前様の見へ給はぬは、定めてこの所を、落ち延
び給ひたると見へたり。屋差の前様は、御懐胎にて、はや三月に及び給へば、体内の御子、男
子にもあれ女子にもあれ、他に御世継ぎなければ、御誕生まし／＼て、御生長を待ちて、無実

の罪なる由を申し開き、御家を再興せんこそ、今この所にて、討ち死にするにも、勝りし忠義
 なれば、我は命を生き延わり、一先身を隠さばやと思へば、序でに婿苦之丞が行方をも尋ね、
 御身が操を守りて、死たる由を語り聞かせ、諸共に身を真つ当して、時節を待たん、さるに
 ても思ひ／＼て、苦之丞殿と夫婦になり、一年も立ず、生き別れし上に、また人手に掛りて
 死するとは、よく／＼薄き縁なれ。かゝる椿事の出で来んとは、夢にも知らず、昨日までも
 今日までも、早く初孫の顔を、見んと楽しみしも、水の泡と成りけるよ」と、悲嘆の涙に噎び、
 いろ／＼介抱しけれども、傷手の上に父に会ひて、言ひ置く事も皆、言ひ終りければ、がつく
 りと落ち入りて、遂に儂くなりける。磯太夫は涙ながら、娘が首を打ち落とし、袖引き契
 りて、これを包み、軀を隠さんとする所へ、敵大勢襲ひ来たりければ、詮方なく、彼の首を
 腰に結び付け、叢がる中へ躍り入り、遂に一方の血路を開き、僅かに落ち延びしかるべき寺院
 を頼み、しか／＼の由を語り、娘が首を葬り、戒名を付けて貰ひ、片袖は婿への形見と、猶
 も肌身を離さず。この所を去つて、有馬を志して、上方筋へ上りける。彼の木の葉は、磯馴
 が最後の見切りまで付き纏ひて、歎き悲しみけるが、遂に何処へ行きしか、行き方知れずなり
 にける。磯太夫も猿の事をば構はず、こゝを去りし故、もしや乱軍の討ちに討たれしも知れず
 と、不憫に思ひ、ともに回向をなしにける。

一枚あけて次の画とき 却説、浦松苦之丞は、有馬の温泉に良く湿気れば、病半ばは癒へ
 しかど、全く治せず。「今一ト回りほども湯治せば、快くならん」と、逗留していたりしが、
 ある時、鎌倉より登りし飛脚、語りけるは、「駿洲清見家とやらん、謀反の企て、或る由に
 て、鎌倉より打つ手を向けられ、たゞ一日一夜の中に、滅び失せたり」と語りければ、苦之丞
 ははつと驚き、いかゞはせん、と、呆然としてあたりしが、つく／＼思ふには、「よしや我、
 国に有つたればとて、この病にては、物に用には立はず。空しく雑人輩なん、どの手に掛りて、
 死なんは必定せり。幸に国を隔りし故に、合戦の場に居り合はざれば、命を全ふせし
 こそ、不思議なれど、君の御先途をも見届けず、生き長らへて、百年の寿命を保ちたりとも、
 生ける甲斐なし。さらばとて此処にて、腹切つて死したりとも、狂人よと、言わるゝのみにて、
 これまたせんなし。よし／＼一ト先づ国へ帰り、殿への申し訳には、館の内にて切腹すべし」
 と、心を定め有馬を發足して、本国駿洲へ立ち帰りしかど、昼はさすがに人目もあれば、夜に
 入りて、古戦場へ行きて見るに、さしも叢を並べて、造り立てたる義景公の館も、外陣と
 成りて、見るもいぶせき有り様に、苦之丞は涙に暮れ、「定めて舅磯太夫、妻の磯馴も、人
 にや討たれし。又は自害やしつると、とさまかふさま思ひ巡らしけるが、とてもかくても死に
 遅れて、何かせん。死する時に死せざれば、死に勝る恥ありと、古人も宣ひたれば、潔く切
 腹して、冥土黄泉にいたり、御主人や舅殿へ、言ひ訳せん」と、側の古木を押し削り、
 矢立を取り出だし、月の明を借り、「浦松苦之丞於此所臨死終」と書きしが、肌押し脱ぎ、
 氷の如き刃抜き、すでに腹へ突き立てんとするに、たちまち側の藪の内、かや／＼と落し

て、この所に出づる者あり。苦之苦は何者にやと、これを見るに、豈図らんや、女房磯馴にして、髪は棘に乱し、衣服は血に染みて、裂け敗れたるまゝにて、矢庭に夫が手に縋り、只さめ／＼と歎くにぞ。苦之丞は大きに驚き、「汝は磯馴にあらずや。定めて、人に矢討たれづらんと思ひしに、いかゞして今日まで、命をば全ふせしや。いと訝し。舅君磯太夫殿は、いかゞ成り給ひし」と問ひければ、磯馴は涙を払ひ、「父上は、乱軍の中を切り抜け、御身の跡を慕ふて、出で給ひたり。妾も既に死ぬべかりしを、やふ／＼に遁れて、昼は山林に隠れ、夜は里に出で、食物を請ひ、やふ／＼天の命を永らへしも、御身に一度、会ひ参らしたき故なり」と、またさめ／＼と歎きけるにぞ。苦之丞も目を屢叩き、「さては舅君には、未だ存じやうにておわしますとや、たと舅殿、存じやうにておわするとも、御主君の最後の場所に、有り合わさず。かゝる世の廢れ物となりし。この身生き長らへて、何かはせん。その方は跡に永らへて、手兒に巡り合ひ、いかなる人にも身を寄せて、末の榮利を謀るべし。我は此所の露と消へて、御主人の御伴せん。たゞ思ひ出だせし折もあらば、一片の廻向を頼む也」と、言ひ終わつて又も、刀を取り延べて、すでに斯うよと見へにける。磯馴は慌てゝ押し止め、「此は日頃の、御心にも似合はず。父磯太夫も命を惜しみ、主君の最後を余所に見て、この所を遁れしにあらず。もつとも義景公には、討ち死にし給へども、奥方屋差の前様は、となみの局に助けられ、落ち延び給ひたれば、定めて御堅固にまし／＼て、いづくにか忍びみ給はんこと、必定せり。それ故にこそ、父上も惜しからぬ命を、延ばわり給へり、御身もかね／＼知り給ふ如く、屋差の前様には、御懐妊にして、はや三月に及び給へば、御安産の後、生長を待ちて、再び世に出だし参らせんと、此忠を思ひて、身を遁れしは、父が深き思量慮りの、なすところにして、全く卑怯見れんにあらず。さりながら父は、齢ひも傾きたれば、屋差の前様の御子、生長成し給ひて、世に出で給ふまでは、付き添ひ参らせんこと、竟東無し、幸御身は未だ、年若くおわしませば、今死ぬ命を永らへて、彼の若子を守り立て、堪へたる家を興さんこそ、死せるに勝る忠ならずや、小しきを忍ばざる時は、大望を乱ると、御身もつね／＼、妾へ教へ給ひたるに、などてかくは狼狽たへ給わらは、とてもその如く、命永らへしは、全く末の榮利を思ふにあらず。賢き御身ながら、もしや誤りて、かゝることもあらんかと、惜しからぬ命を永らへしなり」と、断りを尽くして、諫むるにぞ。苦之丞は実にもと思ひ、眞に三ツ子に教へられて、浅瀬を渡るとやらん、「我、思ひ誤りて／＼しからば、御身諸共にこゝを立ち退き、いかにもして永らへ、舅殿、行方を探し、屋差の前様の、御力となるべし」と、足早にこの所を去りぬ。

○さて、苦之丞は磯馴もろとも、少しの知る辺を便り、武蔵の国、入間川の辺に、閑居しけるが、磯馴は機織り、糸とる業を成して、微妙に世を渡る中に、磯馴が成すところ、常の人に事変わりに、いたつて早くかつ、その絹麗しかりければ、里人争ひて頼みしかば、夫婦が口を養ふには、いと易く、思はずこゝに月日を過ごす中に、磯馴懐胎して、当る十月に、玉の

ごとき女子の子を儲けしが、この日は、申の月申の日申の刻なりしかば、その名を高子と名付けぬ。子は猿の異名を、高の御子と言へばなり。かくて夫婦は、高子が愛らしくなるに従ひ、心ならずも、春と暮らし秋と過ぎて、早くも三年を経て、高子は三才にぞ及びける。こゝにまた、磯馴が父磯太夫は、有馬に行きて、苦之丞が行方を探せしかど、はや苦之丞が、古里へ立ち帰りし後なりければ、詮方なく、屋差の前の御行方を、そここゝと探し求めしかど、都に知れざりければ、旅より旅に年を重ね、三年を過ぎて又、武蔵の国を通りけるに、とある社に浦松苦之丞といふ、札の張りてありければ、その辺の酒屋へ入りて、「この辺にもしや、浦松氏を名乗る人やある」と訊ねければ、知る人ありて、「それは、しか／＼の所なり」と教へければ、磯太夫は大きに喜び、早速彼の隠れ家を問わばやと、急ぎ行きて、外もより窺ひしに、子はあやしや、三年前に死したる我が娘、三つばかりなる女子の子を抱きて、遊ばせていたるに、磯太夫は大に驚き、呆然と暫し門へに佇みて、内の様子を窺ひぬ。

筆者 音成 南仙笑楚満人作 歌川国安画

挿絵詞書

〈八丁表〉

「ヲ、木の葉かよく来た、楚人は木猴にて冠すといふが、今の世の人その方ほど恩を知る者はない」

〈九丁表〉

「今日はいかゞでござるな、どふしても御新造が美しいによつてそれの御美容でござるふて、ハヽヽヽヽヽ」

〈十丁裏〉

「何をこしやくな、そこ退いてとふせ」
「となみ怪我しやんな」
「イヤどつこい」

〈十二丁裏〉

「エヽとヽさんに今一足遅かつた」
「ヤレ娘、心を確かに持て、当の敵は打ち取つたぞ」

狂訓亭楚満人作 歌川国安画

楚満人作 国安画く 風俗女西遊記 西村屋新版 後編

四の巻 **つづき** さても、磯馴は夫の留守に、高子を抱きて表の方、空打ち眺めたりしが、
 忙はしく物陰に入り、高子が顔つれ／＼と打ち守り、急き来る涙はら／＼と止め兼ねつゝ、
 背中搔き撫で、「其方も今年で、もふ三ツ、私が言ふ事良ふ聞きや。妾元より人間ならず、
 これより遙か東なる、傲来国の水簾洞といふ所に、年古る猿にて、此日本の足柄山に移りて、
 久しく住みけるが、さきに苦之丞殿、彼の山に狩し給ふ時、我が身小さく身を変じ、落ち栗拾
 いて遊びるを、鷲といふ鳥に搔い掴まれ、危き命助けられ、その後久しく飼はるゝも、何
 卒命の親てふ大恩。少しなりとも報ひせんと思ふて、館に留まりしが、不時に災難起これど
 も、我が畜類の力にて、及び難かる災ひに、悔しくも磯馴様は、敵のために討死し給ひ、そ
 の後苦之丞殿、彼処にて切腹せんとし給ふを、仮に磯馴様の形と変じ、刃を止めてその時よ
 り、勿体なや、人間を誑かして夫婦の語らひ、すでに其方といふ子を儲け、その愛慾に絆され
 つ。又一つには苦之丞殿、させる家業もあらざれば、我が身機織りて生業とし、些ゝか昔の恩
 に報ひ、又は其方が可愛さに、人となるまで守り育て、その後こそ、その罪を、千度百度詫
 事し、その言ひ訳には自害して、死なんと思ひたりしが、今日思はずも、磯馴様の親御、磯
 太夫様の□□□□、我が身こゝに居ることならず、名残は尽きねど別かるゝぞや。今よりも猶おと
 なしく、父様の言ふ事よく聞ゝかりにも、悪いこと見習はず、やがて年も取るならば、手習ひ
 物読み精出だして、親御の名をも表し給へ。其方の母御は今無くとも、好きにし磯馴様なるぞ
 や。されども、多き人の口に名を立てられればいかにせん。もしも、其方がおとなしからず、父
 御の仰せも背くなら、「道理に獣ゝ子じやもの」と、人に指差し諷られて、母が名までも出し
 やんなや。嗚呼、思へば三つになるまでは、乳を飲ませ抱き寝して、愛しいとも可愛いとも、
 子を持ちし人は知り給はん。それをこのまゝ残し置き、捨てゝゆく身の胸の中、どのやうにあ
 るぞいのお、名残惜しやのお。高子ずいぶん／＼息災にて、煩はぬのが孝行ぞや、時／＼嫌
 な灸も据ゑて、風邪でも引いてたもんや。今から私が別かるゝなら、暑いにつけ寒いにつけ、
 父様の手一つにて、さぞ不自由に思すらん。又高子も片時も、私の側を離れぬものが、長い別
 かれをするならば、さぞ泣いて訪ねやせん。コレ必ず私が家に居ずとも、泣いて訪ねて賜るな
 よ。思ひ回せばいに伴い、申し苦之丞様、今日から私が側に居ずば、今までと違ひ、朝夕の飯
 を炊ぐ人もなく、水汲む人もあらずして、第一世渡る営みも、いかに苦勞をし給はん。どふぞ、
 良い女中を迎へて、御身の苦勞も薄くして、此子にも寒からず、着せて育てゝ下さんせ。かな
 らず御身を大切に、御機嫌よう。のち／＼は元の立派の侍になつて、忠義を遊ばすを楽しみ
 にして、その折を待つのだ。」磯馴の荒磯に波打つ涙目の辺り、苦之丞がある如く、口説きつ泣
 きつ声限り、正体なくも伏し沈む。高子もわつと泣き出だし、「おつ母あや、どこへお出でだ。
 いつまでも、ちやんの側に居ておくゑよ」と、回らぬ舌に回さるゝ、親の思ひは八寒地獄。
 氷はものかは、張り詰めし、胸の痞ひを撫でながら、「ヲ、よく言ふて賜つた。我が身がその
 様に言ふてくれずとも、いに伴ふてならぬもの、もふ何にも言ふてくれな。ア、いつまで言ふ
 ても、尽きぬ名残。申し分には自害して、ア、いや／＼、儂い姿を見せるのも、今さらに恥

づかしく。又高子が行く末も安じらるれば、いつまでも影身に添ひ、屋差の前様に訪ね合せ、何卒再びお家の建つまで、しばし命を永らへて、陰ながら守るべし。」しかなり／＼と独り言ち、硯引き寄せ、墨さへも薄き縁と託めり、かくては果てじと、うち曇る胸を押へて、筆取り上げ、闇路を照らす行灯に、一首の歌を書い作る。磯太夫は戸口にて躊躇ふ中に、磯馴に違はず、何やらん行灯に寄り添ふて、物書い付けてみたりしかば、もしも彼は世に言ふなる、「幽霊なにか、魔性の者か、イヤ／＼世の中には、似たる人も多かれば、我老眼なるものから、彼は誰時の仄暗きに、もし見違へもするものか」と、思ひ兼ねて立つたりしが、ともかくも家に入り、問ふに如かじと、引き開くる戸の音響けば、不思議にも、有りつる女の姿は消へて、足摺りしつゝ泣き入る高子。息急き変る苦之丞、それとは知らず家に入り、「コレ／＼日の暮れるのに、なぜ火をば。ヤ、そこにゐるは何人じや。」「ホ、浦松氏」、久しぶりの対面といふ声に驚きて、これは舅御にてありけるが、思ひも寄らぬ来臨に、粗忽の言葉見ゆるしあれ。「これ／＼磯馴はいづくにある」と言へば、高子は涙ながら、「おつ母あは、もふどこへか行つておちまいだよう。ちやんや呼んできておくゑ」と泣けば、此方も気を苛ち、「エ、訳もない何をして」と言ふに、いよ／＼不審なれば、磯太夫これを止め、「これ／＼其方は何とかいふ、磯馴は過ぎし頃、敵のために討死にし、屍も則、我／＼葬りたり。これが則、形見ぞ」と、血潮染みたる見覚への、磯馴が片袖取り出だし、様子はだん／＼長いこと、さりながら心得ぬは、今までこゝに有りつる女、我が姿を見ると、そのまゝ消へて跡さへ留めざるは、果して変化の所為なるべし」と、言ふに苦之丞茫然と、「是は怪しからぬ思せ事、今日まで妻よ子と、いかにも今までこゝにありしは、もしも幽霊なる者かさるにでも、妻磯馴が討死にせしとは、思ひも寄らず、先づ様子はおい／＼語らん、何にもせよ。」行灯をと、灯せば片方に一首の歌あり、

恋しくば訪ねてきませいつも住む下野に身を裏見滝つせ

磯太夫この歌を見て、実にも手跡もそのまゝにて、磯馴が書きしに少しも違はずと、しばし沈吟したりけるが、やがて横手をはたと打ち、「是は果たして、先の年貴殿足柄山におゐて、救ひし猿を飼はれしが、磯馴に化して些かも、恩を報ひしものならん。この下野の裏見の滝とは、この名下野に二か所あり。一つは、二荒山にあり。又一つは、赤岩庚申山に、この滝あり。水の勢ひ強くして、高き岩より一斤の道を、隔ちて谷へ落つる。行く人滝を裏より見る故に、裏見の滝と言ふ。この庚申山は、猿のみ住みて、他の獣なき故に、土人此山の名を呼んで、猿が城と言ひなすとかや。このこと彼処に程近き、花輪の里のいとゐ何某、かねて語りしことを聞けり。されば、木の葉彼処へ去り、この後住めるといふ事ならん」と言ふに、苦之丞も思案しつ、実にもしかあるべきことなり。「伝へ聞く彼の山の、奥の院といふ所にて、狩人など分け入るとき、美人機織る者あるを、見たりといふ人多しとかや。今まで磯馴が機織りて、三人の口を過せしも。又この高子の生まれたるも、猿の年月日時まで揃ひたるこそ、今思へば、猿の

体たいに宿やどりし故ゆゑか、思おもひ出いだせば唐土もうこしの、そんりんが妻つま忍しのぶしなる者もの、猿へんの変かたじて語かたらひしも、
 日ひを同おなじうして談だんずべし畜類ちくるいだも、恩おんを知しりてかくの如ごときは、殊勝しゆせうとすべし」と、うち語かたらひ
 て諸共もろともに、その心こころ馳かせを感じかんじ入り、二人ふたりは涙なみだに暮くれたりけり。先まづ、その夜よも更ふけ渡わたれば、
 そのまゝ往いぬる表かたの方かた、戸かたをほと／＼と訪おとふにぞ、「何事なにごとにや」と、苦くる之の丞とま戸のを開あくれば、
 一人ひとりの男門かど辺べに佇たみ申まうす様やう、「只今ただいま代だ官くわん所しよより、急きふに御用ごようの筋すぢあれば、庄屋せうやのもとまで今直いま
 ぐに」と言いへば、苦くる之の丞とま心こころ得へて、その由よし磯太夫いそたふに物語ものがたりり、寝ねふりし高子たかこを其そがまゝに、磯太夫いそたふ
 の懐ふところに入れおき、使つかひの人ひとと諸共もろともに打うち連つれてこそ、出いて行きけり。折ひから後あとへ二三人にさん、戸かたを
 蹴放けはなしてばら／＼とここみ入り、行灯あんどうばつたり真まつ暗くらがり、すは曲者くせものと、磯太夫いそたふが起おき出いでんと
 するところを、真まつ二つと斬きり付つけたり。心得こころえたりと抜ぬき合あはするその間に、一人ひとりが後あとろより狙ねら
 ひ寄よつて、右袈裟みぎげさに切きり下さげられて、たぢ／＼と踰よるめくところを付つけけ入り／＼。三人さんにて畳たた
 み掛かけ、不意ふいに慌あわつる磯太夫いそたふを、微塵おほになれと切きり立たつれば、思おもひ寄よらぬことだと言いひ、こと
 に高子たかこを勞いたはりて、怪我けがをさせじと庇かばふものから、はか／＼しく働はたらかれず。遂つひに数箇所すかしよきづの傷きづ
 を受うけ、後方うしろにだうと倒たおれば、高子たかこを押おさへて猿轡さるなをはませ、葛つづらの中なかへ押し入お入れて、やがて
 一人ひとりの曲者くせものが、頭巾づきんをかなぐり近ちかく寄より、「珍めづしや、浜辺はまべ磯太夫いそたふ。かく言いふ我われを誰たれとかする。
 三保みほの郡領ぐんりやう供氏くわんじが家臣かじん、熊山くま魔魅ま衛門ゑもん宗友むねともなり。先さきに判官はんくわん討死うちじにせし折をりから、我わが弟おと宗介むねすけ、
 汝なんぢが娘むすめの磯馴いそなに恋慕れんぼし、助たすけんとせしを否いなむにより、抛よん所どころなく殺ころせしを、その方ほうそこへ馳は
 せ着つけて、我わが弟おとを切きり殺ころし、その所ところを立のち退のきたりし、これをを無念むねんに思おもふ中うち、我われ仔細さいしあつ
 て浪人らうにんし、弟おとの敵かたき汝なんぢを撃うちたんと、所しよ／＼方ほう／＼を訪たづねたるが、今宵こよひこゝに宿やどるてい、幸さいわひ
 手強ごわき苦くる之の丞とま、目めをたばかりて誘おびき出いだし、今いまこそ敵かたきを討うち取とつたり、またこの女こびつちよ兒さるは、猿さる
 の年月ねんげつ揃そろひし生まれ故ゆゑ、仔細さいしあつて妙薬めうやくを調とへんため、生き肝いを訪たづねたるが、此奴こひつが事ことを聞き
 し故ゆゑ、我わが大望たいもふの時節じせつ来きたれりと、思おもふに幸さいわひ汝なんぢまで、思おもはず敵かたきを討うち取とつたるは、軍いくさ
 門かどでの血祭ちまつり。よし、じたばたせずともかくの通とほりの、我わが引導いんどうが耳みみに入いらば、早はやく地獄ぢごくへ赴む
 け」と袂たもと回まわせば、逆さかる血潮ちほしに染そめ成なす白波しろなみの、竜田たつたの山やまにあらなくて、夜半よはに一人ひとりぞ越こ
 へてゆく。死出しでの山路ぢやいかならん、思おもひやるさへ哀あはれなり。惜おしむべし一己いつこの忠臣ちゆうしん、五十八才ごじゅうはちさい
 を一期いちごとして、この世よの夢ゆめを見果みてけり。こゝに苦くる之の丞とまは、急いそぎ庄屋せうやのもとへ行く途とちう中ちゆうにて、
 迎むかひの者ものは、まだ他ほかに用事ようじありとて別わかれたれば、一人ひとり彼処かたへ行き廻かるに、跡形あとかたもなきことなり
 ければ、直すぐさま庄屋せうやのもとを立たち出いで、宙ちゆうを飛かんで馳かせ帰きれば、磯太夫いそたふが切きり殺ころされ、型かたの
 如ごとくのありさまにて、悪者わるものは早はや、いつの程ほどにか逃にげて、跡あとさへ止とどめねば、たゞ茫然ぼうぜんたるばかり
 なり。

五の巻 よみはじめ こゝにまた魔魅衛門まみゑもんは、急いそぎこの処ところを立たち出いで、いづくやら山中なかに
 いたりて、手下むかに向むかひ申しけるは、「我不慮われふりよに勘気かんきを蒙かうりしとは偽いつはり、真まは三保みほの郡領ぐんりやう供
 氏公うぢ(こう)おとぎみ弟君ぐんじすゑうち(こう)みこころ、郡司あ季氏公こんどむほんくはだ御心われひそを合あわせられ、今度こんど謀反むほんの企くはだてあり。我密われひそかに盗賊とうぞくとなりし
 は、味方みかたを語かたらひ、ふたつには軍用金ぐんようを集あつめんとためなり。しかるに季氏君すゑうちぎみの若殿わかとは、生まれ付うつ
 てもの言いふこと適かなはず、唾おとしと言いへる難病なんびやうなり。つね／＼これを憂うれひ給たまふに、我わが名方めいほうに猿さるの

ねんげつそろ 年月揃ひたる、女子のいきぶもせいほう 生き肝を製法し、これをもて与へるときは、びやうき 病気たちどころに平癒することあり。この度押へ来たりしは、すなはちその女郎なり。いで妙薬を整へん、申し付けたる壺を出だせ」と、つづら ふた ひ あ 葛の蓋を引き開くれば、おもひよら いつびき さると い 不思議一匹の猿飛び出づるに、ほう あひだ 四方の山間になどより、数多の猿ども群がりて、彼のしろざる うやま しゆご 彼の白猿を敬ひ守護し、山高くこそ馳せ行きけり。これ彼の木の葉なりけり。

○却説、こゝに又屋差の前は、となみのつぼね めぐ たま やかた お たま しもつけ 館を落ちさせ給ひしが、下野の国、那須の勝士は、となみの局が縁ある者なりければ、「一先づ彼処へ誘ひ奉らん」とて、いそ しもつけ ゆ 急ぎ下野へ行かんとす。みち／＼も落人ありとて、絵姿もて改めらるれば、さま／＼の艱難を凌ぎ、夜のみ多く辿り給ふに、こゝに武蔵の国、戸田の原と言へる所にて、山賊と思しきものも、あまたむら い 数多群がり出でけるが、やがて二人を取り巻いて、さん／＼に斬つてかゝるとなみの局は、心得たりと嗜む一腰抜き合はせ、多勢を相手に斬り結べば、「すは女こそとなみとて、男勝りの手強きやつぞ、油断なせそ」と、げち つた あま 下知を伝へ余さじとこそ斬り立れど、となみが激しき太刀風に、「適なじ許せ」と悪者ども皆、ちり／＼に逃げ行くを、「きたなし、返せ」と追ふて行く。屋差の前は声を掛け、「長追ひして怪我しやんな。あゝ危ない、早う戻りや」と、よぶ 声響く谷間より、あらは い 現れ出づる大男、手の物引き連れ躍り出で、屋差の前を生け捕つたりとかゝるを得たりと、一腰引き抜き悪者ゝ顔うち守り、「ヤア己は、人非人の魔魅衛門も、思ひ知れよ」と斬り掛くれば、「それ打ち取れ」と言ふまゝに、あまたむら てした さんぞく ほう 数多群がる手下の山賊、四方より打ち掛くれば、屋差の前は先に身籠り、この月産み月なりければ、いかで多勢に敵すべき、遂にさん／＼に斬り殺され、あへなき首を取らんとするを、とほめより うかど 窺ひ見たるとなみの局、いっさん か か 一散に駈け返へし、また き た て な こ 又さん／＼に切り立つれば、手並みに懲りたる山賊ども、又もちり／＼にげう 逃失せけり。となみは奥方を搔き抱き、呼び生けれども事切れたるに、その身も数か所の深手を受け、詮方なくも死骸に縋り、泣くねも細るばかりなりけり。

○かゝる折から、死骸の切り口より、赤子の泣く声しけるにぞ。思ひ出だせば奥方は、丁度今月は産み月なりければ、やがて涙を抑へつゝ。痛手も忘れてこれを見るに、たま つく 玉もて作りなしたる如き、女の子生れけるにぞ。やがてこれを取り上げて、いかゞはせんと躊躇ふ中、早夜も明けて、むか 向ふよりこゝに来掛る乗り物に、槍を付かせし立派の同勢、若党目早くこれを見つけ、「怪しきものぞ」と訴へれば、やがて籠を止めさせ、四十路ばかりの立派の、侍 達出でゝとなみに向ひ、察するところ、清見家の落人ならん、さな 驚きそ、かく言ふ「我は上野溝沼の郷士にて、越野七之進と申す者、此度鎌倉よりの帰さなり」。それがし清見の家には縁もあれば、「あからさまに宣へ」と言ふに、となみも包むによしなく、ありし次第を残りなく物語るにぞ、うらなづ おくがた ごさいご いまさらく と あ ひめぎみふ しぎ たんじやう 打ち領き、「奥方の御最後は、今更悔やんで帰らねど、その姫君不思議にも誕生ありしは、清見家の再び建つべき瑞相なり」と、家来に命じてとなみをば、そのまゝ籠に労り載せ、屋差の前が死骸をば、辺りの寺に葬らせ、家路を指して急ぎけり。こゝに又彼の苦の丞は、

むすめたか いざな ひと ま しもつけあしを あかいわむら あかいほ たけとを い もの
娘高子を誘ひて、一先づ下野足尾なる赤岩村の、赤岩一角武遠と言へる者は、かねて知りた
る人なりければ、彼処に訪ねて身を潜め、時を待つにしかじと思ひ、文教ゆるを生業とし、そ
のあた わ す つき ひ はや た ゆみ ひ の ごと たか せいじん
の辺りに侘び住まひけり。さるほどに月日の早く経つか、弓引き伸ばす如く、高子は成人して、
ことし ひ ごろ ひざと そだ に げ おもてきよ うつく こころ
今年十七才になりけるが、日頃かゝる山里に、育ちしには似氣なくて、面清らに美しく、心
ば やさ かしかりけるが、不思議にも力あくまで強く、いかなる男もこれにおよばざりけり。し
かるに予てより爺様の、敵を討たんと念願して、昼は庚申山へ隠れて登り、一筋の縄を木の
えだ ぼう むす つ さゆう う ぼう ひるがへ う
枝にかけて、これに棒を結び付け、その左右を打つときは、棒さま／＼に翻りて、身に打ち
かか う なが たゝか ひとり ぼう まな ひそ
掛るを、右に受け左に流して、これと戦ふ。これ一人にて、棒の手を学ぶ法なるが、密かに人
み うら み たき なにとぞかたき う きせい わさ しいだ い た
の見ぬ裏見の滝の、何卒敵を討たせ給へと、祈誓しけるほどに、技は次第に上立つすれども、
これを知る者なかりしとぞ。

○ある時高子、うつら／＼と眠気付きたるにぞ、思はずしはし庚申山の、谷間に微睡みたりけ
るが、ゆめ そなれあらは やう す
が、夢に母の磯馴現れて申す様、「今より直ぐに六里ばかり、南の方へ行けば、御主人の奥
がた さし まへさま わす がた み ひめぎみ ちから あ たてまつ ぢさま
方、屋差の前様の忘れ形見なる、三ツ姫君おはしませば、これに力を合はせ奉り、爺様の
かたき まみゑもん う たま しろ きるい みち あない ゆ かた ゆ
敵なる魔魅衛門を討ち給へ。白き猿出で、道の案内をすべきなれば、その行く方へ行くべし」
といふ折からに苦之丞も来りて、「これより家に帰るに及ばず、すぐさま彼処へ赴きて、三ツ
ひめさま いさみ かた まみゑもん す か てだ も かれ う われ
姫様に委細を語り、とも／＼魔魅衛門が住み処にいたり、手立てを持つて彼を討つべし。我は
これより武門を捨て、山林へ引き籠り、仙術を学び得て、林頭仙と称ずる也。供に行く末を
まも 守るべし。はや／＼行け」と急がすれば、慨然として驚き覚めたり、見れば向ふに白き猿、高
しき まね ひごろな ぼうか こ たにまがんせき みなみ さ は ゆ
子を頻りに招くにぞ。日頃馴れたる棒搔い込み、谷間岩石いとひなく、南を指して馳せ行きけ
り。

○こゝに又いつぞや、となみの局は幼子を抱きて、溝沼なる郷士に勞り解放され、彼処へ
いざな つかね おさなご いだ みぞぬま ごうし いたは かいほう かしこ
誘はれたりけるが、深手負ふたることなれば、遂に敢へなくこと切れて、あの世の人ゝはなり
にけり。のこ ひとり おさなご きよみ わす がたみ いたは かしづ まみ
に残る一人の幼子は、これ清見の御忘れ形見なればとて、勞り傳き参らせつゝ、名を
ひめ せう こういんうつ はや あけふゆ く ひめ ことし
三ツ姫と称じけり。かくて光陰移りること早く、春と秋冬と暮れて、三ツ姫は今年十五才にな
り給ふが、まこと これ天より為せる令室にて、紅顔気高く、玉を欺く御顔馳せ、古今にためし
すく びじん つね ふみよ ものまな な ちゝは はかな さいご なげ
少なき美人にてまし／＼けるが、常に文読み物学びし給ふはしには、亡き父母の儂き最期を嘆
かな つね ほけきやう どりじゆ じやうぐはん い ぜんりん ころなだか うん
き哀しみ、常に法華経を誦読しけるが、こゝに常願寺と言へる禅林ありて、その頃名高き雲
しう おせう い ちしき あかぎ がいぜん おどろ さら た せうぜんじ がう
岫たんりう和尚と言へる知識は、赤城山に一字の梵刹を開き建て、正善寺と号するのきさみ、
じやうぐはんじ しば とうりう ぐんじ(こし)のうぢ まみ たま とき ひめ
この常願寺に暫らく逗留ありて、軍事越野氏にも見へ給ひけるが、その時三ツ姫をつら／＼
み ひめぎみ のちつひ かいうん いっこく ぬし いへ おこ ふ ぼはくめい
見て、「此姫君は後遂に開運して、一国の主なる家をも起すべき人なり。されども父母薄命に
な ぜうぶつと かた しゆら かしやく う ため ついぜん
して、亡き人となりつ、今も成仏遂げ難く、修羅の呵責を受くる也。その為なる追善には、
みづか うら ぼんきやう と じゆつ ほけきやう しょしや ねんご しめ たま かが
自ら盂蘭盆経を解く術。又法華経を書写し給へ」と、懇ろに示し給へば、限りなくうち
よるこ すなはちあるじ しやうだい りうおせう どうし あまた そうりよ くやう うへ ほんにや
喜び、則主より唱題して、此雲竜和尚を同土として、数多の僧侶に供養せし上、大般若の

転読を修したりける。その時、三ツ姫は深窓にありて、法華書写は予てより、書き始めありけるにぞ。此時これも写し終りて、奥の亭の欄干に寄り添ひ、数多の僧の読経の声を聞て、しん／＼肝に銘じつゝ、心耳を澄まして居たりけるが、思はず微睡む夢の中に、十六善神さま／＼の眷族を（六の巻）具して、現れ給ふ中より、唐の三蔵法師、近く進み寄りて、微妙の音声にて、「良きかな／＼、斯う心折なるにより、清見の家を興さすべし。その方の名の三ツ姫といふも、我が一号三蔵といふに等しく、これ三宝に帰依するの言われにて、自然と三を引き、蔵を求めてつきたるものなり。さるにても、その方の敵といふは則魔魅衛門とて、今信濃路の浅間嶽、妖霊洞といへる洞の内に、数多の手下を従へ住めり。彼こそ清見の家の重宝、羽衣の名鏡と松陰の硯の二品を、戦の折から盗み取り、自ら所持して彼処にあり。又今汝に力を合はする者あらん、これと供にすぐさまこゝを出で、浅間へ行きていかにもして、彼の二品を奪ひ返へさば、今彼の魔魅衛門は、国を覆さん謀反あれば、彼を滅ぼす時節到来、その功伐くんれば、清見の家を再興あるべし。おい／＼助力の人あらん」といふかと思へば、紫雲棚引き、形を隠して消えてけり。その折からに庭のこのまに、一人の乙女立ち出で、
 「三ツ姫君とは、あなた様か、いざ給へ」と、御手を取れば、夢となく現となく、誘はれてぞ立ち出でけり。

（六の巻）**是より五年ほどまへの物語** **よみはじめ** 却説、こゝに坂東第一の大河なる、利根川と言へるあり。この辺りなる白塚と言へるところに、醒井何某とて、剣術の達人あり。此娘におさごとて、見目形美しく清らにして、心様もいと優しき嬢ありしが、父親は早く身罷りて、一人の母と供に暮らしけるが、世渡る方便なきまゝに、利根川に漁りして、これを身の生業としつ。細き煙を立てけるが、このおさご見目形美しき故、婿にならんといふ者多く、数多言ひ入れけれども、姿の美しきをいはず、只武道に達したる人を選むに、おさごは親の奥義を良く伝へて、剣術柔術供に目の辺りに続く者なかりければ、婿にせんものなかりしとぞ。しかるにおさごは日毎夜毎、此利根川に只一人船を浮かめ、網を降ろして漁りけるが、その力量早業に怖お恐れて、迂闊に冗談を言ふ者もなく、却つて諂ひけるとぞ。ある夜例の如く、小舟に竿指して、網を打ち入れけるに、今宵は月殊に赤ければ、漁は思ふ様ならねども、四方の景色をうち眺めて、船端叩き歌うとふてうたゝ興に入る、折から頻りに水落としかるが、怪しき化け物水中より、大きな手を出だして、おさごが乗りたる船を、遙かに差し上げたり。日頃雄／＼しき嬢故、事ともせず煙草燻らしめたりしが、やがて船を水底へ覆して、沈めんとする気色なれば、心得たりとその手を押さへ、自ら水へ飛び入て、日頃馴れたる水練に、彼の妖怪は大きに恐れて、逃げんとするを、逃さじとしばしが程、組み合ひしが、遂に化け物を捕へけるに、小さき形の物なりければ、やがて船へ引き上げて、網の手縄持て、縛り上げて引きて帰り、次の日見るに、これ河童といふ物なりければ、近隣遠境聞へて、見に来る者市をなして、その働きを感じける。ある日、河童詫び言して、おさごに不死身の法を伝へけるよ

り、此後、白塚一村の者を、引いれざる約束にて、元の川へ放ち遣りけり。ある夜、おさご例の通り、夜網に出でける後にて、何者とも知れず忍び入り、おさごが母を、只一刀に斬り殺し、剣術の奥義の秘書を残らず、奪ひ取り去りければ、大きに歎きつゝ、その敵を狙ひけるが、さらに手掛ゝりなかりける故、思ふよう、「色里は数多の人の、入り込む所なれば、傾城と成りて敵を狙はゞ、手掛ゝりを知る事もあらん」と、自らこの身て、武蔵なる恋窪に身を売りつゝ。名を真砂子よ呼ばれて、さらに紅粉に飾りなせば、面は弥生の花も恥ぢて、春の心を動かさぬはなく、肌へはようたいの月も妬みて、秋の色に染まざるもなく、数多の客様を争ひて通へども、もとより男嫌ひとなたし女にて、座敷はいと興ありて持て成せども、いづれの客にても、肌を触るゝことなかりければ、男自慢の人／＼が、その張りのあるは面白し、「我こそ石部金吉を殺して見せん」と、互に罵りて、真砂子が元へ通ひける故、名を貰うどの数多く、絶へ間は更になかりけり。ある時客の事にて、男伊達の悪者共、真砂子を恥づかしめんと、さま／＼に悪行爲し、剩へ狼藉に及び掛けれども、更に心にかげず遁れんとするに、悪者共は後追ふて引き捕へ、若い者やりてなどを打擲し、すでに真砂子に打つて掛ゝるを、堪へ兼ねて当たるを幸ひ、投げ付くれば悪者どもは、その手並みの凡人ならぬ働きに一言もなく、ちり／＼に後も見ずして逃げ行けり。方辺の娼妓に、この体を見てみたりしは、此悪者どももの頭、寒左エ門といふ者、走り寄つて、真砂子が腕首確と取る、事ともせずして投げ付くれば、これまでなりと寒左エ門、刀引き抜き、切り掛くる身を交はして、あり奥義せるにてうと受け、女と侮り無礼して、「怪我さしやんすな」といふまもなく、また打ち掛くる手練の切先。このたも煙管の火花を散らし、ひいてかまふる正眼に、透かさずつけ入る虎乱の切先、起す太刃風凄まじく、打てば開き、腹へば付け入るその構へを、真砂子はきつと見て、はて心減ぬ、「我が家に伝へたるねんかうみんかの人ならでは、知ることあらぬ」、中断の懸け橋下段のむがまへ、さすれば訪ぬる、「ヲ、金角大王とは、仮の名。我は、熊山魔魅衛門。汝が親を討つて、奥義の秘書を取つたは、此方」、反へり打ちと思ひのほか、手強き女、しばしがうち助けてくりやう、そこの家といふ折からに、さきほどより、喧嘩／＼と喚き立て、数多の人／＼出で会ひしが、二人が激しき戦ひに、左右なくは寄りもつかず、見物してみたりしが、真砂子は大きに喜びて、今こそ敵を討ち取る時節、辱なしと、懐より短刀抜き、持ち斬り掛くるに、敵は手に印を結び、口に唱ふる呪文と供に、黒雲一群舞ひ下がり、姿を包みて空高く、北を指してぞ飛び去りけり。真砂子は見るより狂気の如く、その黒雲を目当てにて、後を慕ふて追ふてゆく。早日も暮れて空暗く、遂に魔魅衛門が姿をば、見失ひたりけるが、予て河童より伝はりたる、不死身の法を持ち得る故、徒跣にても少しも厭はず、いづれに希北の方なり。「急がば何どか、追ひ付かざらん」と、宙を飛んでゆくとともに、向ふより一匹の馬、飛び来たりて道を塞げり。真砂子は、いとゞ気を苛ち、「邪魔なせそ」と、避けんとするすれども、行く先に纏わりて更に動かさず、折から差し出る月影に、これを見れば、手綱の模様鞍障泥まで、我が家に伝はりし古画の馬に少しも違はず、日頃その身を離さゞりければ、心得ず

と懐中より、取り出だし押し開けば、こは不思議や、描きし馬は切り抜きし如く、抜けて後さへ止めざれば、こは果して名画の奇特により、「妾を助けんとするにこそ」といと嬉しく、彼の馬に打ち乗れば、馬はそのまゝ飛び出だし、宙を飛んで瞬く暇に、山を越へ水を渡りて、こゝなん上野赤城山の麓なる、湯之沢といふ所にいたりぬ。こゝに赤城の湯といふ温泉あり。此辺りに彼の馬止まりしかば、心得ずも降り立ち見れば、向ふに女二人立たり。近寄りてその由を問はんとするに、その人／＼も、打ち驚きたる面持ちなりけるが、やがてこの所へ片手に女を、抑へて来たる一人の老人あり。その女は声の限り、「のふ許してよ」と泣き侘ぶるを、聞ゝも入れずにこゝへ引き据ゑ、三ツ姫に向ひて言ふ様、「汝良くも、三蔵法師の言葉に従ひ、浅間の山に隠れ住む、魔魅衛門を謀りて、家の宝を取り返し、敵を滅ぼす大功を、思ひ立つこと殊勝なり。高子が為にも敵なれば、言ふに及ばず、又おさごにも母の敵、これより心を合はせて、三ツ姫を傳き、供に助力出だすべし。またおいのは、その身女にして、殺生せし罪加う大なりといへども、これより三ツ姫に従ひて、信濃路に赴くべし。その仔細は汝が父は、元清見の家来にてありしが、先の年浪人し、狩人ゝなりける也。されば力を合はせて、大悪人魔魅衛門を滅ぼすべし。されども彼は魔法を持つて、飛行し自在を為す故に、容易に討たんは難かるべし。我汝らに守護を加へ、今より猶大力を出ださすべし。又三ツ姫には秘密の縛の法を授けんとて、密かにこれを口伝し給ひ、これを唱ふるときは良く、人をして働かせず、身を縛して動かざらしむ。この名を定心真言とも言へり、ゆめ／＼疑ふことなかれ」と、言ふかと思へば、風に連れて虚空高く上がり給ふ。その様はこれ、観世音にてありければ、四人はしん／＼肝に銘じ、伏し拝みつゝ。支度してこれより、三ツ姫を馬に乗せ参らせ、信濃路へこそ赴きけり。

○魔魅衛門はこれより、浅間の住み家に居たりけり。こゝには数多の美女を集め、昼夜飲酒に耽りて、密かに味方を集め、謀反の企て頻りなり。

○此後彼の四人の女、みち／＼さま／＼の事ありて、艱難もし一度は道に迷ひ、深山にて別れ／＼になり。後は又観世音導きで、浅間に居たりて姿を変へ、女太夫となり。ある日は、猿引きとなり。又は浅間と言へる上瑠璃を語りて、その心を盪かさんとすること、魔魅衛門これを知りて、石門を閉ざし戦ふて、遂に四人に斬り立てられ、又こゝを逃げ出だし、御岳の山に籠るに、苦之丞仙術を得て、魔魅衛門を悩ます。その後、魔魅衛門隠れて、鎌倉へ逃げて住むとき、三人の女は芸者となりて、これを狙ふことより、謀反の企て漏れ聞こへて、討つ手の事後、三ツ姫の為に滅ぶるまでは、事長ゝり。其は後編を待つて、見給ふべし。

○これまでは皆、西遊記の発端にかゝれり。これよりおい／＼さま／＼の、趣向出づれば、後の巻を持って、真の西遊記と照らし合はせ、見給へかし。

○御薬齒磨き、丁字車、楚満人店、南仙笑楚満人作、歌川国安画、浄書音成

挿絵詞書

〈十六丁裏〉

「おつ母あや引。お待ちよ引。おつ母あや引。

〈十七丁裏・十八丁表〉

「未洽はその様人倫に近く、獣も恩を知る者を、人面だも獣心なる身、三保の郡領、主家を横領するの大罪、天の報ふときあらんか、ア、是非もないことじやよナア。

「血潮染みたる此片袖、スリヤ磯馴は討死にして今日までこゝに有りつるは全く変化なりけるか。

「お爺いたんや、おいらにも赤いべぞおくゑヨ。

〈十九丁表〉

あかいわかうしんやま	うらみのたきのづ
赤岩庚申山	裏見滝岡

〈二十丁裏〉

「何物ゝ仕業なるか、情けなきこの有り様、今一足早くん、ばやみ／＼と討たせじものを、残念／＼／＼。

〈二十八丁裏・二十九丁表〉

○鳥寒左エ門一名金角大王となのる男伊達金角組の魁首にて遊所に徘徊す、鮫が井の家の量器、萩原東溪の筆、白馬の図、古来より伝ふるが故に氏号を白馬井と書たるを、後に鮫の字に改む。沙漠神龍変白馬、貞齊書、東溪星野氏於鎌倉烏川老人ニ画法ヲ学ブ、当時之名人也。