Ties of Resentment;, Drifting Clouds: Two Stories from Tsuga Teisho's Shigeshige yawa

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Ties of Resentment, Drifting Clouds:
Two Stories from Tsuga Teishō’s *Shigeshige yawa*

by

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BA, College of William and Mary, 2003

A thesis submitted to the
Faculty of the Graduate School of the
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This thesis entitled

Ties of Resentment, Drifting Clouds: Two Stories from Tsuga Teishō’s *Shigeshige yawa*

written by Alicia Foley

Has been approved by the Department of Asian Languages and Civilizations

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The final copy of this thesis has been examined by the signatories, and we find that both the content and the form meet acceptable presentation standards of scholarly work in the above mentioned discipline.
Tsuga Teishō, a writer and intellectual from 18\textsuperscript{th} century Japan, is known for his \textit{yomihon} – complex adaptations of Chinese vernacular fiction. This thesis offers annotated translations of two tales from Teishō’s second collection of adaptations, \textit{Kokon kidan shigeshige yawa} 古今奇談繁野話 (Strange Tales Then and Now of a Thriving Field, 1766). The stories are titled:

“Unkon unjō o katatsute hisashiki o chikau koto” 雲魂雲情を語て久久しく誓ふ話 (The Tale of Cloud Spirits Speaking of Their Clouded Feelings, and Making a Long-Term Promise) and

“Nakatsugawa nyūdō yamabushizuka o tsukashimuru koto” 中津川入道山伏塚を築しむる話 (The Tale of How the Nakatsugawa Lay Priest had the Mountain Ascetic Mound Built). In addition, I offer an analysis of “Nakatsugawa,” a story rooted in the history of Emperor Go-Daigo’s rebellion, and the Nanboku-chō period in Japan. I suggest that the fictional character Jirō is used in “Nakatsugawa” as a symbolic vengeful spirit, embodying the resentment felt by those who served the defeated Go-Daigo. In particular, Jirō is a substitute for war-hero and retainer of Go-Daigo, Kusunoki Masashige. I also examine Teishō’s interpretation of Go-Daigo’s defeat, suggesting that he was sympathetic to Go-Daigo but considered his defeat inevitable according to the Chinese concept of the Mandate of Heaven, in which an unworthy ruler will invariably be overthrown. Finally, I compare Teishō’s treatment of the Mandate of Heaven in “Nakatsugawa” with the concept’s treatment by contemporary and fellow \textit{yomihon} writer Ueda Akinari in his similar tale, “Shiramine” 白峰 (White Peak).
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Chapter One

Teishō in Context: The Social and Literary Trends of 18th Century Japan

Introduction

The 18th century author and scholar Tsuga Teishō 都賀庭鐘 (1718-ca. 1794) was best known for adapting the plots of Chinese vernacular stories to Japanese settings, creating rich and complex works meant to appeal to intellectual readers. Later literary scholars have labeled these works *yomihon* 読本.¹ In this thesis, I will be translating and annotating two of Teishō’s short stories, from his collection *Kokon kidan shigeshige yawa* 古今奇談繁野話 (Strange Tales Then and Now of a Thriving Field, 1766). The two stories are the first and fourth in the collection, titled “Unkon unjō o katatsute hisashiki o chikau koto” 雲魂雲情を語て久しくを誓ふ話 (The Tale of Cloud Spirits Speaking of Their Clouded Feelings, and Making a Long-Term Promise) and “Nakatsugawa nyūdō yamabushizuka o tsukashimuru koto” 中津川入道山伏塚を築しむる話 (The Tale of How the Nakatsugawa Lay Priest had the Mountain Ascetic Mound Built). These tales show Teishō’s skill and technique. In “Nakatsugawa,” he makes reference to Chinese classics and uses well-known figures from Japanese history to create a dialogue concerning the events of the Kenmu Restoration 建武新政 (1333-1336).² In “Unkon unjō,” he uses complex language to describe the natural formation of clouds, making use of the images

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¹ *Yomihon*, literally meaning “books for reading” were sophisticated works of prose fiction heavily influenced by Chinese vernacular tales. Tsuga Teishō and Ueda Akinari are known as two early *yomihon* writers. I will discuss *yomihon* in greater detail later in this section.

² The Kenmu Restoration involved the rebellion of Emperor Go-Daigo against the Kamakura military government. His short-lived victory allowed him to “restore” power to the imperial throne. The history of this period is summarized in: Paul Varley, *Warriors of Japan: As Portrayed in the War Tales* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994), 162-167.
commonly found in Chinese and Japanese poetry. In addition to the translation, I will be analyzing Teishō’s techniques and the major themes he addresses in the stories. I will also highlight Teishō’s attitude towards these themes by comparing “Nakatsugawa” with a similar story by Teishō’s contemporary Ueda Akinari 上田秋成 (1734-1809).³

The existing body of research on Tsuga Teishō, mostly by Japanese scholars, has focused on his similarities to, and possible influence on the better-known Akinari, as well as his status as a yomihon writer, and his use of Chinese vernacular fiction. For example, Tokuda Takeshi 徳田武, who generally refers to Teishō as the originator of the yomihon genre, has annotated Teishō’s Shigeshige yawa in the Shin nihon koten bungaku taikei series and has written a commentary for the work. Tokuda has also extensively analyzed Teishō’s adaptations of Chinese tales in his book, Nihon kinsei shōsetsu to chūgoku shōsetsu (Early Modern Japanese Stories and Chinese Stories).⁴ Nakamura Yukihiko 中村幸彦, in his book Kinsei sakka kenkyū (Study of Early Modern Authors), has created a time-line of Teishō’s life and has also written on yomihon and Akinari.⁵ Shigetomo Ki 重友毅, in his book Kinsei bungakushi no shomondai (The Various Issues of Early Modern Literary History), has also examined Teishō’s place as an originator of the yomihon genre and his influence on Akinari.⁶

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³ Akinari also wrote a collection of short stories, Ugetsu monogatari 雨月物語 (Tales of Moonlight and Rain, 1776), during the same time period. His similarities to Teishō will be further discussed later in the thesis.

⁴ Tokuda Takeshi, Nihon kinsei shōsetsu to chūgoku shōsetsu (Tokyo: Seishōdōshoten, 1988).

⁵ Nakamura Yukihiko, Kinsei sakka kenkyū (Tokyo: San’ichi Shobō, 1971). Nakamura is also the editor/annotator of the Nihon koten bungaku zenshū edition of Teishō’s Hanabusa zōshi.

Themes), focuses on the Japanese sources of Teishō’s works. He examines Teishō’s treatment of Prince Shōtoku 聖徳太子 (574-622) and the introduction of Buddhism to Japan in the Shigeshige yawa story “Moriya no shin zansei o sōmō ni hiku koto” 守屋の臣残生を草莽に引話 (How Retainer Moriya Spent the Rest of His Life Pulling Grass). He also looks at Teishō’s “Nakatsugawa” story, analyzing Teishō’s use of various military works and his apparent bias in favor of the Southern court.  

In my research, I analyze “Nakatsugawa” as a work of historical fiction. By examining “Nakatsugawa” closely in terms of the way Teishō uses the historical figure of Kusunoki Masashige 楠木正成 (1294-1336), in comparison to Masashige’s portrayal in the Taiheiki 太平記 (Record of the Great Peace, early 15th century), as well as Teishō’s use of the fictional character Uda Jirō 宇田次郎 as the story’s protagonist, I argue that Teishō has substituted Jirō for Masashige in the role of a symbolic vengeful ghost. My thesis also builds upon Inoue’s theory concerning Teishō’s bias favoring the Southern Court in “Nakatsugawa” and other works.  

I discuss Teishō’s opinion of the Southern Court – that it was the legitimate imperial line, but was destined to fall due to the loss of the Mandate of Heaven – as seen in “Nakatsugawa” and other stories, and how his treatment of the theme of resentment after a political or military

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8 A well-known warrior who fought on the side of the Southern Court before and after the Kenmu Restoration. I will describe Masashige in greater detail later in the introduction to my translation of “Nakatsugawa.”

9 A literary work that describes the events of Go-Daigo’s rebellion, the Kenmu Restoration, and Ashikaga Takaauji’s rise to power.

10 Inoue has pointed out several other Teishō stories that appear to show this bias. I will discuss these later in Chapter 5. Tokuda also suggests this bias in his commentary on Shigeshige yawa. Tokuda Takeshi, “Commentary,” in Shigeshige yawa. Kyokutei denki hanakanzashi. Saibara kidan. Toribeyama shirabeno itomichi, ed. Tokuda Takshi and Yokoyama Kunihari, Shin nihon koten bungaku taikei 80 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1992), 499-527.
loss (found throughout “Nakatsugawa”) compares with Akinari’s treatment of a similar theme in the story “Shiramine” 白峰 (White Peak).

Much of the previous research on Teishō’s yomihon focuses on his adaptations of Chinese vernacular tales. My research contributes to this body of scholarship with its close examination of “Nakatsugawa,” which was not directly based on a Chinese source, and has close ties to Japanese history. Also, there are very few English language works on Teishō. These are limited to references in Noriko Reider’s Tales of the Supernatural in Early Modern Japan: Kaidan, Akinari, Ugetsu Monogatari,11 which focuses on Akinari, and Leon Zolbrod’s article “Yomihon: The Appearance of the Historical Novel in Late Eighteenth Century and Early Nineteenth Century Japan”12 which focuses on Kyokutei Bakin 曲亭馬琴 (1767-1848), as well as brief mentions in works of Japanese literary history.13 I feel that my research will make a valuable addition to the English-language scholarship on Teishō and the early yomihon genre.

Social Structure of the Tokugawa Period

In order to provide context for Teishō’s work, I will examine the basic social and historical background of 18th century Japan. Teishō lived during the Tokugawa 徳川 era (1600-1867), during which Japan was united under the military rule of the shogunate.14 This

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14 The era is called “Tokugawa” for the Tokugawa family that successively held the position of shogun.
unification came after years of turmoil, and was a gradual process that began in the late 16\textsuperscript{th} century under warlords Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534-1582) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1537-1598). Hideyoshi, although never given the title of shogun, gained control over most of Japan, with all the regional lords (\textit{daimyo} 大名) swearing loyalty to him by 1590.\textsuperscript{15} However, he left a power vacuum with his death that was filled by Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1543-1616), who defeated his rivals at the battle of Sekigahara 関ヶ原 in 1600, and received the official title of shogun in 1603.

Under the Tokugawa shogunate, the country was divided into \textit{han} 藩, which were regions of land controlled by \textit{daimyo}, who were subordinate to the central government. The land was not truly owned by the \textit{daimyo}, but was distributed to them by the shogunate, who enacted various measures to keep them under strict control. \textit{Daimyo} were subject to a system of alternate attendance, which required them to spend every other year in Edo 江戸.\textsuperscript{16} This reduced the chance of rebellion, since the expense of dual residency and travel was a drain on the \textit{daimyo} resources. The alternate attendance also allowed the shogunate to keep a closer watch on \textit{daimyo}, and the \textit{daimyo} wives and children had to remain in Edo, essentially held hostage.\textsuperscript{17} There were various other ways in which the shogunate maintained control over the \textit{daimyo}, such as confiscating land if a \textit{daimyo} was not able to produce an heir and requiring the \textit{daimyo} to obtain shogunate permission before marriage, but the stringency of these measures

\textsuperscript{15} Hideyoshi also had himself adopted into the aristocratic Fujiwara family, and was made regent to the emperor, a position that further legitimized his authority. Conrad Schirokauer, \textit{A Brief History of Chinese and Japanese Civilizations}, 2nd ed. (New York: Harcourt College Publishers, 1989), 304-305.

\textsuperscript{16} Edo was the de facto capital, where the shogunate held government.

\textsuperscript{17} Schirokauer, 356-358.
varied depending on the ruling shogun.\textsuperscript{18} This system of control kept the country peaceful and stable for much of the Tokugawa era, allowing for economic prosperity and the growth of towns.

During the Tokugawa era society was rigidly divided into social classes consisting of samurai at the top of the social pyramid, then farmers, artisans and merchants.\textsuperscript{19} Merchants and artisans who lived in towns were commonly lumped together into a group called chōnin (町人), meaning “townspeople.” This system of strict social hierarchy began under Hideyoshi with the edict of 1591 that prohibited people from leaving one social class for another,\textsuperscript{20} and continued under the Tokugawa shogunate. Samurai were the only class given surnames or allowed to carry swords, and rules dictated even the clothing of each class.\textsuperscript{21} There were different standards of conduct for the groups, and different legal codes were used to judge them.\textsuperscript{22}

Despite the higher social class of the samurai, economic conditions began to push the merchants into a position of power in the late 17\textsuperscript{th} century, particularly after the opening of

\textsuperscript{18} For example, under Ietsuna 家綱 (1651-1680), the daimyo were allowed to make deathbed adoptions to produce an “heir,” and their land was confiscated less frequently. However, the next shogun, Tsunayoshi 綱吉 (1680-1709), enacted harsher laws. Schirokauer, 358.

\textsuperscript{19} Nobles, such as relatives of the imperial family, were treated separately. Priests were given a status equal to samurai. Haruo Shirane, \textit{Early Modern Japanese Literature : An Anthology, 1600-1900} (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 4-5.

\textsuperscript{20} Essentially, samurai were forbidden from becoming merchants or farmers, farmers were forbidden from becoming merchants, etc. Schirokauer, 305. However, this was not always rigidly enforced. Shirane writes that by the late 17\textsuperscript{th} century, second and third sons of farming families who would not inherit the land found work in towns and joined the merchant class. Shirane, 5.

\textsuperscript{21} Shirane, 4.

shipping lanes between Ōshū (in north-eastern Honshū) and Edo, and Sakata and Osaka in the 1670s established a national trade network. As towns grew, and commerce increased, merchants grew wealthier, while samurai, who depended on rice stipends for their subsistence, found themselves frequently in debt to this lower social class. The expansion of towns and increasing power of the merchants who populated them gave rise to new forms of entertainment and artistic expression. There were the licensed quarters of the courtesans, for example, as well as the theater districts meant to entertain the chōnin. In particular, kabuki and jōruri theater, commonly patronized by chōnin, became popular forms of entertainment. High culture activities like nō theater, and the tea ceremony were associated with samurai, but wealthy chōnin also pursued these elite arts, while samurai became interested in kabuki and jōruri. The flowering of culture in towns during the Tokugawa period came to represent a mixture of values from different social classes.

Intellectual Trends of the Tokugawa Period – Neo-Confucianism and Kokugaku

The extended period of peace and increased levels of education for the populace during the Tokugawa period also contributed to developments in philosophical thought. Education tended to be heavily based on Confucianism, but new trends emerged in the interpretation of Confucian classics. As an intellectual of Tokugawa era Japan, Teishō would have received a Confucian education, and been familiar with these developing trends. In particular, Teishō may have been influenced by the Kogakuha ( Ancient Learning movement) that was

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23 Shirane, 6.

24 Shirane, 14-15.
associated with Ogyū Sorai 資生徂徠 (1666-1728) and Itō Jinsai 伊藤仁斎 (1627-1705), which involved seeking meaning in the original Confucian classics and rejecting later commentaries. Nakamura Yukihiko suggests this influence in his timeline of Teishō’s life. Teishō studied medicine under Kagawa Shūan 香川修庵 (1683-1755), a physician who himself had studied Confucianism under Itō Jinsai, and who believed that knowledge of medicine and knowledge of Confucian principles were equally important in treating patients. It is therefore highly likely that Teishō studied Confucianism while apprenticed to Shūan, although Shūan’s records of his students do not list a Confucian teacher for Teishō. Nakamura speculates, based on Shūan’s association with Itō Jinsai, and Teishō’s own tendency to use dry, archaic language, that his teacher may have been part of the Kogakuha. To clarify the philosophical ideas that Teishō explores in his work, especially in “Nakatsugawa,” I will briefly present the tenets of Neo-Confucianism, which was prevalent during the Tokugawa era, and the Kogakuha that was a reaction against Neo-Confucianism. I will also refer to the Kokugaku 国学 (Nativist movement), which will provide a better understanding of the intellectual climate during the 18th century. This will be valuable because Ueda Akinari was associated with his studies in the Kokugaku movement.


Confucianism had been an important part of Japanese society since its introduction in 285 CE when copies of the Analects were brought from Korea. Neo-Confucianism, a movement founded by Zhu Xi (1130-1200) in China during the Song period (960-1279) came to Japan during the 12th century, but was not widely embraced until the Tokugawa period. Neo-Confucianism addressed a broad range of topics, from ethics to metaphysics. It attempted to explain the universe in terms of the rational principle *li* and the material force *qi*. The rational principle was thought to be the original human nature that guided one toward correct behavior. Neo-Confucianism also emphasized the five cardinal relationships that Confucianism valued – between lord and subject, father and son, husband and wife, elder brother and younger brother, friend and friend. These values helped to reinforce the social hierarchy that held people within their social classes.

One of the originators of the *Kogakuha*, which was a reaction against the prevailing ideas of Neo-Confucianism was Ogyū Sorai, who originally studied Zhu Xi’s works, but came to believe that Zhu Xi’s interpretations of Confucianism were incorrect. Instead of studying later interpretations, Sorai argued that scholars should return to the original documents of Confucianism, such as the Analects themselves, Records of the Historian, and the History of the Former Han, stating, “Whereas in ancient times there were sages, in modern times there are

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27 This date is cited in early Japanese works, but immigrants from Korea and China, who were coming to Japan in the 3rd century, may have brought Confucian ideas with them. Peter Nosco, “Introduction: Neo-Confucianism and Tokugawa Discourse,” in Confucianism and Tokugawa Culture, ed. Peter Nosco (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 5.

none. Thus must learning look to the past.”

Sorai felt that many problems in interpretation of the Confucian classics came from a misunderstanding of the language. In particular, Sorai felt that vernacular Chinese was important to understanding the culture that had produced these classics, and so emphasized the study of Chinese vernacular texts, which Japanese scholars had not given much attention to previously. These works of Chinese vernacular fiction were originally intended to aid in learning the language and understanding the classics, but became popular on their own merit as literature, leading to the adaptations that Teishō and Akinari would elevate to a high art.

Another important intellectual trend during the Tokugawa period was known as Kokugaku (Nativism), which focused on “native” ideas and practices that were believed to be distinctly Japanese and to have been prevalent before the interference of foreign ideas such as Buddhism and Confucianism. Kokugaku was similar to Kogakuha in that it advocated a return to “original” ideas from long ago, but Kokugaku sought to understand the true Japanese character, while Kogaku advocated a return to the ancient Chinese sources of Confucianism. In Kokugaku, Chinese ideas of government and scholarship were seen as foreign concepts imposed upon early Japan. In particular, Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730-1801) was a major proponent of this idea. He believed that before foreign influences came to Japan, people existed in a state of harmony with nature and the gods. This school of thought influenced


Ueda Akinari who was a scholar associated with Kokugaku. Although Akinari contradicted Norinaga’s ideas, Akinari’s participation in this movement can be seen in his heavy reliance on Japanese texts, such as *Genji monogatari* (Tale of Genji, ca. early 11th cent.) or *Kojiki* (Record of Ancient Matters, 712), which he frequently alludes to throughout his adaptations of Chinese vernacular stories.32

**Printing and Literature**

In order to better understand the milieu in which Teishō produced his writing, I will examine printing during the Tokugawa period. There was a great increase in printed material during the mid-to-late 17th century in particular, along with an increase in literacy and interest in education. This led to greater access to information for many different social classes as literacy spread, and also to the development of the “professional” writer who wrote for a mass audience.33

Up until the last part of the 16th century, printing was generally confined to Buddhist monasteries, and printed works were mainly Buddhist, with a few Confucian or Chinese classics also being issued. However, this changed with Hideyoshi’s 1592 military campaigns in Korea. Printing was more widespread in Korea, and the Japanese soldiers took home copper moveable type and printing presses.34 Initially the moveable type was only used by the elite to print private collections, and printed works were still not available to most people. However, in the

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33 Shirane, 10-11.
1630’s movable type was replaced by wood-block print, which was able to reproduce Japanese kana. Publishing gradually became a commercial venture, and flourished in the cities.\(^{35}\) Partially this was due to the novelty of printing, which had previously been carried out mostly by monasteries. Most people had not had printed works readily available before Hideyoshi’s Korea campaign.

Another factor that led to a flourishing of printing was the emphasis on education and learning during the Tokugawa period; increased literacy increased the demand for printed works. This rise in literacy was felt in every social class, even among peasants, who might be educated in the village terakoya 寺子屋 (local school). This is not to say that every farmer could read, but the fact that village administrators often came from the peasant class meant that there was a need for educated farmers in every village.\(^{36}\) For many chōnin as well, literacy was a matter of necessity, not luxury. In order for merchants to keep shop records, write up bills and contracts and calculate profits, they had to be literate. Of course the samurai class, meant to be the social and cultural elite, was expected to be literate and well-educated.\(^{37}\)

As printing became more widespread in the mid to late 17\(^{th}\) century, a great variety of educational and instructional materials was printed for all social classes. For samurai there were pamphlets on military tactics and strategy, works on law, and works on aspects of traditional culture, such as nō, or tea. There were also Chinese classics, commentaries, poetry


and histories, as well as classical Japanese literature. For the chōnin there were dictionaries and reference books, instruction in arts such as clothing design and cooking, and works of criticism or commentary on kabuki and jōruri. There were even guides to the licensed quarters, with critiques of tea houses and courtesans and etiquette guides for new-comers. There was a massive amount of eclectic information becoming available to people through printing. Teishō’s work reflects this aspect of Tokugawa era life, by making reference to not only classical literature, which the intellectual elite would be expected to know, but also making reference to materials intended for more common use, like illustrated guides to various regions, and weather manuals.

Tokugawa Era Genres of Prose Literature Before Teishō’s Yomihon

In terms of the development of Japanese prose literature, the first major genre of the Tokugawa period were works that were called kana-zōshi 仮名草子 (kana booklets) because they used mostly kana and a few Chinese characters. Kana-zōshi were fictional works, which frequently had a didactic message, but which were also intended to be entertaining. There were many types of stories told through kana-zōshi, including romances, funny anecdotes, ghost stories or supernatural tales. A well-known example is Uraminosuke 恨ノ介.

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38 Again, it should be recognized that there was a cross-over in cultural influence between the samurai and chōnin. The works listed are more commonly associated with samurai or chōnin, but there were also samurai who bought works on kabuki, and chōnin who studied works on tea, for example.


40 These will be described in greater detail in my annotations of “Nakatsugawa” and “Unkon unjō.”

41 In literary history, kana-zōshi generally refers to prose works produced between 1600 and 1682, when Saikaku’s Kōshoku ichidai otoko inaugurated the new genre of ukiyo-zōshi, as distinguished from kana-zōshi.
(Uraminosuke, ca. 1612), a tragic romance with Buddhist overtones that ends with both lovers dying of sadness and longing. Another is *Usuyuki monogatari* 薄雪物語 (The Story of Usuyuki, ca. 1612), also a romance that ends with the woman dying, and the man taking Buddhist vows. Among the comical tales are works like *Seisuishō* 醒睡笑 (Laughter that Wakes you From Sleep, 1628), a collection of humorous anecdotes, and *Nise monogatari* 仁勢物語 (Fake Tales, ca. 1640), a parody that closely follows the language of *Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語 (Tales of Ise, ca. 10th cent.). The best known kana-zōshi writer was Asai Ryō 浅井了意 (ca. 1612 – 1691), who has been called the first “professional writer” in Japan since he was able to make a living from writing without having to otherwise support himself. Asai Ryō wrote many types of works. His best known work was *Ukiyo monogatari* 浮世物語 (Tales of the Floating World, ca. 1661), which initially deals with the debauchery of a rich young man in the licensed quarters, but takes on a more serious tone to level criticism at greedy daimyo and merchants and outline the plight of both peasants and samurai who could not find employment. Although this work deals with the licensed quarters, it involves moral lessons and social criticism. Ryō also released a collection of ghost stories based on classical Chinese supernatural tales called *Otogi bōko* 御伽婢子 (Hand Puppets, 1666). Collections of supernatural tales were fairly popular, and works like this perhaps helped to pave the way for the weird tales of Teishō and Akinari, although the latter would focus on adaptations of vernacular rather than classical Chinese

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43 Keene, *World Within Walls*, 154-156.


45 Reider, 19.
works, and their adaptations would use a mixture of kana and Chinese characters. The didactic sensibilities of some works of kana-zōshi, which attempted to discuss serious topics as in Ryōi’s Ukiyo monogatari, can also be seen in Teishō’s works, in which plot is often secondary to intellectual debate between the characters.

The next major type of prose writing that rose out of the towns was known as ukiyo-zōshi 浮世草子 (Tales of the Floating World), so named for the attitude toward life that it embraced – the idea that life is fleeting, so one should seek pleasure and enjoy oneself. The genre addresses life in the towns and in the licensed quarters in less didactic terms than the kana-zōshi. The major writer of the genre is a prose writer from the merchant class, Ihara Saikaku 井原西鶴 (1642-1693). Originally a haikai renga 俳諧連歌 (linked-verse) poet, Saikaku carried this writing style over into his prose. Much as in a linked-verse poem, sentences often flow together without clear stopping or starting points in Saikaku’s stories, and plots meander. Aside from this, Saikaku’s work tends to be humorous and irreverent. Saikaku sometimes offers at least a pretense of moral instruction in his work, such as in his Honchō nijūfukō 本朝二十不孝 (Twenty Tales of Unfilial Children in Japan, 1686), which he claimed was intended to serve as a negative example and encourage pious behavior. Critics such as Noma Kōshin 野間光辰 have suggested that this work was intended as criticism of Tokugawa Tsunayoshi, shogun at the time of its publication, who placed sign-boards through the country encouraging filial piety.47

46 Haikai renga was a type of popular linked verse that was often more free-spirited, comic and vulgar than more traditional, rule-bound renga. See Kato, A History of Japanese Literature, vol. 2, 93-94.

47 Keene, World Within Walls, 185-186.
Another characteristic of Saikaku’s writing is his willingness to focus on the lives of the merchant class. Although some of his love stories involve romances with courtesans, others deal with ordinary chōnin women. Saikaku also wrote stories dealing with the day-to-day lives of merchants in their constant mission to make (or squander) a fortune. He describes habits of successful merchants, who work from sun-up to sun-down, and avoid the slightest waste or overindulgence, as well as those who spend foolishly (often the sons of the same prudent, successful merchants). He devotes an entire book to anecdotes of people trying to avoid their creditors on the last day of the year, as well as the creditors’ attempts to track them down.48

Saikaku was succeeded by others who wrote in the same vein, such as Ejima Kiseki 江島其碻 (1666/67-1735/36), who became especially known for character sketches. Kiseki also wrote detailed descriptions of the lives of the chōnin. This focus on the lives and interests of the merchants by Saikaku and Kiseki was a new development in Japanese literature.49 This new focus seems to reflect the changing times, as towns grew and more people experienced urban life. However, Teishō’s works ignore the chōnin class, focusing instead on historical figures – warriors, emperors and government officials. Teishō appears to have been influenced more by classical works and Chinese vernacular tales than the ukiyo-zōshi.

**Tokugawa Period Genres of Prose Literature - Yomihon**

The term yomihon is applied to works in the early modern period – generally from the mid-18th to the 19th century – that contained mostly text with few pictures. Initially, the term

48 Debts were supposed to be collected by the last day of the year, in order to clear the books for the start of the new year. Keene, World Within Walls, 198-200.

was only used to distinguish books meant “for reading” from the picture-based books that were more popular (kana-zōshi, which often had illustrations, and kibyōshi 黄表紙, which were essentially comic books). Literary scholars such as Nakamura Yukihiro have since identified other characteristics of yomihon, as follows. First, they have an interesting plot. Second, they must have some verisimilitude. Third, they generally use wakan konkō-bun 和漢混交文, a term for Japanese writing mixed with Chinese characters. Fourth, they have some historical elements. Fifth, they have characters with consistent personalities. Sixth, they embrace the concept of kanzen chōaku 勧善懲悪, meaning “punishing wickedness and rewarding goodness,” an aspect that gave many of the works a didactic quality. In addition, yomihon were often influenced by Chinese vernacular tales.

The narratives of Teishō and Akinari are often called early yomihon, as they essentially developed the genre through their unique stories, which embody the characteristics listed above. It should be noted that there are distinct differences between the early yomihon of Teishō and Akinari, which developed during the mid-18th century in the Kyoto/Osaka area, and the later yomihon of the early 19th century written by Bakin and Santō Kyōden 山東京伝 (1761-1816) in Edo. Bakin’s work also has intellectual and didactic qualities, but his most famous work is a multi-volume epic story instead of a series of tales. His yomihon adapted the plots of longer Chinese vernacular novels, such as Shuihū zhuan 水滸伝 (The Water Margin ca. mid-16th

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50 Reider, 25.
An Introduction to Tsuga Teishō

The first author to produce works that would later be classified as *yomihon* was Tsuga Teishō, whose complex stories adapted from Chinese sources stood out from picture-centered books meant for popular consumption. Teishō adapted the Chinese vernacular tales to a Japanese setting, wrote in the *wakan konkō-bun* mix of Chinese and Japanese, and filled his stories with references to both Chinese and Japanese classics and history. He wrote under several pseudonyms; for the work *Shigeshige yawa*, which I am examining in this study, he used the pseudonym Kinro Gyōja 近路行者 (Follower of the Short Path). He was an Osaka physician, intellectual, and scholar of Chinese writings. He studied Confucianism and medicine, but pursued many intellectual and artistic interests. Nakamura Yukihiro has pieced together a timeline of Teishō’s life based on documents (including introductions he wrote for works of other people), showing that Teishō was also associated with Ōeda Ryūhō 大枝流芳, a master of incense in Kyoto in addition to learning Chinese style medicine from Kagawa Shūan in the 1730’s. The various works that Teishō published reflected his eclectic interests and wide

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51 *Shuihū zhuan* was also adapted by early *yomihon* writer Takebe Ayatari 建部綾足 (1719-1774), as *Honchō suikoden* 本朝水滸伝 (Japanese Water Margin, 1773), so adapting longer Chinese vernacular novels is not a characteristic only of later *yomihon* writers.


range of learning. He used his knowledge of medical practice to write *Tsūzoku iō kiba den* 通俗医王耆婆伝 (The Biography of the Doctor Old Maid, 1736) and he authored a manual on engraving called *Zen tōmyōfu* 全唐名譜 (Genealogy of Chinese Names, 1741).54

However, Teishō is remembered in Japanese literary history particularly for his three collections of short narratives in the early *yomihon* genre. Many of these narratives were adaptations of Chinese vernacular tales.55 These collections were: *Kokon kidan hanabusa zōshi* 古今奇談花草紙 (Strange Tales Then and Now of a Garland, 1749), *Kokon kidan shigeshige yawa*, and *Kokon kidan hitsujigusa* 古今奇談莠句冊 (Strange Tales Then and Now of Deceptive Weeds, 1786). Although these works were published over a period of nearly fifty years, it is believed that he originally wrote the stories within a shorter span of time. Nakamura Yukihiko places the time period of the writing between the Genbun 元文 (1736-1741) and Enkyō 延享 (1744-1748) eras. This is largely based on Teishō’s preface to *Shigeshige yawa*, in which he claims that he wrote the stories thirty years ago, and on the preface to *Hitsujigusa*, in which he places the time of writing the thirty “weird tales” at the start of the Enkyō era.56

These collections of narratives all bear the title *Kokon kidan* 古今奇談 meaning, basically, “Weird Tales Past and Present.” This kind of narrative, a “weird tale” dealing with

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54 Nakamura, *Kinsei sakka kenkyū*, 153-166.

55 Teishō drew mainly from three Chinese story collections from the Ming dynasty – *Jing shi tong yan* (Stories to Caution the World), *Gu jin xiao shuo* (Stories Old and New), and *Xing shi heng yan* (Stories to Awaken the World).

56 The *Shigeshige yawa* preface would place the writing of the stories in 1736, counting back thirty years from *Shigeshige yawa*’s publication in 1766. The reference in *Hitsujigusa* would put the stories’ writing in 1741-1742. Nakamura Yukihiko, *Kinsei sakka kenkyū*, 155.
supernatural or unusual events, was popular during the Edo period. Most “weird tales” were relatively simple, and it was Teishō who elevated these narratives through his adaptations of Chinese vernacular tales. In his adaptations, he produced complex works of fiction, littered with references to Chinese and Japanese history, poetry, and classics such as the Dao de jing 道徳経 (The Classic of the Way, ca. 6th cent. BCE). The narratives do not simply tell a tale, but often have a didactic message, or incorporate extensive intellectual discussion. These discussions cover many topics: for example, one story deals with a minister attempting to rebuke Emperor Go-Daigo for his poor governance during the Kenmu restoration, while another story delves into the history of koto music.

Teishō’s stories are often said to have been an inspiration to Ueda Akinari, the more famous writer of strange tales whose work Ugetsu monogatari 雨月物語 (Tales of Moonlight and Rain, 1776) is remembered as a classic of the era. Of course, both Teishō and Akinari used the same technique of adapting Chinese vernacular fiction to create complex supernatural tales. However, there are also similarities in structure between Ugetsu monogatari and Teishō’s collections of short fiction (Hanabusa zōshi and Shigeshige yawa), and there are similar themes addressed in some of the stories. Akinari and Teishō’s work stands out from the other prose fiction of the era. Their use of Chinese sources as well as the many references and extensive discussion of various topics found in the stories, which would appeal to intellectual readers, led to the classification of their work as a distinct new genre, the yomihon.

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57 Reider, 7-10.

58 Takebe Ayatari should also be included among the early yomihon writers, however, I do not address his works in detail in this thesis, since I am focusing on Teishō, and his potential influence on Akinari.
Chapter 2

Translation of “Nakatsugawa nyūdō yamabushizuka o tsukashimuru koto”

Introduction and Historical Background

The first story I translated for this study is called “Nakatsugawa nyūdō yamabushizuka o tsukashimuru koto 中津川入道山伏塚を築しむる話 (The Nakatsugawa lay priest builds a mound to the mountain ascetic). It is the fourth story in Tsuga Teishō’s story collection Kokon kidan Shigeshige yawa 古今奇談繁野話 (Strange Tales Then and Now of a Thriving Field, 1766). Although many of these stories were based on adaptations of Chinese vernacular tales, there was apparently no Chinese source for this story. Instead it is based upon the historical events of the Kenmu Restoration/Nanboku-chō 南北朝 time period, on the account of those events chronicled in the Taiheiki, and on various rumors and interpretations of the events of this time period. To better explain the references in this story, I would first like to introduce the historical events being discussed, and the Taiheiki, which is heavily referenced throughout the story.

Teishō’s story draws greatly upon the history of the Kenmu Restoration and the Nanboku-chō period, in which Japan was divided between the Northern and Southern imperial courts. Japan had been under military rule since the events of the Genpei War 源平 led to the establishment of the shogunate under Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝 (1147-1199) in 1192.

The imperial family was still a respected institution, at least in theory, but had no real power. However, in 1272, the death of Retired Emperor Go-Saga 後嵯峨 (1220-1272) without an officially declared heir led to a succession dispute between two of his sons, which the Kamakura shogunate 鎌倉幕府 settled by arranging for an alternate succession between the sons’ respective branches of the family, which became known as the senior and junior imperial lines.\footnote{The two sons were Emperor Kameyama 亀山天皇 (1249-1305), whose descendants formed the junior line, and Emperor Go-Fukakusa 後深草天皇 (1243-1304), whose descendants made up the senior line. Although Kameyama’s son was crown prince and Kameyama was reigning emperor at the time of Go-Saga’s death, it was not clear if imperial succession was to remain in Kameyama’s family line, or to revert back to Go-Fukakusa’s family line. Andrew Edmund Goble, Kenmu: Go-Daigo’s Revolution (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 4-16.} Tensions came to a head in 1318 with the ascension of Go-Daigo 後醍醐天皇 (1288-1339), from the junior line. Go-Daigo had ambitions to not only continue imperial succession through his own line, shutting out the senior branch, but to overthrow the military government and restore actual authority to the position of emperor, so that he would no longer serve as a mere figurehead.

Go-Daigo was aided in his ambitions by the decline of the Kamakura shogunate, which was largely dominated by the powerful Hōjō 北条 family serving as regents to the shogun.\footnote{At this point the shogun himself had largely become a figurehead. The position of shogun was generally drawn from the Minamoto family, and shoguns often assumed the position at a very young age, “advised” by the Hōjō regents.} The shogunate was often accused of corruption and injustice. Regional leaders, especially military warlords who felt unrewarded after their efforts to drive away the Mongol invaders in 1274 and 1281 had become dissatisfied with the central government. In 1331, when Go-Daigo was implicated in a plot against the shogunate he fled to the Buddhist temple on Mt. Kasagi.
笠置山，which was attacked and burned by forces of the shogunate. Go-Daigo was later captured, and exiled to the Oki Islands 隠岐諸島 in 1332.62

However, by this time regional warlords had rallied to his cause, and they continued to attack the shogunate forces. In particular, key figures during this time period were Kusunoki Masashige, a regional leader who used his knowledge of the lay of the land in the Kawachi 河内 province (now part of the Osaka metropolitan area) where his family lived to engage in guerilla tactics against the shogunate army; Nitta Yoshisada 新田義貞 (1301-1338), another powerful regional warlord; and Prince Morinaga 護良親王 (1308-1335), the son of Go-Daigo. These important figures are also key characters in the Taiheiki, and are personages featured or frequently referenced in Teishō’s “Nakatsugawa.” These three loyalists were joined by Ashikaga Takauji 足利尊氏 (1305-1358), another regional warlord who was originally sent against Go-Daigo, but who changed sides to support the emperor. In 1333, Go-Daigo was able to escape from the Oki islands and return to Kyoto, while his supporters destroyed the Kamakura shogunate, and essentially wiped out the Hōjō family. The country entered a time period known as the Kenmu Restoration (referring to the restoration of imperial power) governed directly by Emperor Go-Daigo.63

Victory was short-lived, as Go-Daigo’s supporters were soon dissatisfied with his rule and resentful at the lack of reward for their efforts. Go-Daigo was accused of indulging himself and living in luxury while the country was still recovering from warfare. Ashikaga Takauji finally

62 The history of this time period is summarized in Varley, 162-167.
63 Varley, 162-167.
rebelled against Go-Daigo, setting up a new government in Kamakura and refusing to return to Kyoto. The loyalist forces of Yoshisada and Masashige fought against Takauji, but were ultimately unable to defeat him. Masashige was defeated at the battle of Minatogawa 湊川, a military engagement that he had cautioned Go-Daigo against, and committed suicide. Takauji was able to drive Go-Daigo into the mountains of Yoshino 吉野, and he forced the transfer of imperial power to another royal descendent who claimed only a symbolic position while the Ashikaga shogunate ruled the land. Go-Daigo still claimed imperial authority, so the country was divided in loyalty between the Southern Court of Go-Daigo and his descendants, and the Northern Court presided over by a puppet emperor but controlled by the shogunate. This situation finally ended in 1392, when the Southern Court relinquished power.64

These events are chronicled in the work known as the Taiheiki, which describes the major historical events (Go-Daigo’s rebellion, Takauji’s betrayal, the battle of Minatogawa and Kusunoki Masashige’s death), along with miraculous or mythical occurrences (prophetic dreams, vengeful spirits, divine assistance from gods) that give the work the qualities of a legend. Like other war stories such as Heike monogatari 平家物語 (Tale of the Heike, late 14th century), the work is neither entirely fact nor entirely fiction. The authorship is not known for certain, and Paul Varley has suggested that the work may have begun at the hands of Go-Daigo supporters, but been later edited by Ashikaga supporters.65 The work was treated both as a historical record, and as entertainment. In addition, during the Edo period, there were Taiheiki-yomi 太平記読み sessions in which sections of the work were chanted or read aloud. People attending

64 Varley, 162-167.
65 Varley, 169-172.
the sessions would often debate the political or military philosophy found in the passages.⁶⁶

During these sessions, the *Taiheiki* was treated as something for the audience to engage with, not passively listen to, an attribute that may have contributed to Teishō’s interest in the story.

Teishō’s story takes place during the reign of Northern Court emperor Go-Kōgon 後光厳天皇 (1338-1374), a time period that ranges from 1362-1374. The country is still divided between the Northern and Southern Courts, although the Southern Court’s power is waning, and the country is largely dominated by the Ashikaga shogunate.⁶⁷ In fact, many former Southern Court supporters have been forced into hiding. The main character in the story is one such supporter. A fictional former retainer of Prince Morinaga whose real name is Yatajūrō Yoshitoyo 矢田十郎義登, he is living under the assumed name of Uda Jirō, but secretly longs to avenge the death of Morinaga, destroy the Ashikaga shogunate and restore the glory of the Southern Court.

The story can be said to be divided into two different parts, in which Uda Jirō encounters and debates with two different historical personages. First, Jirō recognizes that his teacher Sakurazaki Sahyōe 桜崎左兵衛, a scholar in the literary and military arts, is actually the Southern Court war hero Kusunoki Masashige, who secretly faked his own death and went into hiding.⁶⁸ Jirō attempts to persuade Masashige to lead a revolt against the Ashikaga shogunate,

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⁶⁷ At this point, Emperor Go-Daigo has already passed away, having died in 1339, but a Southern court emperor, either Go-Murakami 後村上天皇 or Chokei 長慶天皇 still “reigns” at Yoshino.

⁶⁸ This legend is found in the Edo period work *Heika chawa* 兵家茶話 (Warriors Chat over Tea, 1720) by Hinatsu Shigetada. It is not clear whether the legend also comes from other sources, but Inoue Yasushi mentions in his book, *Ugetsu monogatari ron*: 
but Masashige refuses. Jirō then disguises himself as a mountain ascetic and goes to appeal to another former comrade, Akamatsu Sokuyū 赤松則祐 (1311-1371). Sokuyū has become a lay priest (nyūdō 入道) at Nakatsugawa, and he also refuses Jirō’s scheme to rise up against the military government. As they walk together outside, Jirō attacks Sokuyū, who is forced to kill him. Sokuyū (the Nakatsugawa nyūdō of the title) then has a mound built for Jirō in hope of pacifying his spirit. Later, ghostly flames are seen around the mound, and it is said that anyone who sees them will always be able to realize his ambition.

Despite the occasional fight, the story involves more talk than action. The plot itself deals with an interesting rumor (that of Masashige’s survival at Minatogawa), but seems to exist more for the debate that it facilitates. Masashige spends a long time deciding to reject Jirō’s plan, and speaks extensively of his own role in the events of the Kenmu restoration. This re-examination and re-evaluation of history seems to be a major aspect of the work. In addition, there are many references to classical Chinese history and literature, and to Japanese works such as the Taiheiki throughout the story. Teishō clearly expected an educated reader who would be able to catch these kinds of references. There are also references to local phenomena of Osaka – such as the mound itself, which was apparently known to townspeople at the time. This gives the story an extra layer of interest, that of not only exploring a historical rumor, but also explaining a local monument.

gensen to shudai that the work gathers strange theories about history and military stories from many different sources and examines them. Inoue, 99-100.

For the remainder of this thesis, I will refer to them as Jirō, Masashige, and Sokuyū in my analysis to avoid the confusion of the assumed names. However, in the translation I will refer to them by the names used in the text, which means Masashige will be called Sakurazaki. Jirō is called Jirō for much of the text, but his name reverts to Yoshitoyo for the last few pages.

This is mentioned in Tokuda, “Commentary,” 522. Also in Tokuda, “Annotations to Nakatsugawa,” 45, n. 21.
The abundance of references to other works or to historical figures has presented quite a challenge in translation. I have tried to avoid adding explanations within the translated text, and have instead used footnotes when it was necessary, for example, to identify a name dropped by either Jirō or Masashige. If a line includes a reference to a classical work, I have attempted to incorporate some language of that work into the translation without interrupting the flow of the story. There are several instances when Teishō uses Chinese words, sometimes adding a Japanese reading next to the Chinese word, which adds extra layers of connotation. If a word holds more than one meaning (especially if the kanji hold one meaning, and the hiragana pronunciation that Teishō provides holds another), I have tried to incorporate both in the translation.
Translation: Nakatsugawa

The Tale of How the Nakatsugawa Lay Priest Had the Mountain Ascetic Mound Built

It was during the time that the Ashikaga shogunate was gradually consolidating its power. During the reign of Emperor Go-Kōgon in the Northern Court of Kyoto, there was a man from Seishūtado called Sakurazaki Sahyōe. Known far and wide for both literary scholarship and military arts, he had many disciples. Among them was a masterless samurai called Uda Jirō, who had been with him for around three years. This fellow was somewhat superficial and would prattle on oblivious to others’ reactions. One day when he and Sahyōe were alone together, Jirō took the opportunity to ask:

“Is it true what people say? That the famous Nankō, loyal retainer of the Southern Court whose military prowess is known throughout the land, governor of Settsu 摂津, Kawachi 河内 and Izumi 和泉, a lieutenant-general who was awarded the lower third rank of honor – is it true he faked his own death at the battle of Minatogawa and abandoned his

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71 The term used here is 貞治応安, a combination of two period names used by the Northern Court. The first, 貞治 (Jōji) covers the time period from 1362-1368. The second, 応安 (Ōan) covers the time period from 1368-1374. It is not clear exactly when, within that range of years, this story is meant to take place, but the Northern Court Emperor reigning for most of that period was Go-Kōgon, so I have used his name within the story to set a time. Daijisen, 1311, 324, s.vv. “Jōji,” “Ōan.”


73 Nankō – Nankō, an honorific title for Masashige based on the character 楠 (which can be pronounced both nan and kusunoki) in the family name Kusunoki. Daijisen, 1999, s.v. “Nankō.”

74 These province names are abbreviated in the text, but Tokuda’s annotations confirm that the text refers to the provinces of Settsu, Kawachi and Izumi, over which Kusunoki had a military governorship. Tokuda, “Nakatsugawa,” 35, n. 18.

75 A translation of the term 中将, meaning lieutenant general, and the term 従三位, or lower third rank.
duty? People say he changed his name, and now lives as a teacher. Over the years, I have been watching you closely; you are no ordinary man. Although it is true that I was not there with you at that crucial battle, I too was a warrior for the Southern Court. I was called Yatajūrō Yoshitoyo, but I slipped through the cracks when Prince Morinaga was sent into exile. Since this is my home province I have returned here, and have been living a lonely, miserable existence in hiding. Since his exile, all the land has bowed under the powerful wind of the Ashikaga shogunate. As the Southern Court declines with each passing day, we former retainers grit our teeth in frustration day and night. If this sad state of affairs also fills you with resentment, know that you are not alone. The commander-turned-priest, Akamatsu Sokuyū, has established a stronghold at Nakatsugawa in Settsu, where he protects the land-holdings of the Akamatsu family. Surely an incomparable former comrade like Sokuyū has not forgotten

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76 According to Tokuda’s annotations, this phrase 御大事の時節 (important or crucial time) refers to the Battle of Minatogawa in which Kusunoki Masashige (supposedly) committed suicide. Tokuda, “Nakatsugawa,” 35, n. 19. Jirō was not at that particular battle, but he emphasizes that he is still one of Masashige’s comrades, loyal to the Southern Court.

77 Tokuda suggests that the surname of this character is based on that of an actual retainer of Prince Morinaga mentioned in the Taiheiki – Yata Hikoshichi. Otherwise, the character appears to be completely fictional. Tokuda, “Nakatsugawa,” 35, n. 20.

78 Prince Morinaga, son of Go-Daigo and supporter of the Southern Court, was exiled to Kamakura in 1334, and executed in 1335. A summary of these events can be found in Varley, 209-210.

79 The word used here, kasuka ni 魁に - can mean lonely or quiet, but also shabby, meager. Since Jirō seems to be unhappy hiding in exile, I tried to use both potential meanings to suggest that he is leading a miserable existence.

80 This phrase referring to the Ashikaga shogunate’s influence as “wind” borrows from the Confucian Analects, which describe the common people as grass, the gentleman as the wind, and states that grass must bend when the wind passes over it. It is interesting that this phrase is used, since it places the shogunate in the position of “gentleman,” but Jirō seems to be referring more to the inescapable, oppressive nature of the shogunate than to class status. See Confucius, The Analects of Confucius, trans. Arthur Waley (New York: Random House, 1938), 168. The reference is noted in Tokuda, “Nakatsugawa,” 35, n.22.

81 Akamatsu Sokuyū (third son of Akamatsu Norimura) was a warrior who first supported Go-Daigo, but later switched sides and began supporting the Ashikaga. Jirō does not really address this issue, but assumes later that Sokuyū will be on his side. Historically, Sokuyū was a supporter of Buddhism, and became a lay priest. Nihon daihyakkazensho (Nipponica), on-line ed., s.v. “Akamatsu Sokuyū,” (accessed April, 2011) and Kokugo daijiten, on-line ed., s.v., “Akamatsu Sokuyū.” (accessed April, 2011) Sokuyū is the Nakatsugawa Nyūdō (Lay Priest of Nakatsugawa) of the story’s title, as his family’s stronghold was at Nakatsugawa.
the Southern Court in his heart. Saburō Takanori of Bingo 備後の三郎高徳 is alive and in hiding somewhere; we sometimes exchange letters. Naturally, we both lament the decay of the Southern Court. Kikuchi 菊池 of Kyushu 九州 has been reduced to a fraction of his former strength, but I’m sure his chivalrous spirit has not diminished. Nitta Yoshiharu 新田義治 is alive and under house-arrest, although I don’t know where. Even now, if there was someone willing to lead them, I’m sure they would be willing to gather on horseback under your command, and rise in revolt together. Will you consider this?”

Sahyōe looked truly taken aback as he responded, “I have already heard the rumors suggesting that I am really Kusunoki. Still, for someone like myself, whose origins are well-known, there is no cause for alarm. Various unfounded rumors are able to spread because the people of the world like you have no understanding of military affairs. Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 of the Shu Han 蜀 dynasty sent his troops out from Mt. Qi 祁山 countless times, but even his infallible techniques for victory were like a fleeting dream. The power of the Kingdom of Wei 魏 expanded daily, so if he did nothing, the Wei would overwhelm them, and the kingdom would be in danger. Zhuge Liang’s strategy was to cultivate the spirit of his country by

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82 Saburō Takanori of Bingo Province, together with Yoshiharu Nitta (a nephew of famous Go-Daigo supporter Yoshisada) attempted to kill Ashikaga Takauji, but failed. Tokuda cites the Taiheiki in his annotations. Tokuda, “Nakatsugawa,” 35, n. 27.

83 Tokuda here points to Kikuchi Kaketomo, who fought on behalf of the Southern Court (serving Princes Kaneyoshi and Yoshinari) against Kyushu commissioner Imagawa Sadayo. Tokuda, “Nakatsugawa,” 35, n. 28.

84 Zhuge Liang (181-234) was chief advisor to Liu Bei 劉備 of the Shu Han dynasty during the Three Kingdoms period (220-280) (and a major character in Romance of the Three Kingdoms). He was known as an extremely clever strategist. During the last years of his life, he launched several Northern campaigns against the Kingdom of Wei, fearing that they would overpower the Shu Han kingdom if left unconquered. He was ultimately unable to fulfill this ambition, and died during one of the campaigns. His fears later came true, as the Shu Han were overthrown by the Wei. See: Luo Guanzhong, Three Kingdoms: A Historical Novel, trans. Moss Roberts, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 694-810.

85 In other words, his strategy and techniques did not work.
expanding their power over the Wei. Having become the country’s prime minister, what anguish he must have gone through as his plans failed. No matter how great one’s foe might be, one must have the wisdom to understand the enemy. If we have this wisdom, there are no counter-measures that can be said to be sufficient against our army. However, this is a time of great turmoil and military disturbances, and many things are happening, even outside of what one can anticipate. You’re hearing the story of this foolish old man, but long ago, there was a certain someone from the clan of Haji named Kazuraki-ō 葛城王 who for the first time was awarded the surname of Tachibana 橘. For some reason, it was the name of Kazuraki-ō’s maternal relatives that was passed on. A branch of the family tree split off with Chief Councilor Yoshifuru 好古, eventually arriving at his eighth generation descendant, Lord Kusunoki. Although he was small, weak and possessed little ability, he became one of the preeminent men in the Emperor’s forces. Using his knowledge of the lay of the land in Kawachi where his family has deep roots, he was able to repel a powerful enemy.

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86 The Japanese only reads, “what anguish he must have gone through,” “いかばかり心苦しからん,” (“he” being Zhuge Liang). Since the anguish seemed to be from his strategies failing repeatedly against the Wei, I wanted to be sure that was clear in the text.

87 I have translated the phrase, 時変あり兵変ありて as “a time of great turmoil and military disturbances.” 時変 could also mean that times have changed, but since the conflict between the Northern/Southern Courts has not officially ended yet, it could be safely said that it is a time of turmoil and conflict.

88 Tokuda states in his annotations that Kusunoki Masashige was a descendant of Nara-period court official Tachibana no Moroe (original name Kazuraki-ō). Tokuda, “Nakatsu-gawa,” 37, n. 1. Tachibana appears to be his mother’s family name. This is an explanation of the history of how the Kusunoki family received its name, and is not Teishō’s invention, but has been suggested in historical research on Masashige. Varley, 182.

89 Masashige (or, Sahyōe) refers to “Lord Kusunoki” when he speaks of his own past actions. Although the reader is clearly meant to recognize this character as Kusunoki Masashige, he does not overtly admit to who he is, and uses third person when speaking of himself in the past.

90 Presumably the forces of the Kamakura shogunate, which he fought on his own turf in a guerilla style, although it could also refer to Ashikaga Takauji. See Varley, 184-185, for information about Masashige’s style of fighting.
military secrets, he was obeyed by all under his command, even when his fierceness gave him the appearance of a demon. In the midst of great hardship he was able to gradually refine his strategy. Together with his loyal, courageous troops, he defended against the massive force of the enemy. When his wisdom was not up to the task, he entrusted events to the principle of destiny. Even if he had to face the enemy alone and shoulder the burden of responsibility for the country of Japan, he would gladly do it. For Masashige, dying in battle would be merely the loss of one life. Whatever was asked of him, he dedicated his life to service and his loyalty never faltered. Working for the Imperial army with all of his vigor, he managed to gain them a respite. At the beginning of Ashikaga Takauiji’s plot to overthrow the Emperor, he managed to drive Takauiji to the four seas. He even offered to retake the capital from a position on Mt. Hiei. Masashige’s name was not dishonored, but things progressed according to the tides of fate. From the time of that fateful battle at Minatogawa, far from the capital, the punishments and rewards have not been meted out equally. Although Lord Nitta is called a great man, the power of his clan has been greatly reduced from what it first was, and he could

91 This comment refers to the image of Masashige as a brilliant strategist, which was prevalent during the Tokugawa period. There were even forged pamphlets attributed to Masashige that taught “Kusunoki-style” tactics. Hattori Yukio et al., eds., “Kusunoki Masashige,” in Nihon kokkō denshō jinmei jiten, (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2000), 184.

92 This line about “one life” may refer to a scene in the Taiheiki just before Masashige kills himself at Minatogawa, in which Masashige wishes he could be reborn seven times into the same life to destroy the enemies of the emperor. The implication here seems to be that losing merely his one life would be a minor thing, something he’d gladly do for his country.

93 The reference to the “four seas” here refers to a point in the war in which Masashige and Nitta Yoshiisada were able to drive Ashikaga all the way to Kyushu. Tokuda, “Nakatsugawa,” p. 37, n. 6, and Varley, 193-194.

94 This likely refers to the time shortly before the battle of Minatogawa, when Masashige suggested to Go-Daigo that they abandon the capital and flee to Mt. Hiei then retake it later. In the Taiheiki, Masashige was willing to lose a battle in order to win the war, but Go-Daigo did not heed his advice. Instead, he ordered the disastrous battle of Minatogawa, which Masashige loyally participated in, knowing that he was sure to die. Varley, 194.

95 Nitta Yoshiisada, one of the major supporters of Go-Daigo. See Daijisen, 2021, s.v. “Nitta.” and Varley, 199-204.
not stand against Takauji. Even while the Hōjō clan,\footnote{The Hōjō family, who controlled the Kamakura shogunate through their regency, were largely wiped out during the battles leading up to the Kenmu Restoration, but a few remained at this time. Varley. 165.} stubbornly continued to fight as their family fortunes declined, Takauji had a sudden, precipitous rise to power. He is not necessarily an unbeatable enemy, but when one looks at the grand scheme of things, he seems destined to prevail.\footnote{Masashige uses lines such as this about destiny influencing the outcome of the war several times in this monologue. He seems to believe that Takauji’s victory was inevitable.} Since a military advantage was not seized from the very start, things have arrived at this point, and people’s spirits are waning. The only thing that people can see ahead of them is death in battle. Already, Kusunoki’s heir Masatsura 正行,\footnote{Masatsura, Masashige’s eldest son, died in battle while supporting the Southern Court. Masashige’s parting with Masatsura before his own death at Minatogawa is a poignant scene often depicted on the stage. Masatsura is seen as an excellent example of a filial son for his devotion to his father’s cause. See Varley, 205-208.} who had a sickly disposition and who decided that he would rather serve the imperial cause than die of illness, has fallen in battle at the age of twenty at the base of Mt. Iimori 飯盛山. Although this is indeed unfortunate, his death can serve as a model. For a warrior, choosing a master is the most important thing in life. For this reason, the “Yellow Rock Old Man 黃石公”\footnote{This character, whose name translates as “Yellow Rock Old Man,” (黄石公, Japanese: Kösekikō, Chinese: Huang Shigong). He figures in a legendary incident in the life of 張良, called Chōryō by the Japanese, and probably better known to English speakers by his Chinese name, Zhang Liang. Zhang Liang was a great strategist who served as advisor to Liu Bang (Emperor Gao/Gaozu of the Han Dynasty) during the overthrow of the Qin Dynasty, and the founding of the Han. Zhang Liang encountered “Yellow Rock Old Man” after becoming a fugitive from the government. As the story goes, the old man threw his shoe off a bridge and ordered Zhang Liang to fetch it and put it back on his foot. After Zhang Liang did this without complaint, the old man then offered to teach Zhang Liang if he would come back to the bridge at dawn on a certain day. Each time Zhang Liang did this, however, the old man was there first, and yelled at Zhang Liang for being tardy. Finally, he went to the bridge at midnight and waited for dawn. Then the old man decided he was worthy, and gave him a book of military secrets and strategies that he was able to use to help Liu Bang found the Han dynasty. See Records of the Grand Historian of China: Translated from the Shih chi of Ssu-ma ch’ien, trans. Burton Watson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 2:135-136.} threw down his shoe and made Zhang Liang 張良 pick it up. Even as the old man trampled on Zhang Liang’s pride, he told Zhang Liang to use his heart, and then taught him hidden, secret techniques.
Lord Kusunoki, whom Go-Daigo relied upon, understood from the very beginning that it all comes down to fate. In the end he saw the change in fortune and served his lord until the end. If his spirit were here, I’m sure he would laugh at your foolishness. However, it is difficult to just carelessly call him Nankō. 100 Long ago the character 樟 (shō), changed through common use into , and became confused with the character 楠 (nan), or so it is said. 101 Well then, there must be groups still beholden to Southern Court, just waiting for the right opportunity. Since this desire to revolt is human nature, I don’t these groups will object to your plans. However, when one looks at the current situation, one can see that there is no area that would serve as a base of operations to unite the Yamato 大和 province, in which the Southern Court is based, with the Kii 紀伊 province to the south. 102 For us to rise up now would not be a trivial matter. Well, perhaps it is fate that you have come to visit me after all the years. I will have you perform a divination that will show whether or not your ambition can be realized.”

Saying this, Sahyōe 103 turned to the blocks of wood that served as his pillow, and pulled out two. “This is a secret technique that I would usually show to a young protégé.” He

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100 Masashige, speaking as “Sakurazaki Sahyōe” refers to Kusunoki Masashige as if he is someone else.

101 Here, Teishō is showing off his great knowledge of Chinese. The characters 樟 (pronounced shō) and 楠 (pronounced nan) can both also be read as “kusu” or “kusunoki.” Masashige suggests that Nankō 楠公 is an incorrect nickname for Kusunoki Masashige, because the correct kanji to use in the Kusunoki family name is 樟 (shō), rather than 楠 (nan). Teishō also uses 樟 rather than 楠 as the character for the Kusunoki family name throughout the text.

102 The Yamato province 大和 is now the Nara Prefecture. After Go-Daigo fled from Kyoto, he established his court at Yoshino in the Yamato province. The Kii province (紀 or 紀伊) was on the southern border of Yamato province, comprised of what is now Wakayama Prefecture and part of the Mie Prefecture. Daijisen, 619, 2675, s.vv. “Kii,” “Yamato.”

103 When Masashige began to speak, he was called “Sakurazaki,” but at this point, the narrative uses his first (assumed) name, Sahyōe. I have been using the name Sahyōe throughout the translation to avoid confusion, since Jirō is also referred to throughout by his first name.
unfastened the *naginata* 長刀 at his side, and presented it to Uda Jirō. “In good faith, I sincerely pass this down to you. Let’s see if you can pierce these two blocks with the tip of the *naginata*.“ Jirō pointed the end of the *naginata* down and, praying sincerely in his heart, trusted in his own power as he thrust downward. The block of wood was pierced completely through. He took the other block and thrust down at it, but this time the end of the *naginata* trembled, and the block was untouched.

“What kind of portent is this?” asked Jirō.

“The block that you just pierced is hollow like a box. When your will is strong, you should be able to pierce it through,” said Sahyōe. “The second one that you could not pierce was solid wood all the way through. This situation recalls Sunzi’s 孫子 strategy of not attacking the enemy’s strong points. If you strike at those forces, you will be at a disadvantage. This is the reality of facing the enemy in battle. With the world as it is, the enemy’s strength is everywhere. This is no time to strike. We must wait for a change in the divination, in which the hollow box, representing the inferior numbers of the Southern Court, is made firm, so that it cannot be pierced, while the solid box, representing the superior numbers of the Northern

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104 A *naginata* 長刀 is a Japanese pole weapon that consists of a long wooden handle with a metal blade on the end, similar to a halberd. *Daijisen*, 1969, s.v. “Naginata.”

105 This refers to a section in Sunzi’s *Art of War*, in which he counsels an army to strike at an enemy’s weaknesses rather than strengths. “Now an army may be likened to water, for just as flowing water avoids the heights and hastens to the lowlands, so an army avoids strength and strikes weakness.” Sunzi, *The Illustrated Art of War*, trans. Samuel B. Griffith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 153. (#27)

106 The phrase in this sentence that I have translated as “the enemy’s strength is everywhere” is the Japanese phrase 実常となり. In both this sentence and the next one, Teishō uses the characters 実 and 虚, which relate to the passage from *Art of War* quoted in note 100. The *Art of War* uses the characters 実 and 虚 to mean “substance” and “emptiness” in an army, or, as Griffith translated above, “strength” and “weakness.” Teishō seems to be using these characters the same way, so the 実 here can mean “strength of military forces,” and 実常となり can mean that strong forces are everywhere. The next line, 打べきの時にあらず indicates there is no suitable time to launch an attack right now.
Court, is pierced through. 107 If we do not wait for a sign like this, our ambition will not be realized. Even with uncommon passion and courage, if one loses the advantage at the outset, one’s military forces will be crushed, and one will be unable to maintain strength until the end. It is said in Sunzi’s *Art of War*, ‘First like a chaste maiden, afterwards like a fleeing rabbit.’ 108 When the rabbit gossips that the maiden has already been deflowered it is useless talk. 109 Sunzi used this image to illustrate the dangers of attacking too soon. Impetuous talk like yours is also a characteristic of Lord Nitta. 110 In the same way an arrow, even when released with great strength will lose its force near the end of its flight and be unable to pierce even delicate Chinese silk. 111 Someone like you, who does whatever comes to mind will use too much of his energy and have none left when it is necessary. So please, give up these plans that you have spoken to me about. Let this foolish old man dissuade you.”

With his ignorance laid bare by Sahyōe’s argument, Jirō blushed red, but still he would not let himself be dissuaded. It was inevitable that he would not consent. Having spoken about

107 The divination essentially showed that the Southern Court forces would be “pierced through” like the *naginata* going through the hollow box because of their inferior numbers, and that the course of action Jirō wants to take is incorrect. Tokuda, “Nakatsugawa,” 39, n. 13-14. Teishō emphasizes the metaphor of the wooden boxes for military strength or weakness by using the characters 実 and 虚, used in *Art of War* to mean an army’s substance (strength) or emptiness (weakness).

108 This refers to a section in Sunzi’s *Art of War*: “Therefore at first be shy as a maiden. When the enemy gives you an opening be swift as a hare and he will be unable to withstand you.” Sunzi, *The Illustrated Art of War*, rev. ed., trans. Samuel B. Griffith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 223. (#60) This seems to mean that an army should avoid engaging the enemy until the right opportunity presents itself, then rush in quickly.

109 Teishō uses an extension of Sunzi’s metaphor here. Waiting for the right time to attack the enemy is being like a shy maiden, but Jirō, with his impetuous desire to attack immediately is like the rabbit. When Jirō speaks eagerly of his plans to attack, he is spreading the news too soon, because the time is not right for an uprising. Any revolt would be quickly suppressed by the shogunate. Jirō is basically ruining his chances of success before he even begins. In the same way, a chaste maiden who is saving herself for a husband would be ruined prematurely by gossip that she had already lost her virginity.

110 Nitta Yoshisada.

111 Both of these examples basically involve throwing oneself into a battle without planning or waiting for the appropriate time. By attacking impetuously, one will wear oneself down against the enemy, and have no strength left at crucial times.
this secret matter, it would be difficult to return to the way things had been. Jirō pulled the sheath off the blade of the *naginata*, but as he tried to strike down Sahyōe, the teacher fled to a back room and shut the door. With nothing but a paper-thin wall between them, Jirō intended to pierce through with the point of the *naginata*, but as he looked at the blade curving up from the handle, he realized that it was dull lead. At that time, several disciples came in, so Jirō adjusted his stance and tried to look nonchalant. When he thought about it, he realized that it was unlikely he would have been given a real blade. As he stood to go out, Sahyōe emerged and spoke again:

“Jirō, look at this weapon.\(^{112}\) To use this in a peaceful world would even harm the virtue of a gentleman, and a lowly person would definitely fall into evil. In a peaceful time weapons are unnecessary, and it is better to have a dull, lead sword.\(^{113}\) Actions are meant to be stopped. This old fool will send you off with these words: from this point on, we must part ways forever.”

Then, Jirō felt deep shame, and he scurried away with a downcast face like a fleeing mouse. Sahyōe’s behavior had been more and more extraordinary. Having already revealed his secret plans, Uda Jirō quickly came to a decision. Rather than proceeding with his previous idea, he decided to impersonate a mountain ascetic. Since he had an old friend in Sumiyoshi, he went there to ask about the latest news in the area. He came to

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\(^{112}\) The *naginata*.

\(^{113}\) This is possibly based on a passage in Laozi’s *Dao de jing* about weapons of war: “But weapons are never the leader’s choice. Weapons of war are omens of doom, not to be used unless compelled.” Laozi, *Dao de jing: The Book of the Way*, trans. Moss Roberts (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 93, #31. Also see Tokuda, “Nakatsugawa,” 39, n.26.

\(^{114}\) This is located in the southern Osaka metropolitan area. *Daijisen*, 1445, s.v. “Sumiyoshi.”
the temple at Nakatsugawa 中津川 and looked up at the towering walls and the iron rings set high in the door at the gate. Boats were placed here and there, filled with water. On a fireman’s hook hung several keys, ready in case of a blaze. Just inside the gate was a courtyard spread with white sand. Gazing deeply into it, Jirō could tell that it would be difficult to be granted an interview if he acted rashly. He turned to a guard at the gate and said:

“I am a Shugendō 修験道 monk called Ennō 円能. A few years ago, when I received the esoteric teachings, the master kept me busy morning and evening serving him, and prostrating at my devotions. It was at this temple. Now I am on my way to the capital, and I could not rid myself of nostalgia, so I have been so rude as to drop by unannounced. If you tell your master, he will understand.” Hearing this, the guard immediately let him in. Jirō soon reached a priest, who asked, “Who are you?” as he invited him into the hall. As the priest looked, although many years had passed, he saw that it was the old comrade he remembered, Yata Yoshitojo.

“You look well,” the priest said warmly. He had Jirō drink a draught of tea, and provided him with refreshments. The two spoke endlessly of the past.

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115 Here Jirō is seeking out his old comrade Akamatsu Sokuyō, former retainer of Prince Morinaga.

116 These “boats” may be wooden tubs filled with water to use in case of a fire.

117 A type of religious practice that combines aspects of Buddhism, Daoism and mountain worship. Practitioners are sometimes called yamabushi 山伏, or mountain ascetics. Jirō has disguised himself as a mountain ascetic. Daijisen, 1272, s.v. “Shugen.”

118 The priest is referred to as only “priest” (nyūdō 入道) throughout most of this story, but the priest is Akamatsu Sokuyō, a Go-Daigo retainer who later switched sides to support Takauji, and later in life became a Buddhist monk.

119 This is Jirō’s real name (Yatajūrō Yoshitoyo) which he had stated to Masashige at the beginning of the story. Now that he has been recognized, he drops the name Jirō and is called Yoshitojo for the rest of the work. I accordingly call him Yoshitojo in the rest of the translation, but I will continue to call him Jirō in the analysis portion of this thesis.
“If you are staying in Sumiyoshi, I will come to see you again,” said Yoshitoyo, and he retired that day without attempting anything else. After a day had passed he went again, and found that they could discuss matters together without feeling alienated from each other. Taking food and drink together side by side, they looked as if nothing had changed from their days long ago.

Yoshitoyo drew close on his knees and said, “Of those Southern Court loyalists who served Daitō no Miya, not a trace remains. It seems there is no one left who is willing to stick his neck out. Time passes, and the era changes, but my feelings have not diminished.”

The priest gave a despairing sigh, saying, “It is true that the verdict condemning the prince for rebellion against the emperor was handed down by Go-Daigo himself, but the crime was pushed upon Morinaga. The banishment and execution of the prince was an example of an incorrect order from the emperor. However, this is no place to talk about the workings of fate.”

Yoshitoyo said, “Even now I cannot forget the resentment that I have held in check day and night, for many long years. Do you feel the same way?”

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120 This was a name for Prince Morinaga, whom Yoshitoyo had previously served. Tokuda, “Nakatsugawa,” 40, n. 19.

121 Prince Morinaga’s banishment was based on slander from Ashikaga Takauji, and so may have been baseless. These events were also described in the Taiheiki. Tokuda, “Nakatsugawa,” 41, n. 21.

The priest responded, “Although I also have feelings that I cannot escape, I have retired and severed my connections with the world. Over the days and months my feelings have weakened, until my situation is like that of Confucius 孔子, who no longer saw the Duke of Chou 周公 in his dreams.”

Yoshitoyo said, “I have never stopped hoping for a restoration of the Southern Court’s power, even for an instant. If you cannot forget the good old days and are willing to support me, I can show you something just a short distance away. You may be able to confirm it by sight, but in Seishū there is a teacher living under the assumed name of Sakurazaki Sahyōe who is actually Lord Kusunoki. I saw him myself. His third son, Masakatsu 正勝, although in declining fortunes, protects the family stronghold, Chihaya 千剣破 Castle. Kojima Takanori 児島高徳 is still alive in some distant place, in Shikoku 四国 I secretly saw Yoshimune 義宗.”

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123 This is an allusion to a passage in the Confucian Analects: “The Master said, ‘How utterly have things gone to the bad with me! It is long now indeed since I dreamed that I saw the Duke of Chou.’” Confucius, Analects of Confucius, trans. Arthur Waley (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1964), 123. The Duke of Chou was a figure of the past that Confucius greatly admired, and the reference here suggests that, even though the monk Akamatsu was loyal to Prince Morinaga, his ties to the world have greatly weakened.

124 Tokuda notes that Kusunoki’s third son was Masanori and that Masakatsu was Masanori’s son, making Masakatsu Kusunoki’s grandson. Since Masanori fell in battle against Ashikaga Yoshimitsu in 1369, and Masakatsu fell in battle against Hatakeyama Motokuni in 1392, the text can be understood to refer to Masakatsu. Tokuda, “Nakatsugawa,” 41, n. 26.

125 Chihaya-jō, a castle in Kawachi province (now part of the Osaka metropolitan area), was fortified and held by the Kusunoki family. In 1392, when Kusunoki Masakatsu fell in battle against Hatakeyama Motokuni, the castle was taken by the shogunate forces. Nihon kokugo daijiten, vol. 13, 383, s.v. “Chihayajō.”

and the hearts of the people of Kumano 熊野 and Totsugawa 十津川 \(^{127}\) have not changed. If there is a call for justice for the Southern Court, surely a great many will gather to our cause."

As he was saying this, the priest’s demeanor changed, and he replied, “Yoshitoyo, wait a while. This is not something that can be discussed in my quarters. It is surely futile.”

Angered, Yoshitoyo was quick to taunt the priest: “You have surrounded yourself with comfort and abandoned your former duties! Do you know the difference between humans and beasts?” \(^{128}\)

The priest, not hiding his feelings, had already begun to pull out his long sword. However, he put it away and scratched at his chest, saying, “Although I am a weak old man who appears to have retired from the world, I have actually been acting as the eyes and ears of the Ashikaga. \(^{129}\) Having a strange mountain priest come to meet with me has roused the suspicions of my retainers. After passing the time in debate with you, it seems we are both being reckless. Now I will go out walking with you, and we will talk together as we head to Sumiyoshi.” Saying this, he urged Yoshitoyo from his seat. Unaccompanied by even one of his followers, the priest left through a side entrance, and travelled south with Yoshitoyo.

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\(^{127}\) According to Tokuda, these are areas Prince Morinaga passed through as he went from Nara to Kumano. There remained many people loyal to him in these areas. Tokuda, “Nakatsugawa,” 41, n.29.


\(^{129}\) This may be a reference to the fact that historically, Sokuyū and his family changed loyalty to serve the Ashikaga. In this story, Teishō seems to treat this act more as a necessary evil than as a betrayal.
Along the road, the priest said, “Yoshitoyo, although you and I are old friends, the difference in our thinking is like the difference between the wise man and the common man. The common man does not know the heart of the wise man, but the wise man can easily understand the common man.”

Yoshitoyo responded indignantly, “In what way am I a common man?”

The priest said, “A wise man does what is best for the entire kingdom, which leads to prosperity for all under Heaven. A common man does what is best for only one part of the kingdom, which leads to suffering for all under Heaven. In recent years, Heaven has tired of the strife in this country, and we have entered into a peaceful era. The feelings of the people are calm; soldiers do not march through the land. But you will try to have your will and stir up chaos in order to appease your resentment. Even though you will not succeed, a spark of fire may be inflamed by the wind. In the same way, if you gain a small amount of momentum with your plans, both the powerful and lowly may shake in amazement, and the people will not be able to go about their livelihoods. When you are part of the Imperial army for even a short time, you will reach the point when you cannot stop even a single soldier. All of your bravado will be quickly depleted. Although you seem to want to make a name for yourself in death,

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130 This is likely a reference to the Confucian Analects, which frequently emphasize how a wise man (gentleman) understands higher concerns better than a common man, who is concerned only with himself. During this discussion, Sokuyū accuses Jirō of only thinking about his own concerns, not about the good of the country overall.

131 Tokuda suggests that this is a quotation from the Book of History (Shu jing), “Pangeng” section. The full passage reads, “Why do you not report their words to me but instead go about to excite one another by empty speeches, frightening and involving the multitudes in misery? When a fire is blazing on the plains so that it cannot be approached, can it still be beaten out?” Shu jing Book of History: A modernized edition of the translations of James Legge, trans. Clae Waltham (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1971), 88. This implies that even if Jirō fails in his ambitions, the conflict he starts will spread like a wildfire. Tokuda, “Nakatsugawa,” 43, n. 6.
people will probably just laugh. How many people will fall along with you? How many places will be lost? This crime will come back upon you. When you compare this to my own heartfelt desire for peace, which I pray for daily, you cannot escape being called a common man. At any rate, the gods are watching just above our heads, and the walls have ears. Do not speak of this desire again. Although an old man like me has ability that is second to none, it would not be wise to take me on."

As he said this, they neared Sumiyoshi temple, passing by the southern gate of Tōrū temple. Thinking that he would not be able to rely upon the priest, the quick-tempered Yoshitoyo decided to do away with him in advance. Bringing him to a place between Toga and Kowata, far from any people, he attacked him without a word of warning.

The priest, understanding what was happening, drew his sword and faced Yoshitoyo. As they crossed swords two or three times, the priest stepped lightly and quickly, like a bird. He wielded his blade with great strength, and cut Yoshitoyo down. "It’s tragic, but you are an evil influence that I must remove for the sake of the world. Do not bear a grudge against me. Instead, you should resent your own foolishness."

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132 The first part of this sentence is a Chinese proverb literally translated as “The gods are only a few feet above your head,” meaning that the gods are watching, so you can’t get away with anything. William Scarborough, trans. and ed., A Collection of Chinese Proverbs, (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1875), 399, #2354.

133 This is a temple, now called the Daiyūji found in Tenma, Ōyodo-ku, Osaka City. Nihon kokugo daijiten. Vol 12, 637, s.v. “Daiyūji.”

134 The priest does not directly tell Yoshitoyo not to bear a grudge against him, but it is implied in the way that he tells Yoshitoyo that he should resent “his own foolishness” that led him to this fate, rather than the man who killed him.
As he wiped the blood from his blade, a single peasant was standing with his hoe in the brush at a nearby shrine; gazing at them. He came running up. As he removed his bamboo hat, it could be seen that he was a new servant at Nakatsugawa. “When I saw my lord leaving alone, I was extremely worried, and I thought I would go along to keep an eye on you,” he said.

It seemed that it was difficult for the priest to understand the servant’s motivations. He became angry, saying to the servant, “Thanks to your shallow cunning, you’ve gone and done something worthless. If I let you live, you may wind up telling the world what you’ve seen here. Take out your sword.” The priest drew his sword as he spoke.

Suddenly, the servant showed himself to be a match for the priest, pulling out his own sword. “I am not a mere retainer of the Ashikaga shogunate. Don’t behave so rashly,” he said. As the priest fell back, creating a gap between them, the servant wielded his sword with perfect form. Then the servant pulled an official document from his pocket and showed it to the priest. It was a writ for the distribution of territory bearing the seal of the ruler. The servant spoke: “I am Hikonobe Shinzaemon Jō Tamemitsu 彦野部新左衛門尉為充. I have received orders from the emperor. Although the Southern Court has fallen into decline, there are many old retainers. The emperor planned to make the Nakatsugawa lay priest a defending soldier in the capital, but he did not know your true feelings. Therefore I have come to act as a spy in your household. Because of these circumstances that have suddenly come up, your name will be well-known.”

135 This name seems to be based on the name Hikonobei Shinzaemon Jō Hidemitsu, introduced in the Taiheiki, a samurai who served Emperor Go-Kōgon of the Northern Court. Tokuda, “Nakatsugawa,” 44, n. 13.

136 Sokuyū.
At this, Akamatsu\textsuperscript{137} put up his sword, and greeted the man. When the priest explained what he had discussed with Yata Jūrō, Hikonobe spoke frankly: “If that is your true feeling, I don’t need to continue spying in your household. I will take care of things for you. Please be discreet about the fact that I was a spy.” And he accompanied the priest as they returned to Nakatsugawa. The priest, feeling compassion for Yata,\textsuperscript{138} placed his body in the care of the Sumiyoshi monastery and buried him in that area. He had a mound built and added a stone intended to pacify Yata’s spirit. Eventually, people came to call it the mound of the mountain ascetic, it would seem.\textsuperscript{139} After that, there were many people who saw a ghostly serpent appearing and vanishing around the mound. Also, ghostly flames floated around the nearby area. Strange to say, these flames caused no damage. It was said that people who happened to see these things would always be able to achieve their desires.

\textsuperscript{137} Sokuyū by his family name of Akamatsu, rather than the term nyūdō (lay priest) that has been used for him up until this point.

\textsuperscript{138} This is another way of referring to Jirō, incorporating the syllables of his family name Yatajūrō.

\textsuperscript{139} Tokuda notes that the plot device of the mound may have come from a work that is an illustrated guide to the famous places in Settsu, called Settsu meisho zue 摂津名所図会 (Illustrated Guide to Famous Places in Settsu). It states, “The Mound of Uguisu (Nightingale Mound), or Ōtsuka (Mound of Ō), is found in area around the village of Nagaragawa. There are many stories about this mound. Later generations have contributed theories about the meaning of the name.” The story may be an explanation of the origin of the name “Yamabushi Mound,” an alternate name. Otherwise, there is also a “Yamabushi pine,” in the Honjō forest that may account for this name. Tokuda, “Nakatsugawa,” 45, n. 21.
Chapter 3

Annotated Translation of “Unkon unjō o katatsute hisashiki o chikau koto”

Introduction to the Translation

The first tale in Teishō’s Shigeshige yawa, “Unkon unjō” is the story of a wandering priest who spends the night at the top of a five-story pagoda in the Shitennoji 四天王寺 and overhears the conversation of the gathered clouds. There is no other action to speak of; the bulk of the story is given over to the conversation between the clouds. They discuss their shape and form, talk about the qualities of the wind and the sky, and comment on how humans view them. Throughout this, the priest is only a silent listener. At the end, the cloud doing most of the speaking, Tanba Taro 丹波太郎, makes a prediction of an era of great prosperity – meaning the Tokugawa reign - which appears to be an indirect way of praising the ruler Teishō lived under. Afterwards, the amazed priest tells the story to others.

Most of this story appears to be Teishō’s explanation of natural phenomena, and perhaps it is also an excuse to show off his learning, as the work is filled with references to Chinese and Japanese literary works. Many of the descriptions that the clouds use for themselves are tied to cloud imagery that is used in Japanese and Chinese poetry. Akinari would later use a similar device in a story in Ugetsu monogatari in which a samurai converses with the spirit of gold during the night, possibly suggesting Teishō’s influence on Akinari’s work. However, Akinari takes his story in a different direction, in that the samurai is an active
participant in the conversation (instead of simply listening like the priest) and a majority of the
discussion is a philosophical debate (rather than being merely references to poetry).  

The significance of this story within Teishō’s body of work lies in the way it is based
upon local phenomena. The names of the clouds - Tanba Tarō 丹波太郎, Nara Jirō 奈良次郎,
etc. – refer to Japanese place names (Nara 奈良, Tanba 丹波), and the descriptions of where
the clouds form appears to be from the perspective of a resident of the Osaka-Kyoto area. For
someone gazing at the sky in Osaka, the cloud Tanba Tarō, who describes himself as forming in
the north, would appear to be coming from the Tanba area (now part of modern-day Hyōgo
兵庫 prefecture, it is to the north-west of Osaka). Nara Jirō, who forms in the eastern sky,
would appear to be coming from Nara. It is unknown whether these names were Teishō’s own
invention, or whether the names were commonly used at the time. Tokuda Takeshi, in his
afterword to the SNKT edition of the work, notes that only Tanba Tarō has appeared before in
previous literature, such as in Kōshoku ichidai otoko 好色一世男 (The Life of an Amorous Man)
by Ihara Saikaku, also a native of Osaka. The term is used by Saikaku to describe rain clouds
that gather over the sea, signaling a storm.  

Saikaku’s use of the term certainly pre-dates Teishō’s, but there do not seem to be
other instances. Tokuda takes note of a weather almanac by Nakanishi Takausa 中西敬房

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141 “At the time it was the end of the sixth month, and towering clouds called ‘Tanba Tarō’ gathered ominously in the sky.” 折節の空は水無月の末、山々に丹波太郎といふ村雲おそろしく (All translations are mine unless otherwise stated). See Saikaku Ihara, “Kōshoku ichidai otoko.” in Ihara Saikaku shū, ed. Teruoka Yasutaka, Higashi Akimasa, Shinpen nihon koten bungaku zenshū 66 (Tokyo: Shogakukan, 1994), 130. See also Tokuda, “Commentary,” 517.
called Min’yo seiu benran 民用晴雨便覧 (Weather Almanac for Common Use) that contains the same names used in Teishō’s story and many similar descriptions of the clouds’ shapes and place in the sky. However, Min’yo seiu benran was published in 1767, after Shigeshige yawa, which came out in 1766. Tokuda speculates that it is more likely that the weather manual took its terms from Teishō’s work rather than the other way around, but it is also possible (although unproven) that the names were in common use among residents of Osaka and Kyoto, and that both authors were simply drawing on common usages of the time.\footnote{Tokuda, “Commentary,” 517.} Given how closely in time the two texts were published, it is also possible that Teishō had access to the unpublished manuscript of the Min’yo seiu benran. Whatever the origins of the names, three of them - Tanba Tarō, Nara Jirō and Izumi Kojirō 泉小次郎 - have become a recognized part of language today, as they are included in the Nihon kokugo daijiten 日本国語大辞典. The entries on Tanba Tarō and Nara Jirō both include examples of usage from works published after Teishō’s Shigeshige yawa, so it is clear that Teishō was not the only one using these terms.\footnote{One example listed for the “Tanba Tarō” entry is from Akinari’s zuihitsu(collection of misc. essays) Tandai shōhin roku (Notes from a Great Spirit and a Prudent Mind, 1808). See Nihon kokugo daijiten, vol. 13, vol. 15, vol. 2, 291, 345, 71, s.vv. “Tanba Tarō,” “Nara Jirō,” “Izumi Kojirō.”}

The usage of these names and the descriptions of the clouds from a local perspective give the story an immediacy that would resonate with any reader in Osaka or Kyoto. There is even a discussion of wind that points out that the Chinese naming system for various types of wind cannot be applied in Japan: “Although Chinese documents give different names to these types of wind, since these names match the various directions with the four seasons, it would
be difficult to use them in this country." This story sets the tone for *Shigeshige yawa* as a work that is couched more in Japanese thought and culture than Teishō’s previous work, *Hanabusa zōshi*, which was made up completely of stories adapted from Chinese vernacular tales. As Tokuda, in his commentary to the SNKT version of *Shigeshige yawa* notes, this collection includes fewer stories tied to Chinese sources, with more of the stories influenced by Japanese sources. Although there are many allusions to Chinese sources throughout “Unkon unjō,” such as references to Xun Zi’s *蓉子* cloud poetry, the story is not directly based on a Chinese vernacular tale. This focus on Japanese phenomena - the clouds in the sky from the perspective of a dweller in Osaka - links this story to “Nakatsugawa” which is also not based on a Chinese vernacular tale and is deeply rooted in Japanese history.

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**Translation: Unkon Unjō**

The Tale of Cloud Spirits Speaking of Their Clouded Feelings, and Making a Long-Term Promise

Even a Buddhist monk who had extinguished his various feelings and detached himself from this polluted world, with his self unfettered like a drifting cloud and his mind serene like still water,\(^{146}\) even he had a secret desire. He longed to see the temple handed down by his sect’s founder Jōzō 浄蔵,\(^{147}\) with its famous flying begging bowl, and to circumambulate it to aid in his enlightenment. Although for many long years he had been shut up in the Hokkedō 法花堂 near Wake 和気 in order to practice meditation, at the beginning of the 大永 Daiei era\(^{148}\) he ventured out with the spring haze, intending to return with the autumn wind.\(^{149}\) His route led him through a panorama of lofty mountains. While passing by the base of Mt. Fuji one day, he felt a desire to climb up to great heights. In his younger days, he had been unable to suppress this desire; now it was strange to have such thoughts in his aged body. Along the road that people traveled to and fro, as dawn broke the early morning gloom, the multicolored clouds in the sky were the only things familiar to him. The sight of the clouds pleased his eye,

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\(^{146}\) This alludes to a poem by Bai Juyi 白居易, titled “Self-Realization.” Howard S. Levy’s translation reads: “Placing one’s heart as stilled water, seeing one’s body as a floating cloud.” *The Old Style Poems*, vol. 1 of *Translations from Po Chü-i’s Collected Works*, trans. Howard S. Levy (New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp, 1971), 78.

\(^{147}\) This is a reference to the story of Jōzō Kiso, found in Kamo no Chōmei’s 鴨長明 *Hosshinshū* 發心集. According to the tale, Jōzō sent his begging bowl flying down from the mountain in order to obtain food or alms. This story alludes to the unnamed wandering monk as wanting to see what Jōzō has “bequeathed,” but it is not clear whether he means the bowl itself, or the temple where it is housed. I allowed for both in the translation. Kamo no Chōmei, “Jōzō kiso, hachi o tobasu koto,” in *Hōjōki; Hosshinshū*, ed. Miki Sumito, Shinchō, Nihon koten shūsei 25 (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1976), 169-172.

\(^{148}\) Daiei 大永 era, 1521-1528 AD.

leaving an impression on his heart. Clouds accompanied him as he left the lovely capital in the morning, and like the clouds he stopped in the evening, continuing the next day. At that famous temple\textsuperscript{150} that you all must know, one of the monks was his good friend, so he stopped to rest from his many days of traveling. That night, he climbed to the fifth floor of the five-story pagoda on the temple grounds.\textsuperscript{151} Although he was awed to be sitting above the image of the Buddha, he found there a window for people to look out of, and a pillar for them to lean against. In the autumn cool, he held an all-night vigil reciting the sutras. At such a great height, he felt completely separated from the world and suspected that he must be near the path of the clouds. There is nothing more mysterious than the human heart.

Although a half-moon hung high in the sky, rain clouds dimmed the view even a short distance away. As the priest gazed out into the darkness, it seemed as if the moon would not be seen even at the Takatsu Palace 高津の宮 where it is said to dwell in the clear sky.\textsuperscript{152} With the pleasure of the view swept away, feelings of drowsiness began to press upon him. Then, from the pinnacle of the tower, a voice came down:

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\textsuperscript{150} Tokuda suggests that the temple is the Shitennoji 四天王寺. Tokuda, “Unkon unjō,” 7, n. 25.

\textsuperscript{151} Here, Tokuda mentions a passage from an illustrated guide to famous places in Settsu, called Settsu meisho zue. The passage describes the five-story pagoda at the Shitennoji as being inscribed with carvings of clouds and water. Tokuda, “Unkon unjō,” 7, n. 26. This is relevant to the story as later the term unsui 雲水 used to describe the pagoda. Unsui is a pun that can mean both “clouds and water,” and “wandering priest.” See note 155.

\textsuperscript{152} This passage alludes to a poem by Minamoto Toshiyori 源俊頼 from the Autumn book of the Kin’yō wakashū 金葉和歌集. The poem plays on the homonyms sumu 澄む (to clear [weather]/to become clear, transparent) and sumu 住む (to live, dwell), a pun which Teishō also uses in his text. The poem reads: “Remembering a matter – what was it? – in Naniwa of long ago, I wonder if the moon is shining clearly from its dwelling in the sky at Takatsu Palace.” いにしえの難波のことをおもひいでて高津の宮に月のすむらん. Kawamura Teruo, Kashiwagi Yoshio, and Kudō Shigenori, eds., Kin’yō wakashū, Shin nihon bungaku taikei 9 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989), poem # 197.
“How splendid it is that we are all together. The power of natural forces usually separates us in all four directions, so that we can only gaze wistfully\(^{153}\) at each other from far off. It is not often that one can move along a cloud path from the south to the north, and the route coming from the north is often filled with obstacles. In particular, it is a rare thing to meet Kurō 九郎,\(^{154}\) who resides on the coast and will be dissolved by the sea air if he leaves the south.

“Today as well, we are pushed this way and that by the winds that blow from all directions. It is due to this ‘Wandering Cloud’ Tower\(^ {155}\) that we are able to stop here, either one by one or together in a group. In the world of humans, clouds are called aimless,\(^ {156}\) but I cannot accept that. We have been divided into many types, such as thin clouds or gatherings of clouds. Humans are certainly clever, impertinent creatures, aren’t they? I am called Tanba Tarō,\(^ {157}\) perhaps because, as I form in the north, the view is hazy among my extraordinary peaks.\(^ {158}\) They are like a legion of towers watching over the land below. Since their form is in a

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\(^{153}\) The word used here, nozomu 望む, has the meanings of “to gaze” and “to long for,” so I have included both in the translation.

\(^{154}\) Kurō is the name of one of the clouds that will be introduced later. The current speaker is a cloud, and others will introduce themselves throughout the story.

\(^{155}\) The tower where the monk is staying is described as the Unsui Tower 雲水塔, a reference to its carvings described in the Settsu meisho zue. The word Unsui 雲水 has a double meaning of “clouds and water” and “wandering priest,” so the pun connects the priest and the clouds that he encounters.

\(^{156}\) This alludes to a line from the poem “Return Home,” by the Chinese poet Tao Qian 陶潛. A translation of the line by Charles Yim-Tze Kwong reads “Clouds aimlessly move out from the peaks.” Charles Yim-Tze Kwong, *Tao Qian and the Chinese Poetic Tradition: The Quest for Cultural Identity* (Michigan: University of Michigan, 1994), 113. See also Tokuda, “Unkon unjō,” 8, n. 8.

\(^{157}\) The names of the clouds all relate to the location in which they are seen and to their size. The descriptions given in Teishō’s work seem to be oriented for a person in Osaka looking up at the sky. Tanba Tarō formed in the Tanba area (now part of Hyōgo prefecture), which would be to the northwest for a person in Osaka. Tarō appears to relate to his large size. Just as Tarō is the name for a first-born son, Tanba Tarō dominates the conversation as the main speaker. The *Nihon kokugo daijiten* describes Tanba Tarō as a cumulonimbus, a large, vertical thunderhead. *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, vol. 13, 291, s.v. “Tanba Tarō.”
constant state of flux, I am compared to the illusory castle of the Gandharva\textsuperscript{159} and mistaken for a mirage. Perhaps in the bottom of my heart, I truly wish to be seen as an illusion. I cannot help being blown flat and stretched out from east to west by the high winds. Also, the gathering of rainclouds that band across the sky in spring and summer, the floating clouds that drift along in fall and winter, the mountain haze that has just now been swept away by the wind – these kinds of clouds that are pushed about by the breeze from north to west and south to east – these are not in the same family as I. The sky where I form is lofty and distant; we are not even blown by the same winds. “

“I am called Nara Jirō,\textsuperscript{160} perhaps because my shape forming in the east looks as if it will surely develop the same extraordinary peaks, but my body is thin in the middle, so they cannot apply the name Tarō.\textsuperscript{161} My cloud shape simply lines up like a husband and wife standing side by side.”

\textsuperscript{158} The word used here, き峰 奇峰 literally means “strange peaks,” and the Nihon kokugo daijiten defines it as “peaks with an unusual shape.” I wanted to use a more complimentary word, since the clouds all appear proud of their き峰 奇峰. Nihon kokugo daijiten, vol. 6, 32, s.v. “Kihō.”

\textsuperscript{159} Gandharva (Japanese: Gendatsuba 乾達馬) are Buddhist spirits that serve the gods, and are said to create illusions. The castle of the Gandharva is an illusory castle floating in the air. Teishō also adds a hiragana reading of kitsune no mori (forest of the foxes) for the word 質楼 (mirage), adding more layers of nuance, since foxes (kitsune) are thought to be tricksters and deceivers in Japanese culture (and Chinese). Nihon kokugo daijiten, vol. 7, 334, s.vv. “Gendatsuba,” “Gendatsubajō.”

\textsuperscript{160} The name Nara Jirō again refers to location. For a viewer in Osaka, the cloud, coming from the sky in the east, would appear to come from the direction of Nara. Jirō 次郎 is a name given to second sons (the character 次 meaning “next”), and Nara Jirō seems to describe himself as lesser than Tanba Tarō, as he apparently does not form the “extraordinary peaks.” Nihon kokugo daijiten, vol. 15, 345, s.v. “Nara Jirō.”

\textsuperscript{161} The name Tarō 太郎 incorporates the character 太, which can mean “thick.” Since Nara Jirō is thin in the middle, the name Tarō would not be appropriate in reference to him.
“I am called Izumi no Kojirō, because, when I appear high and far in the south, I am a lesser cloud compared to my two more popular comrades. Since I am usually blocked by the sea wind, I am rarely able to form. I stand alone and do not acquire the extraordinary peaks that the others do, so the people of the world often say that I have been taken as Nara Jirō’s wife. It seems that humans speak of us as if we possess emotions like they do.

“These three all have the same family name, ‘White Peaks,’ but it has already become customary not to use this name when referring to them. As for myself, I am called Maya Kurō, but just as the use of Tarō and Jirō does not relate to the order of our birth, I am not necessarily the ninth. From the very beginning my lineage has been separate from the others. In the back I stretch across the Rokkō mountain region, while my head usually rests around the peaks of Mt. Maya and Mt. Tatabe. Since I stretch out long in the east and west, piling up layer upon layer, I appear black to the people of Naniwa. This must surely be the reason they have given me the name Kurō. When I glow with

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162 Izumi no Kojirō formed in the area of Izumi, which is now a southern part of the Osaka metropolitan area. So, for an Osakan viewer, it would appear in the southern sky. The name Kojirō, with the character 小 meaning “small” reflects Izumi no Kojirō’s status as a “lesser” cloud, smaller than Nara Jirō and Tanba Tarō. Also see: Nihon kokugo daijiten, vol. 2, 71, s.v. “Izumi Kojirō.”

163 Tanba Tarō and Nara Jirō.

164 Shiramine 白峰, referring apparently to their white color and peaks. Tokuda Takeshi suggests that this is used as a family name. Tokuda, “Unkon unjō,” 9, n. 21.

165 The name Kurō 九郎 contains the character ku 九 (nine), so Kurō specifies that he is not the ninth cloud born. Tokuda, “Unkon unjō,” 9, n. 23. Although Kurō says that their names do not relate to order of birth, their descriptions and behavior suit their names; that is, Tanba Tarō is most dominant, Izumi no Kojirō is a lesser cloud, etc..

166 Rokkō is a mountainous region in Hyōgo prefecture, north of the metropolitan area of Kobe. It includes the mountains Maya and Tatabe (now called Mt. Futatabi.) Nihon kokugo daijiten, vol. 20, p. 583, s.v. “Rokko sanchi.”

167 An old name for the Osaka region.

168 A pun on the character kuro 黒, meaning “black.”
reflected sunlight, it generates a golden aura around me. At this time in particular, when I create a color that cannot be reproduced by human effort, the people of Naniwa must gaze up at me. Then I come to feel that I am truly splendid. At times, when the northern cloud besieges me from the rear, I depend upon the height of the Rokkō mountains. I debase myself by moving lower to the ground, and the mountains hold me firmly in place while the northern cloud is pushed out toward the southern sea.”

“Although it is uncommon for Arima Saburō in間三郎 to emerge, his form is vertical, and he is a Lesser Captain of the God of Rain. Although our movements back and forth are different because we dwell in different parts of the country, in all places our feelings are the same. This is probably a matter that the human world knows nothing about. Since this is a chance for us to be heard, and also to ease the spirits of the master of the wind and clouds, we have all been vying to speak our thoughts one after the other. You all should at least show some consideration. If one thinks about it honestly, perhaps we should not be

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169 The word used here is written as 卑く (using the character meaning “base or lowly”), but the hiragana provided gives the reading hikiku, which Tokuda says would normally be written with the character 低. I have tried to include both meanings, as the cloud is not just lowering himself in status, but physically lowering himself. Tokuda, “Unkon unjō,” p. 9, 28.

170 Arima is also a place name, for what is now the southeastern part of Hyōgo prefecture. Nihon kokugo daijiten 1st ed., 506, s.v. “Arima.” Tokuda Takeshi notes that the speaker appears to be Tanba Tarō, here introducing the other cloud. Tokuda, “Unkon unjō,” 9, n. 29.


172 This may refer to the priest, as he is there in the tower, and could be referred to with the term unsui 雲水, but it is never clear whether the clouds are actually addressing him, or they are talking among themselves. The priest himself never speaks to the clouds.
around, although the ancients used to praise us for our heavy, “thick” virtue, even more than that of the Sages Yao and Yu. Sometimes when I remember this, shame at the difference causes my tears to fall like a light spring rain. When the door of the distant sky opens and we are colored crimson in the morning haze, it is this time especially when we are masters of the dawn. Is there a verse to describe us when we float out from between the mountains, spring clouds soaring like a crane venturing into the world? Our appearance at sunrise, twined around the edges of the mountains as people gaze at us from far off seems to be pleasant to the human eye. When Arima Saburō is draped upon the north-west peaks, he is said to be thin, but passing travelers hurry on at the sight for fear of rain. When clouds

173 Tokuda suggests that this refers to the many classical poems that complain of clouds obstructing the view of the moon. One example is poem #885 from the *Kokin wakashū* 古今和歌集 by a nun named Kyōshin 尼敬信, translated by Helen McCullough as: “It is clear and pure – the moon shining in its course across the heavens – and thus its light never fails, try though the clouds may to hide it.” おぼぞらを照り行月し清ければ雲かくせどもひかり消なくに For original poem, see: Kojima Noriyuki and Arai Eizō, eds., *Kokin wakashū*, Shin nihon koten bungaku 5 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989), p. 267, poem # 885. For McCullough’s translation, see: Helen Craig McCullough, *Brocade by Night: ‘Kokin Wakashū’ and the Court Style in Japanese Classical Poetry* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), 350.

174 This is a line from a poem by Xun Zi - called “On Clouds.” A translation of the line by John Knoblock reads, “Their greatness forms a Triad with Heaven and Earth, and their Power thickened becomes a Yao or Yu.” Yao and Yu were legendary sage kings of China, known for their wisdom and virtue. I take the character 德 to mean “virtue” and to refer to the sage kings. The character 厚 can mean heavy or thick. I used “thick” as it is used in Knoblock’s translation of the poem. Xunzi: A Translation and Study of the Complete Works, trans. John Knoblock, vol. 3 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 197-198, poem # 26.3. See also Tokuda, “Unkon unjō,” 9, n. 32.

175 *Shigure* can mean a light spring rain, but also refer to tears. Since a personified cloud is speaking, including both meanings seems appropriate.

176 This is a reference to a poem composed by the Regent Minister of the Left before entering the priesthood at the Kōmyōminedera. It is included in the *Shoku Kokin wakashū* 続古今和歌集 - Spring book: “When the heavenly door opened and the sun emerged at dawn, perhaps this was the beginning of the spring of the gods.” ひさかたの天の戸あけて出る日や神代の春の始めなりけん Kifune Shigeaki, ed., *Shoku Kokin wakashū zenchiushoku*, (Kyoto: Daigakudō Shoten, 1994), poem # 8. See also Tokuda, “Unkon unjō,” 9-10, n. 34.

177 The character used here is kasumi 霞 (mist or haze), but the hiragana pronunciation given is akinasesu, a term meaning something colored a beautiful crimson and often associated with the sun.

178 The term *yamakazura* can mean clouds at dawn around the edges of mountains, but also refers to a type of climbing vine.

179 The text does not specify which cloud is being referred to here, but Tokuda suggests it is Arima Saburō. Tokuda, “Unkon unjō,” 10, n. 1.
gather in the northeast, filling deep into every nook and cranny, rain is expected. When Maya Kurō\textsuperscript{180} crosses over the Rokkō Mountains, people know there will be a change in weather.

Casting a shadow above the sea, he hinders fishing. Sometimes he will rotate around to the right, moving north and east, and in response to rain in some far-off place darken the skies above Settsu. On a summer day, when the clouds in the north do not expand, the mountains in the southeast will get a sudden shower.\textsuperscript{181} In the autumn heat that makes people long for the winter cold, we can refresh the hearts of the people simply by gathering and offering the promise of rain. However, black clouds darkening the sky overhead will cause them to turn their sailing vessels around, not to mention how miserable they are when rain forces them inside for three days. Isn’t it vexing? On a clear night in mid-autumn, when the wind pushes one or two of us over the moon, we look as if we are there to entertain it. When the sky is hidden behind clouds bringing rain, we become villains, since the topics that each poet has prepared in advance rot away from within and become useless. On any day besides the end of the month, to use the word ‘not’ accompanied with ‘moon’ in a verse was considered a serious transgression.\textsuperscript{182} My body is driven this way and that by the wind in a bewildering manner – there is no rhyme or reason to it.\textsuperscript{183} When it looks as if I am going to be hurried along by a swift wind at sunset, people rest their gaze on me, but it seems that they are annoyed when my

\textsuperscript{180} Tokuda, “Unkon unjō,” 10, n. 5.

\textsuperscript{181} In this case, the clouds in the north refer to Tanba Tarō. Tokuda, “Unkon unjō,” 10, n. 7.

\textsuperscript{182} Tokuda notes that in the lunar calendar, the last day of the month is one on which the moon’s light could not be seen at all. Therefore, a moonless night on the wrong day due to clouds was considered unseasonal. Tokuda, “Unkon unjō,” 11, n. 14.

movement resembles that of the moon.\textsuperscript{184} When clouds gather together they are called mist. The red clouds that gather around the sun are called haze.\textsuperscript{185} These two words are commonly mixed up and no distinction made between them.

Furthermore, my family is the yellow earth.\textsuperscript{186} Since the realm I occupy is one far above the ground and cannot be seen with human eyes, the people of the world think that I belong to the same group as the great sky, but there is quite a difference between our families. The great sky keeps its virtue constant.\textsuperscript{187} Its deep indigo color remains unchanged, even as its name changes with the seasons to the Azure Sky, the Wide Sky, the Autumn Sky, and the Sky Above.\textsuperscript{188} It appears deep and endless.\textsuperscript{189} Although I am piled up miles above the level ground,
I have no fixed location, and I do not even know where I would go if I were to fade away.

Although the wind has no substance, it blows me along, coming and going, so that my movements over one day have no decided course. At times when the sun is said to be zealously shining in order to create clear, beautiful weather all over the country, my group enjoys the Nirvana of annihilation, floating idly along with no worldly cares. To use the words of the ancients in their cloud poetry, the matter of “creating cold on winter days, creating heat on summer days,” does not concern us in the slightest. The only thing we create to help the world is rain. Of course, when it is not an appropriate time for rain on the land, we cannot offer it. In addition, the people who predict the weather for their own area by looking at clouds heading away to rain in some far off spot will often misinterpret the feelings of clouds. There are times when we do not distinguish between a lake and a salt-filled sea when pulling up water, but how we are able to remove the salt is a secret among clouds. Those who are spurred to action by a dragon are known as the “True Dragon” or, in other words, the “Wind and Cloud” family. Rain that falls when a cloud is not present is known as “Extraordinary rain,” but often this distant rain is caused by a dragon.

Also, the mist that fills the sky in spring will dissolve away and fall as rain when the days turn toward summer. These “early summer rains” that this phenomenon invites, what clouds

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190 The term, shō no ka 消の化 appears to mean “annihilation,” but the mention of “worldly cares” suggests also a positive use for the word in a Buddhist context.


192 Tokuda, “Unkon unjō,” 12, n. 7.
of melancholy must they awaken in people’s hearts? There are times when we drift along at ease like cotton or like a cloth of colorful fine silk. At other times, a part of us projects downward like the spur of a chicken. Although the people directly below view us as slow and languid, as we cross the distant sky one by one our gait becomes apparent. Although in our shapes we obey the wind, whether we form or dissolve, gather or disperse, falls under the will of natural forces. Within the confines of the wind, we can be stretched out long like a piece of silk as we blow across the sky. Bound only by the weaver maid’s loom, the Rain Gathering cloud forms a cloth band of stripes across the sky as it floats in mid-air. When sleet gathers and snow is scattered, the mountains are made to look as if they are viewed through a bamboo blind. When a cloud rotates to the left, like a common person pounding a mortar, this means normal weather. That cloud heading north, this cloud moving south, they wander while waiting for the wind to change. The upper and lower wind currents determine that upper clouds move to the east and lower clouds move to the west. This also has some effect on where it will rain.

The wind that blows out of the sky is redirected according to the topography of the area. In

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193 This is an allusion to a poem by Fujiwara no Mototoshi included in the Senzai wakashū 千載和歌集, Summer section. “My gloomy, miserable hut becomes even less bearable as the deutzia blossoms rot and the rains of the fifth month continue.” いとどしくしづの庵のいぶせきに卯花くたしさみだれぞする. Katano Tatsurō, Matsuno Yōichi, eds., Senzai wakashū, Shin nihon bungaku taikei 10 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1993), poem # 178. Tokuda, “Unkon unjō,” 12, n. 9.

194 The phrase is Orihime no hatate 織姫のはたて. Orihime is a weaver maid, and the term hatate can mean either her loom (hata 機) or a limit (hate 果て).

195 Tokuda quotes the Banbō hijiki 万宝鄙事記 (Record of Many Treasures of the Countryside, 1706) as saying that the mizumasa cloud is striped like a tiger. I therefore take the word mon 文 to mean decoration, and take the image of the cloud to be like a striped cloth related to the Weaver Maid. Tokuda, “Unkon unjō,” 12, n. 19. The mizumasa 水増 cloud is defined in the Nihon kokugo daijiten as a cloud that indicates rain will come, and the name means “water-increasing,” so I have called it the Rain Gathering cloud. Nihon kokugo daijiten, vol. 18, 565, s.v. “Mizumasa.”

Naniwa, there is always a wind blowing through the valley in the morning sending the ships off. In the evening, a western wind enters their sails. The great natural harbor of Settsu province must be over-crowded with ships.

The strengths of the winds vary in different locations based on the shapes of mountains that lie in the four directions. Although Chinese documents give different names to these types of wind, since these names match the directions with the four seasons, it would be difficult to use them in this country. For example, the “Sparrow Wind”\(^{197}\) that blows southeast in China during the sixth month cannot be called the same thing here, as it does not blow at the same time. Although there are many popular names found throughout our country, they are not correct. Since long ago the dry wind that blows from the northwest has been called the Anaji あなじ wind. It will even remove moisture from the air as it blows through. It can also be called the Shinado しなど wind.\(^{198}\) The strong wind from the north that blows across the sky is an auspicious omen from distant places. The “True Wind” blows out from between the mountains in the southwest and proceeds forward in a straight ahead, without trying to turn to the sea. It is cool and refreshing. The path of the wind and clouds does not necessarily follow the four directions exactly. Because of the winds that tend to blow diagonally into every nook and cranny, clouds that move straight forward are rare. The wind that blows from all directions is called a typhoon, and when it arrives, even the hearts of clouds cannot be calm.

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\(^{197}\) The “Sparrow Wind” 黄雀風 is one of the Chinese names for winds of different seasons, coming from different directions. This one, according to legend, turns fish into sparrows as it blows over them. As Teishō explains in the text, the winds that blow from certain directions in certain seasons would not be the same in Japan, and so they cannot use the same names. *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, vol. 7, 499, s.v. “Kōjyaku fū.”

\(^{198}\) The *Nihon kokugo daijiten* confirms both of these names for wind. The entry for Shinado says that it is a wind that can blow away sin and impurity. *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, vol. 1, 357, s.v. “Anaji kaze.” *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, vol. 10, 8, s.v. “Shinado no kaze.”
In truth, clouds, rain, wind and smoke are not really “drawn” in pictures. When people try to draw the movement of clouds scattered quickly by wind across the sky, they drop white powder onto the silk and form the shape by blowing with their mouths. These are called “Blown Clouds.” In order to draw more detailed clouds, one should take to heart the teachings of Rashō 羅章.\(^{199}\) It is good that the device to capture a true picture of a cloud has been passed down to the world by the Old Man of the Thick Clouds. If you ask me, humans have been especially frightened by the unknown white clouds. Even now, among the clouds that have blown across the sky for countless years, there are none that touch people’s hearts. However, after one hundred years have passed, we will gain a great era of peace,\(^{200}\) and auspicious clouds will be seen everywhere. In the area by the sea, thickets of human civilization will form, and an endless wind from the east will bring with it a profound blessing. Each of us clouds will wave the edges of our sleeves, while expanding without limit in all directions and forming our extraordinary peaks. Having seen a glimpse of that peaceful time, do not forget it.” And, with that joyful prediction, the clouds gradually dispersed.

The monk, feeling as if he had awoken from a dream, thought that surely the “master of the clouds and water” that Tanba Tarō had mentioned could not refer to him, but rather the enchanting carvings on the Buddhist sculpture.\(^{201}\) Having had the marvelous experience of hearing a discussion between the spirits of clouds, he related it to other people. Thus, people came to know for the first time the ancient names of the clouds that trailed in all four directions.

\(^{199}\) Tokuda says that both Rashō and “The Old Man of the Thick Clouds” are fictional. Tokuda, “Unkon unjō,” 13, n. 34 and 36.

\(^{200}\) Tokuda explains this as a “prediction” by the clouds of the reign of the Tokugawa family. Of course, Teishō was already living under this reign, so this is an indirect way of praising the ruler. Tokuda, “Unkon unjō,” 14, n. 39.

\(^{201}\) This refers again to the water and cloud carvings on the pagoda at Shitennoji. See note 146.
over Settsu. This story of playing with the white clouds in a dream is just reckless words from an empty mind, and perhaps people will also listen recklessly. In any case, I just wrote it all down carelessly.

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Chapter 4

Resentment and Revenge: The Use of Jirō as a Symbolic Vengeful Spirit in “Nakatsugawa”

Introduction

The story of “Nakatsugawa nyūdō yamabushizuka o tsukashimuru” (“The Nakatsugawa lay priest builds a mound to the mountain ascetic”) expands upon a historical legend that suggested that the famed retainer of Emperor Go-Daigo of the Southern Court, Kusunoki Masashige (hereafter referred to as Masashige), did not die at the battle of Minatogawa, but instead faked his own death and went into hiding during the rule of his enemies, the Ashikaga shogunate and the Northern Court. However, the story does not focus on Masashige as a main character, but instead follows an invented character, Uda Jirō, also a warrior who fought on the side of the Southern Court, who has also gone into hiding and lives under an assumed name. As is evident in my translation of the story, Jirō is filled with resentment at the Ashikaga shogunate, but his attempts to get either Masashige or his old comrade Akamatsu Sokuyū to join him in an uprising end in failure. He is ultimately killed by Sokuyū, and enshrined at the titular mound of the story, where his spirit appears to have been pacified.

Of the three characters in the story, Jirō can be considered the protagonist. He is the main driving force of the plot, and his thoughts and feelings are displayed to the reader in a

\[\text{203 This legend is found in the Edo period work } \text{Heika chawa 部家茶話} \text{ (Warriors Chat over Tea, 1720) by Hinatsu Shigetada み} \text{夏繁高. I have not determined whether the legend is also found in other sources, but Inoue Yasushi mentions in his book } \text{Ugetsu monogatari ron: gensen to shudai} \text{ that the work gathers strange theories about history and military stories from many different sources and examines them. Inoue Yasushi, } \text{Ugetsu monogatari ron : gensen to shudai} \text{ (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1999), 100.}
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\[\text{204 The summary of “Nakatsugawa” and any quotes included in this chapter come from my translation in Chapter 2 of this thesis.}\]
way that those of Sokuyū and Masashige are not. Despite the fact that Masashige and Sokuyū are actual historical figures, and Jirō appears to be fictional, Jirō occupies the central place in the story. In this chapter, I will examine the centrality of this fictional character, who is featured in the story instead of the famous Masashige, well-known as a loyal retainer of Go-Daigo. In analyzing the role of Masashige in Teishō’s story against his characterization in the Taiheiki, I have found that Teishō portrays him as a more passive and accepting character than Taiheiki, in which he is so fiercely loyal to Go-Daigo that he returns after death as a vengeful spirit. Jirō, on the other hand, seems to embody the characteristics of fierce and obsessive loyalty that Teishō has trimmed away from Masashige. Through this character analysis, I will examine the idea that Teishō uses Jirō as a substitute for Masashige, giving him the characteristics of a vengeful spirit so that he (along with the widespread feelings of resentment lingering after the loss of the Southern Court) can be put to rest.

The Character of Masashige in the Taiheiki, and his Historical Reception

The character of Masashige in the Taiheiki is treated as a larger-than-life legendary figure, both as a brilliant warrior and a loyal retainer. His death at Minatogawa, when he declares that he wishes he could be reborn seven times into the same life to destroy the enemies of the court, is a high point of the work. Masashige returns from the dead as a vengeful spirit in the third part of the Taiheiki, tormenting the warrior Ōmori Hikoshichi 大森彦七. He attempts to take Ōmori Hikoshichi’s magical sword, which he intends to use to strike down Ashikaga Takauji, but is unsuccessful. This depiction of Masashige in the Taiheiki greatly colored the way in which he was viewed by the general public. The two major aspects of his
character most often displayed were his loyalty and his strategy. In the *Taiheiki*, he loyally fought to the death for Go-Daigo, using many clever ruses, and was so distraught at being defeated that he returned later as a vengeful spirit.

These images of Masashige as a strategist and a loyal retainer are not exclusive, but different aspects of his character were emphasized at different points in history. In the late 14th and 15th centuries, Masashige, although admired for his loyalty and cunning, was seen as an akutō 悪党, a term applied to bandits and rebels who opposed the rightful ruler. This was due to the view that the Northern Court was the legitimate imperial lineage, which colored Go-Daigo and his supporters as rebels. However, in 1563, Masashige received a posthumous pardon for his actions.205

During the Edo period, the issue of the legitimacy of the Southern Court was a matter of debate, complicated by the fact that the ruling Tokugawa family was descended from Go-Daigo supporter Nitta Yoshisada, but the emperor was from the Northern Imperial line. Confucian scholars such as Hayashi Gahō 林鵞峰 (1618-1680) and Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 (1657-1725) seemed to favor the idea that the Southern Court had originally been the legitimate line, but Go-Daigo’s misrule during the Kenmu Restoration had transferred the right to rule to military leaders such as the Ashikaga (and of course, the Tokugawa).206 During Teishō’s time, Confucian scholars, especially the Mito school 水戸学, praised Masashige as an exemplar of a pious retainer as opinion turned toward favoring the Southern Court as the legitimate line. At the

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same time, military scholars, such as Yui Shōsetsu 由井正雪 (1605-1651), followed the “Kusunoki-style” of tactics, and there were many documents about military strategy that were falsely attributed to Masashige. In these works he is admired for his strategy rather than his loyalty, but the two ideals appear to have co-existed during the Edo period.

The rumor that Masashige faked his own death and went into hiding can be found in Heika chawa 兵家茶話 (Warriors Chat over Tea, 1720), by the military scholar Hinatsu Shigetada 日夏繁高 (1660-1731), who gathered strange theories from various sources and examined them in this work. When Teishō examines this rumor in “Nakatsugawa,” he presents Masashige the strategist, who carefully considers Jirō’s request to lead the Southern Court in an uprising and refuses on practical grounds. Although he still appears to be very loyal, he accepts the situation of the Ashikaga rule in a way that the Masashige of the Taiheiki does not seem capable of doing. This acceptance on the part of Masashige shows Teishō’s view of the fall of the Southern Court, which will be further discussed in Chapter 5. Masashige’s presentation in the story also negates the later tale in the Taiheiki in which Masashige’s spirit returns to torment Ōmori Hikoshichi. In this chapter, I argue that Teishō was able to transfer the negative image of resentment to Jirō instead of the hero Masashige.

**A Comparison of Masashige’s Character in “Nakatsugawa” and in the Taiheiki**

Masashige in the Taiheiki exhibits several qualities that are either lacking or altered in Teishō’s version of Masashige. In the Taiheiki, he is treated as having a mythical, almost divine

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208 Inoue Yasushi, Ugetsu monogatari ron: gensen to shudai (Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 1999), 100, 106.
quality; he is relentless in his attacks, even though he uses caution and strategy; and he is extremely loyal to Go-Daigo. Teishō’s Masashige, by comparison, is passive and accepting. The Taiheiki presents Masashige as having a mythical aura. Go-Daigo has a symbolic dream predicting his appearance as an ally, and monks discuss the rumor of his divine origin.\(^{209}\) However, the Masashige of Teishō’s story seems subdued in comparison. Although he is treated as a great figure,\(^{210}\) there is nothing overtly miraculous about him. It seems as if the divine, legendary quality of the active Masashige of the Taiheiki has dimmed in the more sedentary Masashige of Teishō’s story.

In the Taiheiki, when Masashige fights for Go-Daigo’s cause, he is brave, skilled, and extremely cunning, often out-witting the enemy with his strategy. Although he is willing to die for the emperor’s cause, he is shrewd enough to see when a battle is worth fighting.\(^{211}\) The Masashige of Teishō’s story is also cautious and wise. When he listens to Jirō’s plan, he carefully considers it and then rejects it when a divination indicates an unfavorable outcome. Masashige does not argue against Jirō’s uprising morally, but on practical grounds, that he is sure to fail. Criticizing Jirō’s impetuous nature, he tells him that, “Someone like you, who does whatever comes to mind will use too much of his energy and have none left when it is

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\(^{209}\) In the Taiheiki, Masashige is said to have been conceived after his mother received a vision while worshipping at the shrine of Bishamonten. Helen Craig McCullough, trans., The Taiheiki: A Chronicle of Medieval Japan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), 67-68.

\(^{210}\) Masashige is described in the beginning of Teishō’s story as a scholar of both literary and military arts with many disciples.

\(^{211}\) An example of this can be seen in McCullough’s translation of the Taiheiki, pp. 90-91, when Masashige makes the strategic decision to abandon Akasaka castle and burn it down, leaving bodies behind to trick the enemy into thinking that the entire force has died. McCullough, Taiheiki, 90-91.
necessary." In Teishō’s story, Masashige still harbors a desire to destroy the shogunate, but is waiting for the proper time. He seems to have accepted the inevitability of the Southern Court’s defeat, and will only take action if “fate” seems to approve it, as is shown when he rejects Jirō’s plan after an unfavorable divination.

Compared to Masashige in Taiheiki, Teishō’s Masashige is passive. He does not attempt to actually come up with his own plan, but only judges the merits of Jirō’s. The Taiheiki Masashige might use a clever plan to fake his own death, as Teishō’s Masashige has done, but he would not remain in hiding for long. When Emperor Go-Daigo was exiled to the Oki Islands, Masashige is one of the warriors who continue to launch attacks against the forces of the Kamakura shogunate until the Emperor can return. He shows a passion and vitality that is lacking in Teishō’s version. In Teishō’s text, Jirō has taken on the active role, leaving Masashige free to merely give an aloof reaction.

Finally, the Masashige of the Taiheiki is incredibly loyal to Go-Daigo, and would lay down his life for him if need be. His death at Minatogawa ultimately comes about because of his extreme loyalty to Go-Daigo. Although he initially argues for an alternate plan of action, when Go-Daigo give the order, Masashige goes out to fight knowing that it is a battle he is likely to lose. When the inevitable happens and his army is defeated, he commits suicide, saying: “Even if I am reborn seven times, I would be reborn into the same life, in order to destroy the enemies

of the court!" As mentioned above, he re-appears in the *Taiheiki* as a vengeful spirit, hoping to acquire a magic sword so that he can attack Ashikaga Takauji. By contrast, Teishō’s Masashige, although not completely giving up, appears to be biding his time and does not have the vitality of a resentful spirit actively seeking revenge. In addition, compared to the *Taiheiki*’s Masashige who wants to be reborn again and again to defeat the enemies of the emperor, Teishō’s Masashige has a certain degree of acceptance of the Southern Court’s defeat. He describes how “things progressed according to the tides of fate,” acknowledging a certain amount of karmic destiny in the outcome of past battles, which dilutes the fierceness of the *Taiheiki*’s Masashige.

All of this serves to create a calmer, more cautious Masashige in Teishō’s story, negating the image of the vengeful spirit in the *Taiheiki*’s third book. However, it seems unthinkable that the loyal Masashige from the *Taiheiki* would be able to live quietly for such a long time after the defeat of Go-Daigo’s forces. It seems likely that he would have felt strong resentment at having to live under the rule of the enemy, the Ashikaga shogunate. Teishō’s story does not deny these resentful feelings, but instead channels them into Jirō, whose behavior embodies that of a vengeful spirit.

**Jirō as a Symbolic Vengeful Spirit**

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214 Varley, 198, 208.

Throughout the work, Jirō displays several characteristics that are similar to those shown by vengeful spirits in Japanese literature and culture. He is living under an assumed name, so that his former self is essentially “dead,” he is emotional and filled with resentment, he is obsessed with the past, and he is willing to cause destruction and turmoil in order to be satisfied. At the end of the story, he is killed (or “put to rest”) by a priest, and pacified by a mound set up in his honor, just as a vengeful spirit might be. The characteristics that make Jirō similar to a resentful ghost, particularly his strong emotion, contrast with the calm logic and acceptance that Masashige displays, to show that Jirō has essentially become Masashige’s substitute.

First of all, there is the matter of the assumed name. Jirō’s real name is Yatajūrō Yoshitoyo, but he has been forced to hide since the exile and execution of his master, Prince Morinaga. Like Masashige, his old self is “dead” to the world, although unlike Masashige, he later reverts to his former identity. Speaking of various former allies of the Southern Court, Jirō sets himself up as a representative of the resentment of all those who lost out in the war between the Ashikaga and Go-Daigo.

Secondly, Jirō is consumed by his deep resentment, and speaks of it constantly. When Jirō first speaks to Masashige about living under Ashikaga rule and the decline of the Southern Court, he says, “we former retainers grit our teeth in frustration day and night.” Later, talking to Sokuyū, he also speaks of resentment that he cannot forget. Jirō’s single-minded purpose throughout the story is to rise up against the Ashikaga shogunate and take revenge for Go-Daigo’s defeat. Even when Masashige and Sokuyū try to dissuade him with more logical

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arguments, referring to various Chinese classics, Jirō cannot be convinced. The fact that Masashige and Sokuyū both use references to Chinese philosophy in their arguments which are based on practicality and morality emphasizes the emotional content of Jirō’s arguments which are more concerned with the past. Being consumed with emotion, especially resentment, is one of the main characteristics of vengeful spirits, whose attachments to the world prevent them from achieving enlightenment. People who die with strong attachment to the world, often due to an untimely death, linger as spirits.

In addition, Jirō’s desire to instigate an uprising further marks him as a symbolic vengeful spirit, since he is willing to cause turmoil in the land in order to strike at his enemy, just as vengeful spirits might cause plagues or disasters that affect many people, not just the ones responsible for the spirit’s resentment. When Sokuyū argues with Jirō, he points out his selfishness in wanting to start trouble that will only lead to further lives lost and property destroyed. When Sokuyū is forced to kill Jirō, he says, “It’s tragic, but you are an evil influence that I must remove for the sake of the world.” This indicates how Jirō’s plans might have caused damage if he were allowed to carry them out. This potential for harm marks Jirō as a vengeful spirit, since spirits tied to the world by resentment would attack their enemies.

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218 Teishō, “Nakatsugawa,” 44.
Sometimes this occurred on a personal level, and sometimes they caused disasters that might harm innocents while venting their wrath.\(^{219}\)

Finally, just as vengeful spirits are often pacified by a priest,\(^{220}\) Jirō is killed by Sokuyū the lay priest, who then builds the mound in Jirō’s honor. Jirō, like many pacified vengeful spirits, becomes a benevolent deity. These aspects of Jirō, especially his strong desire for revenge, suggest his identity as a vengeful spirit, a role in which he substitutes for the more famous Masashige.

**The Fluidity of Names and Identities**

The usage of names in the work suggests a resemblance between the roles of Jirō and Sokuyū and the *shite* 仕手 and *waki* 脇 arrangement of a no drama. In a particular kind of no drama called *mugen* no 夢幻能 (dream plays), the *shite* will be a ghost remaining in the world due to lingering attachments. The *shite* will always appear in disguise first to the *waki* (who is most often a wandering priest), then admit to his identity as a ghost, and tell the story of his death.\(^{221}\) In a similar vein, the story “Nakatsugawa” has several no-like elements. The

\(^{219}\) The *goryō* that might cause disasters were a more common belief in the Heian period, and usually involve aristocrats whose political ambition had been thwarted. Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真, who was later pacified with a shrine and became a benevolent deity of scholarship, is one of the most famous examples. In the Edo period, the vengeful spirit hauntings became more personal, and occurred on a smaller scale, usually just targeting the spirit’s particular enemy (or a disloyal husband’s new wife, in the case of a female vengeful spirit). See Hori, *Folk Religion in Japan*, 111-117.

\(^{220}\) There are many examples of this, such as the Nō drama *Aoi no Ue* 葵上 (Aoi no Ue), in which a priest helps the vengeful Lady Rokujō 六条御息所 achieve enlightenment, and Ueda Akinari’s story 青頭巾 “Aozukin” (Blue Hood), in which a priest does the same thing for another priest who has become a flesh-eating demon due to his attachment to a young man.

story features two characters in hiding, living under assumed names, and one who has become a lay priest, and has a religious title.

The way the names change during the narration of the story shows the changing roles that the characters play. Jirō, who is living under a false identity but eventually reveals his true self, is in a *shite* role. Throughout his conversation with Masashige and his journey to Nakatsugawa, he is referred to by his assumed name of Jirō. However, when he encounters Akamatsu Sokuyū, who recognizes him as a former comrade, the narration refers to him by his real name, Yatajūrō Yoshitoyo. He remains Yoshitoyo until the very end of the story, when he is killed by Sokuyū. He is never referred to again as Jirō after he meets with Sokuyū. The character is called Jirō throughout the first part of the story as part of his hidden identity. Even after he reveals himself to Masashige, he remains Jirō; since Masashige has rejected his plan, Jirō cannot yet assume his true role as the warrior Yatajūrō Yoshitoyo and start an uprising against the shogunate. He must remain in hiding, and disguise himself as a mountain ascetic in order to speak with Sokuyū. It is only after Sokuyū recognizes him that he reverts to his old identity, ceasing to be Jirō and again assuming the role of Yatajūrō Yoshitoyo, in the same way that a ghostly *shite* in a *mugen* Nō play will reveal its true identity.

By contrast, Masashige is never referred to by his actual name of Kusunoki Masashige throughout the narration of the story. Although his speech makes his true identity obvious, he never openly admits to being Masashige and actually refers to himself in the third person as “Lord Kusunoki,” when describing his past actions. The narration refers to him throughout the story by his assumed name, Sakurazaki Sahyōe. Masashige refuses to reclaim his old identity,
or even admit to it, so he remains in his role of Sakurazaki Sahyōe throughout the story. This emphasizes his passive role in the story compared to Jirō’s active switching of identities.

In addition, Akamatsu Sokuyū is referred to through most of the narration as nyūdō 入道, a title meaning lay priest. This emphasizes his role as a priest. He is not interested in revenge, but has distanced himself from the world. Sokuyū being constantly referred to as nyūdō helps to reinforce his own role as a waki-like character. Like a waki in a mugen nō play, Sokuyū encounters the “real” Jirō and is able to help pacify him in the end. After Jirō, like a spirit in a nō play, has revealed his true self and his reasons for staying in the world, Sokuyū lays him to rest. The use of names and the symbolic representation of a nō play further reinforce the image of Jirō as a vengeful spirit.

The Significance of Jirō’s Substitution

Becoming a vengeful spirit, even for reasons of loyalty as in the case of Masashige, is considered a negative state. Seen in Buddhist terms, a vengeful spirit is tethered by worldly attachments, and cannot achieve enlightenment. Someone who has returned after death for vengeance has essentially become a monster due to intense emotions and can cause harm to the living. Teishō’s “Nakatsugawa” story deals with these kinds of lingering emotions: rage and resentment that are left over after the defeat of the Southern Court. The technique of substituting Jirō for the famous Masashige, who would be expected to embody the anger and resentment of the fallen Southern Court, allows Masashige to remain faultless. It also allows

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222 Both by killing Jirō and by building a mound to pacify his spirit.

223 In other words, his reason for returning to his old identity of Yoshitoyo, instead of remaining in hiding as Jirō.
the feelings left over from the Southern Court’s defeat to be laid to rest through the death and pacification of Jirō, the embodiment of those feelings. Using Masashige as the representation of the Southern Court’s resentment would have required his death, which would have been anti-climactic compared with his famous suicide in the Taiheiki. Instead, pacification can be achieved through the use of a substitute. Teishō was able to use this technique to present a version of Masashige that displays his positive traits of loyalty and intelligence, without having to deal with the negative trait of over-emotional resentment. This characterization may also reflect Teishō’s own opinions on the fall of the Southern Court, as he appears to sympathize with them but must accept their inevitable loss.
Chapter Five

Mandate of Heaven:

Teishō and Southern Court Legitimacy in “Nakatsugawa”

Introduction

The second aspect of “Nakatsugawa” that I would like to examine is Teishō’s attitude toward the Southern Court. By examining the language that Teishō uses in the arguments of Masashige and Sokuyū, with their frequent repetition of words like “destiny,” and the portrayal of figures from the Southern Court in other Teishō stories, I will explore the thesis that Teishō sympathized with the Southern Court, but accepted its defeat as inevitable due to the loss of the Mandate of Heaven. I will also compare Akinari’s “Shiramine” to “Nakatsugawa” in terms of their treatment of the central theme of resentment, in order to better highlight Teishō’s viewpoint. First I will explain the concept of the Mandate of Heaven, and how it can be used to legitimize a reign.

The concept of the Mandate of Heaven was an idea frequently found in Chinese political thought that suggested that a ruler had divine authority from Heaven, but that the authority could be revoked if the ruler proved unfit. A successful uprising against a ruler would then be considered Heaven’s will, since a rebellion would fail if a ruler still possessed the Mandate. The idea first appeared in the Classic of History, where the Duke of Zhou explains to King Cheng 周成王 why the previous Shang dynasty 商朝 (1600–1046 BCE) was conquered by the Zhou 周朝 (1046–256 BCE). The Shang ruler’s misconduct offended Heaven, and it transferred its Mandate to the worthy Zhou dynasty. The Duke of Zhou says:
“When Heaven rejected and made an end of the decree in favor of the great dynasty of Yin, there were many of its former wise kings in Heaven. The king, however, who succeeded them, the least of his race, from the time of his entering into their appointment, proceeded in such a way as to keep the wise in obscurity, and the vicious in office...Oh! Heaven had compassion on the people of the four quarters; its favoring decree lighted on our earnest founders.”

This was a convenient way to explain dynastic changes, justifying the defeat of the previous ruler and establishing the authority of the new regime. The concept was expanded upon by the Confucian scholar Mencius (Mengzi)孟子 (ca. 372-ca. 289 BCE), who claims that a ruler who is unfit is not a true ruler at all, and therefore rebellion against him is a right of the people, who are enacting Heaven’s will. When Mencius is asked about the assassination of Zhou, who was a tyrant ruler killed by a subject, he replies:

“One who mutilates benevolence should be called a ‘mutilator.’ One who mutilates righteousness should be called a ‘crippler.’ A crippler and mutilator is called a mere ‘fellow.’ I have indeed heard of the execution of this one fellow Zhou, but I have not heard of it as the assassination of one’s ruler.”

This redefinition of the ruler Zhou as a “fellow” demonstrates the idea of the Mandate – someone who is unfit is no longer truly a king, and his execution is only proper.

The idea of the Mandate of Heaven conflicted with the Japanese idea of the divine lineage of the emperor. The Chinese idea of the Mandate justified the transfer of power from an unworthy ruler to a worthy one, and it could serve as justification for the rise of someone
who was not a member of the imperial family. In Japan, the imperial family’s divine right to
rule stemmed from its descent from Amaterasu 天照, the Shinto sun goddess,\(^{227}\) so it was
difficult to transfer authority to someone who was not a member of the imperial line. The
military government that began in the Kamakura period continued to use the emperor as a
symbol of its authority, rather than try to establish its own right to rule.\(^{228}\) This made it
problematic for Japanese Confucian historians to deal with the Nanboku-chō period, in which
two imperial courts claimed legitimacy, and the winning court (Northern) was essentially a
puppet for the military government. Determining which court was legitimate was especially
difficult for historians during the Tokugawa period. Although the Tokugawa government was
legitimized by an emperor who was a descendent of the Northern Court, the Tokugawa family,
who were descended from Southern Court loyalist Nitta Yoshisada, sought to have the Ashikaga
family, who had supported the Northern Court, treated as traitors. This would help legitimize
the Tokugawa reign both by recognizing the merit of their ancestor Yoshisada, and by treating
the last ruling military government, the Ashikaga, as unfit.\(^{229}\)

Kate Nakai has discussed how Confucian historians working for the shogunate dealt with
the issue of legitimacy of the Northern and Southern Courts in their histories, generally by
treating the Southern Court as originally legitimate, but as having lost the Mandate due to Go-
Daigo’s misconduct. Hayashi Gahō, in his work *Nihon ōdai ichiran* 日本王代一覧 (Listing of the

\(^{227}\) The most important deity in the Shinto pantheon.


\(^{229}\) Nakai, 80.
Japanese Rulers, 1664), describes Go-Daigo in terms often used for those who bring about the loss of the Mandate for their dynasty – he is shortsighted and resistant to the warnings of loyal ministers. Arai Hakuseki, in Tokushi yoron 読史余論 (Theories on Reading History, 1712) also treated the Southern Court’s line as legitimate, and claimed that Go-Daigo’s actions caused them to lose the Mandate, although he also treats the Northern Court as a pretender and Tokugawa Ieyasu as the proper recipient of the Mandate at the beginning of the Tokugawa rule. Inoue Yasushi 井上泰至, who has analyzed “Nakatsugawa” in an effort to understand Teishō’s position on the legitimacy of the Southern Court, finds this view, that of Go-Daigo losing the Mandate through his misrule, to be the common one among Confucian scholars during Teishō’s time. Inoue feels that this idea is reflected in Teishō’s “Nakatsugawa,” as does Tokuda Takeshi. I would like to expand upon their ideas by looking more closely at the evidence within “Nakatsugawa” supporting the idea that Teishō attributed the fall of the Southern Court to the Mandate of Heaven.

The Emphasis on Fate in the Rhetoric of Masashige and Sokuyū

Inoue has pointed out that the arguments which Masashige uses when debating with Jirō emphasize the role of fate in the Southern Court’s fall, by frequently citing destiny or the will of Heaven as the reason for certain events occurring. This emphasis on fate or destiny as

230 Nakai, 80.
231 Nakai, 88-90.
232 Inoue, 109.
234 Inoue, 107-108.
a cause of regime change shows that Teishō attributes the Southern Court’s defeat to the loss of the Mandate. When Masashige recounts to Jirō his own actions during the Kenmu Restoration, he specifically mentions fate, saying, “When his wisdom was not up to the task, he entrusted events to the principle of destiny.” This comment from Masashige indicates that he relied upon fate to determine the outcome of battles if his own strategy could not be relied upon. This shows an implicit acceptance for the outcomes determined by fate. He also mentions fate when talking about Takauji’s rise to power, saying, “He [Takauji] is not necessarily an unbeatable enemy, but when one looks at the grand scheme of things, he seems destined to prevail.” He uses the term tenmei o kisu, meaning “to attribute something to the will of Heaven.” Inoue asserts that this kind of language is indicative of Ashikaga’s victory being a “revolution” that changes the regime according to the Mandate. This is evidence of Teishō’s opinion that the Southern Court lost its legitimacy through the loss of its Mandate.

Another important reference that emphasizes the destined failure of the Southern Court is Masashige’s allusion to Zhuge Liang. Like Masashige, Zhuge Liang was a brilliant strategist

235 He speaks of himself in the third person as “Lord Kusunoki,” still not admitting his true identity.


238 Tenmei (Chinese: Tian ming) is the Chinese word meaning “Mandate of Heaven.”

239 He uses the term Kakumei, which means “revolution,” but has its origin in the Chinese word that means removing the mandate. Explanation of the word in Schirokauer, 42. See also Inoue, 108.

240 Zhuge Liang, or Kongming was chief advisor to Liu Bei of the Shu Han dynasty (221-264 A.D.) during the Three Kingdoms period (220-280 A.D.). The quote from “Nakatsugawa” refers to Zhuge Liang’s Northern campaigns against the Kingdom of Wei, which he feared would overwhelm the Shu Han dynasty if left unchecked. His life is chronicled in the work Romance of the
whose defeat also appeared to be inevitable fate. When Jirō confronts Masashige with his suspicions of his identity, he responds with, “Zhuge Liang of the Shu Han dynasty sent his troops out from Mt. Qi countless times, but even his infallible techniques for victory were like a fleeting dream.”\textsuperscript{241} He goes on to talk about how Zhuge Liang must have felt anguish as his Northern campaigns failed and about the importance of understanding the enemy. Masashige uses Zhuge Liang as an example to caution Jirō against rash action, since even such an incomparable strategist ultimately failed in his ambition. However, Zhuge Liang also acts as a symbol of the power of fate. Although he was a great strategist, and seems nearly unbeatable throughout \textit{Romance of the Three Kingdoms}, even his brilliant tactics could not defeat the kingdom of Wei. Zhuge Liang feared that, if left unconquered, the kingdom of Wei would overcome the Shu Han kingdom that he fought for. After his death on yet another unsuccessful campaign, the Wei did ultimately overthrow the Shu Han.\textsuperscript{242} Zhuge Liang, as a similar figure to Masashige,\textsuperscript{243} reinforces Teishō’s depiction of the Southern Court losing its Mandate, since his image emphasizes the role of fate in a military loss.

Masashige’s words are important in establishing Teishō’s viewpoint that the Southern Court lost the Mandate of Heaven, but the fact that the historical figure Masashige is the mouth-piece for this viewpoint is also important. In the previous chapter, I presented the


\textsuperscript{241} Teishō, “Nakatsugawa,” 36.


\textsuperscript{243} Zhuge Liang is similar to Masashige in his tactical brilliance, his devotion to the Shu Han, and the fact that his death likely contributed to the fall of the Shu Han, just as the loss of Masashige likely contributed to the fall of the Southern Court.
image of Masashige as the ultimate loyal retainer, wishing at his death that he could be reborn to continue fighting for the Southern Court. When Teishō substituted Jirō as the symbolic vengeful spirit who would embody the resentment felt by the losing Southern Court side, he created a more passive and accepting Masashige who is treated in the story like a wise mentor to the impulsive Jirō. The contrast between the fierce Masashige of the Taiheiki and Teishō’s Masashige who treats Takauji’s victory as a matter of Heaven’s will reinforces Teishō’s historical interpretation. For the extremely loyal Masashige, who returned in the Taiheiki as a vengeful spirit because he couldn’t accept defeat, to speak of the Southern Court’s loss as a matter of fate presents the idea that it was fate and therefore inevitable, much more strongly than if an unknown character were the mouthpiece for this viewpoint.

Although the historical figure Akamatsu Sokuyū is not as important or recognizable as Masashige, the language used by Sokuyū in his arguments against Jirō also reinforce the idea that the Southern Court was destined to fall. When he speaks of the reign of the Ashikaga, he says, “In recent years, Heaven has tired of the strife in this country, and we have entered into a peaceful era. The feelings of the people are calm; soldiers do not march through the land. But you will try to have your will and stir up chaos in order to appease your resentment.” Sokuyū directly states in his argument that Heaven has intervened to stop the warfare that led up to the Ashikaga shogunate. This would indicate that Heaven intervened in Ashikaga’s favor and that his reign was destined to happen. Sokuyū goes on to call Jirō selfish and vulgar for attempting to disrupt this peaceful time for the sake of his petty revenge. The current era of peace is good for the entire kingdom. This idea is in line with the philosophy of the Mandate of

244 Teishō, “Nakatsugawa,” 43.
Heaven – since it will revoke its authority from a bad ruler through uprisings, a realm at peace indicates a good ruler who has Heaven’s approval. Jirō’s attempts to upset that peace go against the will of Heaven. The arguments used by both Sokuyū and Masashige, with language that heavily emphasizes acceptance and fate, along with Jirō’s own role discussed in Chapter 4 as a symbolic vengeful spirit that is laid to rest – these all show Teishō’s attitude towards the Southern Court: that its fall was inevitable.

One more indication of Teishō’s opinion on the inevitable fall of the Southern Court is the outcome of Jirō’s divination in which the block representing the inferior Southern Court numbers was pierced through, and the block representing the superior Northern Court numbers remained intact. Since the outcome is unfavorable to his plans to rise against the shogunate, his actions will not succeed. The divination was essentially a message from Heaven indicating that Jirō’s actions are invalid, and his plans are destined to fail.

**Teishō’s Sympathy for the Southern Court in Other Works**

To further understand Teishō’s view of the Southern Court, one can look at Teishō’s other works that deal with historical figures from the Southern Court. Inoue has pointed out that nine out of Teishō’s twenty-seven tales deal with figures of the Southern Court, and that their positive portrayal shows Teishō’s bias toward the Southern Court. In “Kusunoki danjōzaemon tatakawazu shite teki o sei suru koto” 楠弾正左衛門不戦して敵を制する話

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(“How Kusunoki Danjōzaemon Subdued an Enemy Without Fighting”), a descendant of Masashige is shown defeating a wicked lord though the use of a clever scheme, much like his strategist ancestor. In “Toyohara no Kaenaki in o kikite kuni no seisui o shiru koto” 豊原兼秋音を聴きて国の盛衰を知る話 ("How Toyohara no Kaneaki Heard a Sound and Came to Know the Rise and Fall of the Country"), the protagonist is a minister loyal to Go-Daigo. The first sentence of this story describes how Go-Daigo is in hiding from the gyakushin 頽臣 ("treacherous retainers") at Kamakura, assigning a villainous role to the ministers of the Kamakura government. This shows sympathy towards the Southern Court, while Teishō accepts the historical reality that the Northern Court was the winning side. This sympathetic attitude towards the Southern Court can also be seen in “Nakatsugawa” through the positive portrayal of Masashige, but at the same time Teishō acknowledges in this story that the Southern Court’s loss was due to fate.

I have discussed the evidence in Teishō’s works that he believed the Southern Court, although legitimate, had lost the Mandate of Heaven and was destined to fall. However, an important part of the Mandate of Heaven concept was that the ruler loses the Mandate due to misconduct, so I must also examine Teishō’s assessment of Emperor Go-Daigo in his works. In “Natakatsugawa” Teishō asserts through Masashige that the loss of the Southern Court was due to fate, but he does not discuss in detail Go-Daigo’s misconduct that would have lost the


Mandate for his lineage. Teishō’s viewpoint that Go-Daigo ruled poorly during the Kenmu Restoration (thus losing the Mandate) can be better seen in Teishō’s story, “Go-Daigo no mikado mitabi Fujifusa no isame o kujiku koto” 后醍醐の帝三たび藤房の諌を折く話, translated as, “Emperor Go-Daigo three times ignores the counsel of minister Fujifusa.” In this story, by ignoring the advice of a wise minister, Go-Daigo is shown to be a stubborn ruler who does not understand, or is not willing to listen to rebukes about his mis-governance. I will examine this story in order to further explore Teishō’s belief that the Southern Court, although the legitimate imperial lineage, lost the Mandate of Heaven due to Go-Daigo’s misconduct.

In the story, a wise minister, Fujifusa, attempts to warn Go-Daigo three times during the Kenmu Restoration that his behavior is inappropriate, and each time the emperor does not heed him or completely misunderstands his warning. This story gives a complex picture of Go-Daigo. He is treated as learned and knowledgeable, but also unaware of his own faults. Fujifusa’s three rebukes all point out a different aspect of Go-Daigo’s improper behavior. The first is in reaction to a poem that the Emperor presents to a courtier when he makes him a gift of land. Given that the Taiheiki characterizes Go-Daigo as improperly distributing rewards after the defeat of the Kamakura shogunate, Fujifusa’s comment on the poem may have been a subtle rebuke against the Emperor’s gift to an unworthy courtier. Go-Daigo ignores the rebuke, and instead lectures Fujifusa on poetic imagery. The second rebuke concerns the Emperor’s

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249 Inoue Yasushi also examined the portrayal of Go-Daigo in this story. He determined that overall, Go-Daigo is presented as having too much academic knowledge, but not enough wisdom. He can argue with his minister over trivial details of classical works, but his stubbornness makes him miss the point of his minister’s rebukes. From Inoue, 107-109.
over-indulgence in Buddhism: Fujifusa starts to give historical examples of kingdoms in China that fell apart due to a corrupt Buddhist clergy given free reign, but Go-Daigo is able to argue back that over-indulgence in anything will cause harm to the kingdom. The final rebuke occurs when Go-Daigo receives a fabulous horse that can run at a supernaturally fast pace. While the other ministers praise it, Fujifusa, attempting to rebuke the emperor for his indulgence in luxury, argues that such a horse is not practical. In an imperial outing, it will leave everyone else far behind, and the emperor cannot ride alone unprotected. Again, the Emperor does not understand (or refuses to understand), and simply quibbles over trivia. At this last failed attempt, Fujifusa leaves the court.

The three rebukes all criticize specific aspects of Go-Daigo’s rule during the Kenmu Restoration. The first appears to criticize his mishandling of rewards and indulgences, as he granted land to an unworthy courtier. The second deals with Go-Daigo’s indulgence in Buddhism, at a time when the country was still recovering from the recent wars. The third rebuke, aside from again criticizing Go-Daigo’s indulgences, is perhaps meant to point out the emperor’s need for the loyal support of his government, with the image of the Emperor riding out too far ahead of his party. He goes on to say that loyalty has not been rewarded, and that Go-Daigo’s current ministers simply curry favor with him; if things go wrong, he may escape on his swift horse, but no one will follow him. The Taiheiki details how Takauji’s rebellion against Go-Daigo was at least partially the result of feeling that Go-Daigo had not properly rewarded him for his role in defeating the Hōjō, and he was joined by other warriors who also felt alienated. These three specific rebukes help to show Teishō’s attitude toward Go-Daigo and the fall of the Southern Court. The Southern Court’s fall was inevitable due to the loss of the
Mandate of Heaven which was lost by Go-Daigo’s misrule, namely, his indulgences, his failure to reward loyal ministers, and his unwillingness to listen. This image is further reinforced in the story by Minister Fujifusa’s departure. A minister leaving a government in which he can do no good and retiring is common in Chinese history, especially when that government has lost its Mandate and is destined to fall.

**Similarities to Akinari’s “Shiramine”**

Finally, I would like to compare Teishō’s “Nakatsugawa” with Ueda Akinari’s “Shiramine.” Relating these two stories is important for two reasons. First, because the two writers were contemporaries, and Teishō, who published *Shigeshige yawa* before *Ugetsu monogatari*, is often cited as an influence on Akinari. Secondly, because the two works deal with similar issues of lingering resentment after a loss and with the idea of the Mandate of Heaven, but address them in different ways. While Teishō accepts the concept of the Mandate of Heaven in “Nakatsugawa” as the reason for the Southern Court’s fall, Akinari rejects the concept of the Mandate of Heaven, emphasizing instead the Japanese Emperor’s divine right to rule. I want to address the possible influence that Teishō may have had on Akinari by comparing the similarities between their two works, but at the same time highlight Teishō’s unique voice toward history by showing the different ways in which they address the central themes of resentment and the Mandate of Heaven.
Many scholars of early yomihon have pointed out the similarities between Teishō’s two collections, Hanabusa zōshi and Shigeshige yawa, and Ueda Akinari’s Ugetsu monogatari.250 In particular, the basic structure is the same, with nine stories being divided among five volumes. Another obvious similarity is simply the fact that both works feature adaptations of Chinese vernacular tales, although Shigeshige yawa relies less on Chinese tales.251 There is also the high level of intellectual discussion that characterizes both works and the emphasis on dialogue rather than action, although Akinari’s work contains more vivid descriptions than Teishō’s dryer writing.

In particular, the first story in Akinari’s collection, “Shiramine” (“White Peak”) is said to have been partially based on the Teishō story in Hanabusa zōshi that was discussed above: “Go-Daigo no mikado mitabi Fujifusa no isame o kujiku koto”.252 However, I feel that “Shiramine” has greater similarity with “Nakatsugawa.” The main similarity between “Shiramine” and “Fujifusa” is that of an Emperor (in “Shiramine,” the spirit of Sutoku 崇德, and in “Fujifusa,” the living Go-Daigo) being cautioned by a wise figure (Saigyō 西行 and Fujifusa) and ultimately ignoring their advice. However, “Shiramine” adds a theme of resentment and desire for revenge that is not present in “Fujifusa.” Although the emperor is cautioned from a potentially

250 Such as Tokuda Takeshi in his “Commentary” to the Shin nihon koten bungaku taikei edition of Shigeshige yawa, or Shigetomo Ki in his book Kinsei bungakushi no shomondai.

251 Although Shigeshige yawa relies less on stories based on Chinese vernacular than Ugetsu monogatari, it should still be noted that Teishō is generally considered to have been influenced more by Chinese literature and language than Akinari. Teishō uses more Chinese characters in his writing, often with the Chinese readings, while Akinari favored a more poetic, Japanese writing style. Teishō also refers more to Chinese literature and history, even in works that are not directly based on Chinese vernacular tales. See Reider, 81-83.

destructive path in “Fujifusa,” the tale takes place during the Kenmu Restoration, after Go-Daigo had defeated the Kamakura shogunate, and when he was at the height of his power. Judging by the central theme of resentment, I feel that “Nakatsugawa” is a much better comparison for “Shiramine.”

In both “Shiramine” and “Nakatsugawa” members of a defeated political group feature heavily as the main characters, and the time is set after their defeat. Both stories involve a discussion or debate concerning how this defeat came about, and the best course of action for the future. Both stories devote most of their time to this debate of history, so that the events taking place in the present seem like a framing device for a discussion of the past. Both stories involve a member of the defeated party who is unable to let go of his feelings of resentment (the actual ghost of Sutoku in “Shiramine” and the symbolic spirit Jirō in “Nakatsugawa”), and a wiser figure (Saigyō in “Shiramine”; Masashige in “Nakatsugawa”) cautioning them. Both stories involve the supernatural: it takes center stage in “Shiramine,” in which the ghost of Sutoku has become an evil spirit, but it is also present in “Nakatsugawa,” both symbolically (Jirō’s actions in “Nakatsugawa” classifying him as a symbolic evil spirit) and literally (Jirō’s ghost, which has now been pacified, haunting the mound as a protector of people’s wishes at the end). Also, both stories deal with a historical legend. “Shiramine” deals with the legend, found in Hōgen monogatari 保元物語 (Tale of Hōgen, ca. 1320), that Emperor Sutoku became a demon after his exile and death, while “Nakatsugawa” deals with the legend that Masashige survived the Battle of Minatogawa.
There are some important differences between the two authors’ treatment of their subject matter, however, that show the differing attitudes they take towards the defeat of an Emperor and the concept of the Mandate of Heaven. In particular, the arguments made by the characters show Teishō and Akinari’s different ideas about imperial succession. Akinari’s arguments given through Saigyō in “Shiramine” show a rejection of the Mandate of Heaven idea as it is represented in the writings of Mencius. In “Shiramine” Sutoku argues that his rebellion was correct and justified by his having been forced out of office, and his own son having been passed over for imperial succession. He cites the principle that a corrupt state may be overthrown, something found especially in Mencius. Saigyō does not completely argue against Confucian ideas, but states that the idea of potentially overthrowing a corrupt government is improper to Japan, where the gods have designated an imperial line that descends from heaven. Since the Japanese imperial line is divine, their right to rule cannot be challenged. He argues that of all the Chinese philosophies, the book of Mencius never made it to Japan, because of the chaos that this dangerous idea might bring. He also gives a Japanese example of a succession dispute being resolved properly, saying “There is no need to speak of distant China.”

Saigyō rejects the ideas in Mencius of the people’s right to rebel, deferring instead to the Shinto belief in the divinity of the imperial line. He does not speak of anything being “fated” to happen, but instead simply attempts to calm Sutoku with an appeal to

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254 In particular, Sutoku mentions the section that I quoted early in my explanation of the Mandate of Heaven, saying, “Also, a book called Mencius, I am told, says that at the beginning of Zhou, King Wu brought peace to the people in a fit of rage. One should not say that a vassal killed his lord. Rather, he executed a man named Zhou who had trampled on benevolence and righteousness.” Ueda Akinari, Tales of Moonlight and Rain, trans. Anthony Chambers (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 62.

Buddhist ideals. This greater reliance on Japanese sources and rejection of the philosophy of
Mencius is perhaps a reflection of Akinari’s association with the *kokugaku* movement, which
focused on studying Japanese works of antiquity.

Just as Akinari reflects his *kokugaku* learning in “Shiramine,” Teishō relies more heavily
on Confucian texts and Chinese history. While Akinari relies on native texts like the *Kojiki* that
do not follow the Chinese style of historical writing, Teishō pulls his arguments from Chinese
classics like the *Classic of History* and the Confucian *Analects*. Both Masashige and Sokuyū
refer to Confucian works and ideas in their arguments to Jirō. Masashige seems to accept the
Chinese Mandate of Heaven, as he considered it “fate” that the Southern Court was ultimately
defeated. A ruler who did not have the right to rule would simply be overthrown; it was
inevitable, because Heaven no longer supported his reign. A ruler would lose the Mandate due
to his own misrule. Teishō seems to accept the role of destiny in Japanese history, and he uses
it to explain why the Southern Court lost.

Overall, Akinari and Teishō deal with the resentment over a past defeat in different
ways. Both use encounters between historical figures as a way to discuss the past and to
debate correct or incorrect action. However, Akinari rejects the idea of the Mandate, citing
instead the Japanese divine right of emperors to rule due to their descent from the gods, while
Teishō accepts it. Although Teishō may sympathize with the Southern Court and treat its
members as the legitimate ruling party, he must bow to the reality that the Southern imperial
line has died out and imperial rule has been replaced with a military government. His
acceptance of this, and his belief that it is due to the Mandate can be seen in his
characterization of Go-Daigo in “Fujifusa,” since the Emperor is treated as an unfit ruler. His belief in the Mandate is also obvious from the rhetoric of his characters Masashige and Sokuyū, where there is heavy use of words like “fate,” and in references to Chinese characters like Zhuge Liang, which enforce the idea that the Southern Court was a lost cause. Teishō’s attitude is made especially clear when compared to his contemporary Akinari, who also deals with an imperial succession dispute in “Shiramine” and with lingering resentment, but who dismisses the idea of the Mandate because of the divinity of Japanese rulers. Comparing their differing views shows the different social-cultural positions that they each take as writers.

Despite the many Chinese influences obvious in Teishō’s writing, including his belief in the Mandate of Heaven, Teishō ultimately deals with Japanese events and personages. While adapting Chinese vernacular tales, he is re-inventing them in his own country to deal with subjects that would be immediate and familiar to his Japanese readers. This is the link that connects “Nakatsugawa” with “Unkon unjō.” Although “Unkon unjō” does not discuss history, it does use Chinese poetic images while examining clouds from the perspective of a citizen of Osaka or Kyoto, giving the story a local feel. Both stories also allude frequently to Japanese literature and history. Although the Chinese influence on Teishō is strongly evident in his works, the Japanese influence should not be discounted or ignored.
Bibliography


