STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

The work presented in this thesis is, to the best of my knowledge, my own original work, except where acknowledged in the text.

Adam Thorin Croft
For family past and present.
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²吉見俊哉.
³鄭鎬碩.
⁴豊田留美.
⁵豊田武久.
⁶一龍斎貞弥.
I am equally thankful for the generous spirit in which Japanese archivists gave of themselves, in particular, Yamaguchi Misako\(^7\) (Assistant Curator at the Tokyo Printing Museum); Sugita Yōko\(^8\) (Curator) and Tamada Katsuhiko\(^9\) (Section Curator) at the Himeji City Museum of Literature; and to Watanabe Tomoko\(^10\) (Research Reference Room Librarian) at the Kyoto International Manga Museum and Ito Yu\(^11\) (Research Assistant) at the Kyoto Seika University International Manga Research Center, and — a little closer to home — Shinozaki Mayumi\(^12\) at the Australian National Library.

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---

\(^7\) 山口美佐子.
\(^8\) 杉田陽子.
\(^9\) 玉田克広.
\(^10\) 渡辺朝子.
\(^11\) 伊藤遊.
\(^12\) 篠崎まゆみ.
\(^13\) 高橋進之介.
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INTRODUCTION

ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO MEDIA & HISTORY

The difference between romance and what ordinarily bears the denomination history is this. The historian is confined to individual incident and individual man, and must hang upon that his invention or conjecture as he can. The writer collects his materials from all sources, experiences, repertory, and the record of human affairs; then generalises them; and finally selects, from their elements and the various combinations they afford, those instances which he is best qualified to portray, and which he judges most calculated to impress the hearer and improve the faculties of his reader. In this point of view we should be apt to pronounce that romance was a bolder species of composition than history.\textsuperscript{14}

– William Godwin (1756-1836)

CONTEXTUALISING THE TATSUKAWA BUNKO

On March 5, 1923, the morning edition of the Yomiuri shinbun carried an article titled ‘Jidô no dokusho yoku to kinshi no hei’ (‘Children who read a lot risk short-sightedness’).\textsuperscript{15} The editorial, submitted by an anonymous subscriber from Tokyo, warned of the adverse effects of small print used by Bunmeidô, an Osaka-based publishing company specialising in sokkibon (stenographical novels).\textsuperscript{16} ‘Didn’t the publishers know that the small print used in the pocket-sized novels was damaging to the eyes of the young?’ The author then launched a scathing condemnation of young people reading for pleasure. Instead of working, young ‘ruffians’ were taking up space on public trams indulging themselves in trite literature.


\textsuperscript{15} Anonymous, ‘Jidô no dokusho yoku to kinshi no hei [「児童の読書欲と近視の弊」], Yomiuri shinbun, 3 May 1923, Morning edition, sec. Dokusho kai to shuppan kai, National Diet Library.

\textsuperscript{16} Term:速記本.
Our irate friend was referring specifically to the *Tatsukawa bunko* (*Tatsukawa Library*), a series of samurai novels and historical biographies, published during the Taishō era (1912-26). These so-called ‘novels’ were, in fact, transliterated versions of *kōdan* (*classical narratives*) produced by a man called Tamada Gyokushūsai II (1856-1921), a *kōdanshi* (*classical orator*) from the *yoseba* (*vaudeville theatre, hereafter yose*). It is the contention of this thesis that the moral architecture of this ‘vocal literature’ (a term coined by the historian Barbara Ruch) resonated powerfully with the working communities in rural and urban settings across Japan. This thesis takes novels published by Osaka-based Bunmeidō (*Enlightenment Hall*) publishing company as a focus for exploring key facets of the emergence of modern urban culture in Japan.

The *Tatsukawa bunko* proved especially popular with young semi-educated readers (artisan apprentices, factory workers, labourers, and schoolchildren). Collectively, this broad demographic was particularly vulnerable to the social inequities of the age. Frequently marginalised by society, these social groups are hard to locate in history. Yet the readers of Bunmeidō fiction were crucial as consumers to the development of contemporary mass media in Japan. It is my hope, therefore, that in examining the Bunmeidō phenomenon, we might gain a clearer understanding of the series place in Japanese cultural history and of the messages it conveyed to its audience.

---

17 Title: 立川文庫.
18 Term: 講談.
19 二代目玉田玉秀斎 (1856-1921).
20 Term: 講談師.
21 Term: 寄せ場/寄せ.
23 Company: 文明堂/立川文明堂.
The materiality of the *Tatsukawa bunko* was exceptional (ill. 1), which made it easy for anyone to identify the one of the 190 or so works, even at a glance. The covers came in seven colours: deep red, cobalt blue, a lurid shade of yellow, olive green, black, indigo, and a rather fashionable shade of purple. The title of each jacket was embossed with crisp white lettering; gilt edging decorated the spine. Inside the books were equally lavish. Printed flowers roped together in spiralling patterns added another subtle dimension of colour before the colophon. But the crowning glory was a frontispiece by Hasegawa Sadanobu III (1881-1962), an acknowledged master of contemporary *ukiyo-e* (‘pictures of the floating world’). Consequently, the books were highly prized as collectors’ items.

The chief protagonist of the *Tatsukawa bunko* is a fictional warrior named Sarutobi ‘monkey-jump’ Sasuke Yukiyoishi, vassal to the historical warlord and general Sanada Nobushige (1567-1615), more commonly referred to these days by his alias Sanada Yukimura. Historical evidence shows that there were established narratives within the *kôdan* community that mention Sasuke in connection with the Sanada Clan from the 1880s onwards. For instance, a version of Sasuke appears briefly as a middle-aged warrior in *Sanada sandaiki* (*Three generations of the Sanada: A Chronicle*) published in 1888. This

---

24 Ill. 1, 289.
26 Term: 浮世絵.
27 Hasegawa was from an established family of woodblock artists famous from Osaka. His subjects included actors from *kabuki* (歌舞伎, classical dance-drama theatre), portraits of beautiful women, and scenes from Japanese history. His illustrations feature throughout this thesis at the beginning of each chapter.
28 猿飛佐助幸良.
29 真田信繁/真田幸村 (1567-1615).
revelation has produced a great deal of controversy as to whether there was a real prototype for Sasuke or not.\textsuperscript{31}

In 1960, a service was held in Osaka to celebrate the opening of a new museum dedicated to preserving artefacts from the city’s famous keep. Local historian Okamoto Ryoichi (1939-1988)\textsuperscript{32} worked on preparations for the event. Whilst cataloguing items located in the keep’s dungeon, Okamoto discovered an old manuscript from the eighth year of the Bunsei era (1818-1850) titled \textit{Shinsen jitsuroku taiheiki} (Newly Selected Real-life Accounts from the Chronicle of the Grand Pacification).\textsuperscript{33} Further examination of the documents by Okamoto revealed that there was a person called ‘Sarutobi Sasuke’ hidden among the lists of Yukimura’s forces mustered at the ‘Summer War’ of Osaka in 1615. The name of Sasuke’s rival ‘Kirigakure Saizô’ is also alleged to appear in the text.\textsuperscript{34}

Takahashi Kei’ichi,\textsuperscript{35} a researcher working at Ehime University, heard of Okamoto’s discovery and was intrigued. Was it possible that two of Japan’s most celebrated fictional characters were real? And if so, why had they been mentioned in historical documents detailing the military

\textsuperscript{31} For readers unfamiliar with the Tatsukawa bunko parallels can be found in the historical romances of European writers like Sir Thomas Mallory (d.1471), Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832), and Alexander Dumas (1802-1870). First published as a serial in the French newspaper Le Siècle (The Age) in 1844, Les Trois Mousquetaires (The Three Musketeers) is probably the best fit in terms of ethos, period, and feel. Dumas’ heroes could easily be transposed to medieval Japan. D’Artagnan would be the young rustic warrior Sasuke; Porthos fits with the warrior monk Miyoshi Sekai (霧隠世界); Athos resembles the fallen noble Kirigakure Saizô (霧隠才蔵); and, if one squints hard enough, the bandit Yuri Kamanosuke (由利鎌之介) could be Aramis. Present but rarely manifest is Tokugawa Ieyasu (徳川家康, 1543-1616). As the villain of the piece he has a similar feel to the Machiavellian figure of Cardinal Richelieu (1585-1642). Yukimura, Sasuke’s master, would be the Duke of Buckingham (1591-1928). It goes without saying; none of these descriptions are a perfect match.

\textsuperscript{32}岡本良一 (1939-1988).

\textsuperscript{33}Title: 新鮮実録太平記.


\textsuperscript{35}高橋圭一 (dates unknown).
campaigns fought by Japan’s national architect Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543-1616) during the Azuchi-Momoyama period (1573-1615)?

An expert in Edo literature, Takahashi decided to create a ‘genealogical study’ of the find. He found that the names of the two feudal mercenaries do indeed appear in the text. However, these references are scattered in the margins. They use also use unfamiliar combinations of Chinese characters. Takahashi cites this as the reason for the historical oversight. Japanese scholars worked on a system of character adaption from very early on, hybrid works using variants of Chinese script exist from circa 596, but the kana system of phonograms (written characters used to represent sound) that expressed local speech was not stable until ninth century. The writing system has also undergone similar developments, hence the difficulty in verifying the two names.

Takahashi takes his premise further still. He argues that having seized power from the Toyotomi clan, the Tokugawa Bakufu (‘tent government’) banned any artistic interpretations associated with the historical event. The measure was meant to prevent any seditious commentary prompting another civil war. Given the draconian nature

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36 徳川家康 (1543-1616).
38 Term: 幕府.
of censorship during the Edo era (1603-1868), Takahashi’s hypothesis is plausible.

However, most scholars, critics, and fans of the Tatsukawa bunko accept Sasuke as a native literary adaptation of Sun Wu-k’ung,40 a monkey deity from the classical Chinese fable Hsi yu chi [Journey to the West].41 Thanks to the spread of Buddhism, the exuberant exploits of the mischievous immortal are common throughout Asia.42 In Japan he is known as Songokû. Like his transcultural counterpart, Sasuke possesses keen senses and great physical strength; he can also control the elements of fire and water using magic. There is one significant difference between the two characters: Sun Wu-k’ung is an immortal, whereas Sasuke is not.

Tamada II posits this fictional Sasuke as a proxy for Yukimura in a covert war fought against the Tokugawa clan. His journey ends with the aforementioned Summer War of Osaka of 1615, also known as the ‘Naniwa Wars’,43 during which Ieyasu’s troops sacked the city forcing the designated ruler of Japan Toyotomi Hideyori (1593-1615),44 heir to Toyotomi Hideyoshi (c.1536-1598),45 to commit ritual suicide whilst the walls of Osaka Castle burned around him. Yukimura came to national prominence at this time as Hideyori’s guardian, but died in the ensuing conflict. Sasuke is supposed to have perished with him. After the carnage was over Ieyasu saw that military and bureaucratic power

40 孫悟空.
41 Title: 西遊記.
43 Term: 難波戦 ‘Nanwa’ was the old historical name for Osaka.
44 豊臣秀頼 (1593-1615).
45 豊臣秀吉 (c.1536-1598).
was transferred to Edo. This tectonic shift profoundly affected local attitudes in the Kamigata region.

Vladímir Propp (1895-1970) acknowledged that epic poetry was difficult to categorise because ‘epic poetry is not defined by any one feature that at once determines its nature’. For Propp the most important element of epic poetry was the heroic character of the content, because it reflects what the public ‘considers to be heroic and in whom’.46 He suggested that the struggle represented in epic poetry was highly politicised, pertaining to the popular and the national. I would extend this definition to include regional identity politics.

Mediated through the writings of Tamada II, the Toyotomi clan as Osaka’s former rulers and their associates — most notably the Sanada clan — took on a subaltern hue. This is significant because Ichikawa Kôzô47 and Ozaki Hotsuki (1928-1999)48 have argued that contemporary audiences of the Tatsukawa bunko with an elementary level of education particularly identified with Sasuke mapping out new associations that resonated with their own longing for better living conditions. Juxtaposed with the political disturbances of the Taishô era, Sasuke’s desperate struggle for survival against greater forces took on new meaning. Initially this phenomenon was strongest in the industrial capital of Osaka, where the books were produced. However, thanks to the success of the Bunmeidô series this reading of Sasuke took hold nationally, only to become conflated with popular notions of

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46 Propp believed the heroes of the bylinas (Russian folktales) fought for the ‘highest ideals of the people’. Bylina champions often have superhuman abilities, usually great strength, which they gain from their direct relationship with the land, this connection is literal; a handful of earth, or the silver birch are totems of power. Ideologically inclined, Propp argued that the struggle represented in bylina epic poetry was not personal but popular and national. Vladímir Propp, Theory and History of Folklore, trans. Adriana Y. Martin and Richard P. Martin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), 149.

47 市川宏三.

48 尾崎秀樹 (1928-1999).
the *Minshū sōjoki* (‘Era of Popular Violence’, 1903-18), a period rife with war, industrial disputes, and nationwide protests against Japan’s increasingly differential economy.

Despite the controversy, all scholars concede that the Bunmeidō version of the tale *Sanada yukimura san yūshi ninjutsu meijin sarutobi sasuke* (*Monkey-jump Sasuke: Three Renowned Ninja Heroes of Sanada Yukimura, 1914*) remains the most influential account related to the ‘Summer War’ of 1615. Even Takahashi, the most vehement in his disavowal of the Yamadas contribution to the narrative, states:

> Due to the capable storytelling of Tamada Gyokushūsai II and stenographic work of Yamada Otetsu for the *Tatsukawa bunko*, the characters of Sarutobi Sasuke and Kirigakure Saizō [figures taken] from the [chronicles of the] "Naniwa Wars" have become major characters [in their own right.] Because a great deal more literature remains to be read from kōdan, this contribution highlights the need for more research [on the genre].

This in itself is a remarkable achievement. If nothing else, it tells us that Tamada II was part of a cadre of skilled performers working with the classical oral tradition of kōdan, individuals talented enough to successfully adapt to the tumultuous political and social changes taking place within Osaka’s print industry at the end of the nineteenth century.

However, the narratives of the *Tatsukawa bunko* did little to challenge the notion that violence used to punish evil could be used for the social good; if anything, it accentuated the idea. These ‘hyper-masculine’ narratives were subsequently criticised by the press and politicians for encouraging anti-social behaviour and violence.

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49 Term: 民衆騒擾事件.
50 Sanjin Sekka, *Sanada yukimura san yūshi ninjutsu meijin sarutobi sasuke* [真田幸村三雄士忍術名人猿⾶佐助], vol. 40, Tatsukawa bunko (Osaka: Tatsukawa Bunmeidō, 1914).
associated with anti-democratic movements, such as strike breaking, criminality, and the like. Yet Sasuke’s reputation in the modern era remains untarnished, his recalcitrant nature cited as proof-positive of his good intentions. It seems, therefore, that a mixture of cultural forces must be at work.

**ON MEDIA, CENSORSHIP, & RHIZOME THEORY**

Print was initially the most powerful resource used to create the ‘imagined communities’ associated with the ‘nationalisms’ of Japan. However, contemporary studies now question the perceived authority of the manuscript and the place of text as a reliable and fixed source of information. As Adrian Johns states:

> Any printed book is, as a matter of fact, both the product of one complex set of social and technological processes and also the starting point for another. In the first place, a large number of people, machines, and materials must converge and act together for it to come into existence at all. How exactly they do so will inevitably affect its finished character in a number of ways. In that sense a book is the material embodiment of, if not a consensus, then at least a collective consent.

Cultural theorist Maeda Ai (1931-1987) argues that narrative is co-dependent on a number of forces outside of an individual author’s remit. Time, place, and custom influence the production of any text, be it in the form of the spoken word, manuscript, film, or otherwise. Therefore, a work of art is not simply the product of a single imagination; it is a mediated response to a multitude of stimuli.

---


54 前田愛 (1931-1987).

Nowhere is this more evident than in the world of popular entertainment. David Desser states:

In some ways, it is not the unique works of genius that define a culture; genius easily crosses national boundaries. Rather, the routine, popular arts by their very natures have much to say about the culture that produced them.\(^{56}\)

In accepting Johns’, Maeda’s, and Desser’s claims, this study will attempt to show that objects have their own complex histories and associations that linger, reform, and evolve — sometimes over centuries — to become powerful totems for certain groups within a society by highlighting the political and social complexities that existed in the realm of publishing during Japan’s industrial modernity.

As stated, the *Tatsukawa bunko* has exerted a continuing influence on popular culture in Japan to the present day. Aspects of Sasuke and his cohort of Braves (mercenaries in the employ of the Sanada) helped lay the foundations for contemporary depictions of the samurai in other forms of print, newspaper serials and *manga* (comics),\(^{57}\) as well as film, television, and radio. Thus, the legacy of the literature lives on. But before discussing these relationships further, I would like to address a few issues pertaining to the phenomenon of media as a whole.

Academics have interpreted the advent of mass-based art in a number of powerful and disconcerting ways.\(^{58}\) This is especially true for scholars looking at Japan. For instance, Mark Driscoll claims the experience of young men with women at dancehalls in and around the entertainment district of Asakusa during the 1920s naturalised themes

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\(^{57}\) Term: 漫画.

\(^{58}\) We can define mass media as: ‘Any form of communication to which large numbers of people have ready access — motion pictures, television, books, magazines, newspapers, and popular music, for example — can be classed as mass media.’ David E. Newton, *Violence and the Media: A Reference Handbook* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 1996), 2.
of rape and erotic violence in society. Citing sociologist Akagami Yoshinori (1892-1953), whose term ‘chokusetsu shakai’ (‘immediate society’) brought analysis to bear on the stimulating array of products and images that could be consumed for pleasure by the lower orders, Driscoll argues that mass media rearranged people psychologically, making them dependent on capitalism, a process he names ‘neuropolitics’.

There are a number of perplexing issues raised by Driscoll’s statements: firstly, how efficacious is mass media? Can it really cause violence in society? Perhaps a more pertinent question might be: who says so, and why?

Driscoll’s argument appears to resonate with a number of ideas first discussed in Europe by the German philosopher Walter Benjamin (1892-1940). In the ‘The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction’, Benjamin suggested that the process of mass reproduction complicated art. Art is singular in nature and historically tied to ritual, giving it a value beyond utility or mere consumption. It has an aura through which a viewer can appreciate its uniqueness, be it a painting, a performance on stage, or a piece of music. However, art becomes transformed by mechanical reproduction; there is often no direct connection with the original producer or performer, and it can also be consumed in a domestic setting. Benjamin believed that this reduced the role of ritual, which he historically associated with the process of contemplation. Thus, he argued that the immediacy of film, a medium wholly dependent on technology for production, bypassed

59 赤神良譲 (1892-1953).
60 Term: 直接社会.
the senses, ultimately reducing the opportunity for the intellect to interpret its content.\(^62\)

The problems of dislocation and immediacy have haunted debates on mass media ever since. However, Benjamin took his analysis further. He recognised that film possessed a specificity of mode that allowed for its analysis using Freudian terms, making it suitable as a mechanism for propaganda. Novels, he argued, were different. Although they could only be disseminated with the aid of mass production, the creative process of writing did not depend on machinery for its genesis, nor for its consumption. Reading, for the most part, took place at an individual level rarely associated with group utilisation.\(^63\)

Benjamin’s criticism of mass media presents well-delineated conceptions of the educated and un-educated mind informed by class prejudices of the time. In this regard, he is not unlike our outraged correspondent who complained to the *Yomiuri shinbun* about the *Tatsukawa bunko*. Yet the ‘discourse of anxiety’ that surrounds mass media remains.\(^64\) This obviously raises a number of complicated issues for this thesis because many of the concerns about mass media relate to its impact on society. This brings us to the topic of censorship.

Cross-cultural studies show that common perceptions about mass media are largely dependent on a number of accumulative factors; depictions of violence being one of the most important and controversial. Public art has a long history of graphic depictions of

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\(^63\) Ibid., 217-52.

violence.\textsuperscript{65} Yet social commentators seem to be constantly astonished by the speed and ferocity of art as it develops. Here, a struggle for power is common. For example, David E. Newton argues that moral censors are often unofficial sub sects of larger political institutions. Forming a boarder nexus of social control, these independent bodies complicate notions of top-down power in ways that go beyond mere complicity. He cites an example from the United States, during the 1930s, where the National League of Decency held great sway with the National Board of Censorship (established by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1909, later the National Board of Review). The League agitated for ‘purity seals’ on advertising in cinemas. The visual markers were designed to indicate which films had content suitable for Catholics. However, the system never came into being. Worried by the public outcry, the film industry took to regulating itself. Even then, legislation failed to alter consumers’ tastes. The image of the gangster in film remained popular, as did the cowboy, and the image of soldier, each iconic figure demonstrating that violence on screen was (and is) entertaining to many, and therefore, profitable.\textsuperscript{66}

Similar problems with censorship also occurred in Japan during the Taishô era, when progressive filmmakers openly attacked certain cultural practices that they felt debased cinema. Included in the list of so-called offenders were the benshi (a term Isolde Standish ingeniously translates as ‘photo-interpreters’),\textsuperscript{67} whose flamboyant commentaries supposedly detracted from the inherent visual quality of the emerging

\textsuperscript{65} Newton cites the Lascaux cave paintings showing hunting (15,000-10,000 BCE), Assyrian carvings (650 BCE), and the Bayeux tapestry created in the eleventh-century, as examples of public art that depict graphic violence. Newton, Violence and the Media, 3.

\textsuperscript{66} Ibid., 4–5.

The intercession of the *benshi* removed all elements of
control from producers and censors, giving the potential for
unorthodox readings of film. Therefore, in 1917, at the insistence of the
Jun‘eigageki Undō (Pure Film Movement), an elite group of critics,
directors, and producers coerced the Terauchi cabinet, using the
Monbushō (Ministry of Education) as its auxiliary arm, to introduce
stringent censorship laws that required registration and the retraining
of *benshi* deemed to be in breach of the law. This opened the door to
further state directives that saw police officers monitor audiences
during screenings. But we must remember that people are not always
conscious of their complicity with power. Equally, authorities are not
always successful at controlling the actions of others.

Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari’s theory of the ‘rhizome’ differs
somewhat to Pierre Bourdieu’s notion of the ‘nexus’ used by Gerrow
for this study on the Jun‘eigageki Undō. Their theoretical model
forsakes arboreal structures in which there is an obvious root to
phenomena. Working together, the scholars frequently speak about
the inter-connectedness of things. One path leads to another, and back
again. Inside the rhizome, control (and the authority to administer it)
has no set point of origin. As such, leverage can be gained from any
vantage. Moreover, power does not remain static, but shifts in response

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69 Term: 純映画劇運動.
70 Office: 文部省 - the institution evolved into the Monbukagakushō (文部科学省, Ministry of Education, Sports, Science and Technology).
71 The Monbushō collaborated with the research scientist Gonda Yasunosuke (権田保之助, 1887-1951), later director of the Teikoku Kyōiku Kai (帝国教育会, Imperial Education Association), after head of the Tokyo Metropolitan Police. For a detailed analysis of the Pure Film Movement see Aaron Gerow, *Visions of Japanese Modernity: Articulations of Cinema, Nation, and Spectatorship, 1895-1925* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), chap. 2 & 5.
to emerging trends. All things are fluid. This approach provides a powerful and dynamic framework for examining power relations expressed through popular culture. I shall give a brief example why this is important for a study focused on the regeneration of oral tradition embedded in mass media.

The supposed backwardness of cinema in Japan cited by modernists proved to be something of a contradiction. Freda Freiberg observes that even after the advent of sound recording, a quarter of all films made in Japan were still silent. In 1933, four of the top-ten film awards presented by Kinema jumpô (The Movie Times) went to silent movies: Ozu Yasujirô (1903-1963) won first prize for Dekigokoro (Passing Fancy, 1933). Mizoguchi Kenji (1898-1956) and Naruse Mikio (1905-1965), past masters of the silent image, were his fellow nominees. It took until 1935 for a motion picture with pre-recorded sound to win first prize. Ozu was again the winner with Ukikusa monogatari (A Story of Floating Weeds, 1934).

By 1930 the Japanese motion picture industry had already developed its own sophisticated system of sound effects for film. For instance, there were orchestras that specialised in played accompanying music. Sometimes kowairo (‘voice colourers’) provided the vocal expressions

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74 Title: キネマ旬報.
75 小津安二郎 (1903-1963).
76 Yasujirô Ozu, Dekigokoro (出来ごころ), Black & White/Silent, Comedy (Shôchiku Eiga, 1933).
77 溝口健二 (1898-1956).
78 成瀬巳喜男 (1905-1965).
79 Yasujirô Ozu, Ukikusa monogatari (浮草物語), Black & White/Silent, Drama (Shôchiku Eiga, 1934); Freda Freidberg, ‘The Transition to Sound in Japan’, ed. Tom O’Regan and Brian Shoesmith, History On/and/in Film, Perth: History & Film Association of Australia, 1987, para. 2 & 3.
80 Term: 声色.
for actors on film. This measured delay in the advance of film practices alerted me to the fact that the spoken word held a currency in Japan. Moreover, that the Japanese proclivity for the human voice was not inhibited by any lack of technical inability of early engineers using mechanical recording to reproduce sound. The reasons for this are culturally complex.

Until 1910, Japanese people considered film to be just another fairground attraction. Misemono, which included anything visual in the arts from cinema to carnival sideshows, attracted a huge amount of negative attention from government officials due to its patronage by the working class. This was mainly due to the low cost of ticket prices, making film an affordable option for the masses.

There was still much that was unfamiliar to the swelling crowds at film venues, so benshi acted as guides for the un-initiated by giving live commentary on the silent visuals. Donald Richie (1924-2013) explains:

> The benshi filled the gaps of knowledge western viewers had acquired long before. They were a reassuring native presence with a presumed acquaintance of the foreign object, a necessity which might even now explain the Japanese affection for teachers, tour guides, sommeliers, and other conduits for the acquisition of new experience.

Films were short and therefore repeated, and often there was little in terms of theme to link each scene. Directors did not use scripts when making films; instead they gave verbal commands knowing that the benshi would elaborate on the plot and cover any inconsistencies. Around the world, audiences were still developing the grammar

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82 Term: 見世物.
83 Gerow, Visions of Japanese Modernity, 10.
85 Ibid., 21.
needed to constitute a film narrative. Film directors were still exploring their own native sense of what cinema could be. *Benshi* provided continuity both in a linguistic and cultural sense, echoing the oral traditions of the *yose* from whence they had arisen.

Crucially, a significant number of *benshi* had trained as *kôdanshi* on their past experience as theatre practitioners, many adapted their repertoire of classical narratives as a template for the screen. Consequently, the vast majority of *jûdaigeki* (period drama)\(^{86}\) were derived from oral tradition. This unorthodox application of *kôdan* suggests that pre-existing cultural knowledge enriched the Japanese audience experience of emerging mass media, where the familiar acted as a priori for the new.

Richie states that having made enough money from the sales of action films, the Kyoto film producer Makino Shôzô (1878-1929)\(^ {87}\) established Makino Pictures; he then hired the upcoming scriptwriter Suzukita Rokuhei (1899-1960).\(^ {88}\) Influenced by American filmmaking and the adventure novels of Nakazato Kaizan (1885-1944)\(^ {89}\) and Hasegawa Shin (1884-1963),\(^ {90}\) Suzukita created dynamic characters with naturalistically portrayed emotions coupled with exciting swordplay.

Suzukita’s masterpiece was *Murasaki zuki: ukiyo-e shi* (*The Purple Hood: Woodblock Artist, 1923*).\(^ {91}\) It was a seminal piece of cinema laying the blueprint for many action films to come. Realism was the only element that was new, however. Other components in Suzukita’s compositions

\(^{86}\) Term: 時代劇.
\(^{87}\) マキノ省三 (1878-1929).
\(^{88}\) 寿々喜多呂九平 (1899-1960).
\(^{89}\) 中里介⼭ (1885-1944).
\(^{90}\) 長⾕川伸 (1884-1963).
\(^{91}\) Title: 紫頭⼱浮世絵師 (1923).
were considerably older. According to Richie, Suzukita constructed much of his work on the back of popular *rensai* (newspaper serials)\(^{92}\) and *sokkibon* coming out of Osaka. With its origins in oral tradition, the *Tatsukawa bunko* typified both these genres, which is why Makino frequently drew on them for inspiration.\(^{93}\) It also indicates that the content of the *Tatsukawa bunko* could be disseminated through a variety of mediums.

**On-going Controversies Surrounding the Tatsukawa Bunko**

This work is not the first examination of the *Tatsukawa bunko*. In 1959, Adachi Ken’ichi (1913-1985)\(^{94}\) produced his *magnum opus* on the *Tatsukawa bunko* titled ‘*Tatsukawa no tanjō*’ (‘Birth of the Tatsukawa’).\(^{95}\) The work was the result of an interview he had with the series copy-editor Ikeda Ranko (1896-1978), \(^{96}\) then aged sixty-seven. This preliminary publication for the journal *Shisō no kagaku* (*The Science of Thought*)\(^{97}\) remains central to a number of claims about the *Tatsukawa bunko* that tend to obscure the actual value of the novels as a chirographical (handwritten) record of oral tradition.

Adachi had an obvious passion for the Bunmeidō catalogue. However, he was not very critical of his source material, meaning Ikeda. Adachi was no fool, nor was he lax in the execution of his study, but the researcher was forced (initially) to reproduce Ikeda’s version of events verbatim. This is understandable because Ikeda not only worked with

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\(^{92}\) Term: 連載.

\(^{93}\) Naoko Ogaura, ‘*Satsujin* toiu bunka: chambara jidaigeki eiga wo saguru [「殺陣」という文化ーチャンバラ時代劇 映画を探る]’ (Kyoto: Sekai Shisōsha, 2007), 43.

\(^{94}\) 足立巻一 (1913-1985).

\(^{95}\) Ken’ichi Adachi, ‘*Tatsukawa bunko no tanjyō* [「立川文庫の誕生」]’, *Shisō no kagaku* 10, no. 4 (October 1959): 32-41.

\(^{96}\) 池田蘭子 (1896-1978).

\(^{97}\) Title: 思想の科学.
Tamada II as a part of the Sekka Sanjin Collective (‘Snowflake Hermit’) credited with producing the series; she was his adopted grandchild.  

Ikeda was given to self-promotion. In 1960, she produced a loose biographical melodrama based on her early experiences with Tamada II called *Onna-mon (A Woman’s Crest).* The tale of rags-to-riches was subsequently adapted for television by NHK in 1975. It meant that her feelings about the *Tatsukawa bunko* sometimes interfered with her recollection of events. For example, Ikeda inferred that the Yamadas pioneered the modern fashion for *shūchinbon* (‘pocket-sized books’)* at Bunmeidô,* but this was not strictly the true. Almanacs on popular culture from the 1960s credit Tamada II with setting a resurgent trend in this area after the launch of the *Tatsukawa bunko;* however, miniature anthologies of poetry known as *mamehon* (‘bean books’) were common by the 1900s. Moreover, Bunmeidô also produced educational titles using a diminutive format (roughly 180 mm x 117 mm, something halfway between the Foolscap octavo (170 mm x 108 mm) and the Crown octavo (190 mm x 126 mm) as standard from 1909 on.  

Adachi produced a revised version of his early text in 1981, the book was titled, *Tatsukawa bunko no eiyūtachi (Heroes of the Tatsukawa Bunko).* However, the paucity of data on the series has caused many

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98 I am grateful to Micheal P. Williams (Library Specialist) at the University of Pennsylvania Library for drawing my attention to the fact that the Sekka Sanjin collective used a variety of names: Sekka Sanjin/Sen’in (雪花山人), Sekka Sanjin (雪花散人), Nobana Sanjin (野花散人), and Sōka Sanjin/Sen’in (草花山人).
100 Term: 袖珍本.
102 Term: 依本.
103 See Illustration 1, 299.
scholars to replicate much of Adachi’s research. This thesis is no exception. Be that as it may, discrepancies like these have allowed scholars to cast doubt on Adachi’s findings, and, by association, Ikeda’s account.

After examining colophon data from the Tatsukawa bunko, Kyokudô Nanryô IV, a leading kôdanshi and cultural historian from Osaka, has concluded that the novels were produced from 1911 to around 1922, not 1926 as previously thought. Kyokudô IV asserts that reprints and anthologies produced after the death of Tamada II account for the majority of successive editions in the series. This point is debatable. Reprints were inexpensive and allowed publishers to recoup more money. Relabeling manuscripts with nothing more than a new jacket or a new introductory paragraph had been common practise for centuries, similar practices still occur today. However, the revelation has allowed Kyokudô IV to discredited the common belief that the Ikeda’s uncle Yamada Otetsu (1875-1942) was primarily responsible for creating narrative in the Tatsukawa bunko because no significant or successful works occurred after the death of his stepfather.

Much of this controversy stems from the way in which the novels were produced. We know from interviews with Ikeda that Tamada II was persuaded by his adopted son Otetsu to alter his writing habits. Traditionally kôdanshi would dictate their stories to sokkisha (stenographers). This required time. To speed up the process, Otetsu suggested that Tamada II create a précis of his plots. The family stenographer would then flesh out the narrative. Otetsu’s brother

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105 四代目旭堂南陵.
106 山田阿鉄 (1875-1942).
107 Kyokudô Nannyô IV in Kindai ôsaka no shuppan [近代大阪の出版] (Osaka: Sôgensha, 2010), 131-33; For a more detailed account see Nannyô Kyokudô IV, Meijiki ôsaka no engei sokkibon kiso kenkyû [明治期大阪の演芸速記本基礎研究] (Osaka: Taru Shuppan, 2011).
Tadao (1884-1918), also a sokkisha, would add his comments. Ikeda would then check the copy for errors. The manuscript would then be returned to its original author (Tamada II) for final revisions.

It is important to note that sokkisha did not just take down dictation verbatim; they made embellishments of their own. Publishers deemed the additions a necessary part of the transliterating process. The publishing magnate Noma Seiji (1878-1938) confirmed this in his personal memoir. Moreover, he gives us a reason why publishers wishing to print kôdan deemed this collaborative practice important:

The Kodan artists, while well-trained in their art, often from childhood, were ignorant men in the sense of not being educated in modern schools; they merely repeated the stories handed down to orally for several generations, so that though they were inimitable in delivery and the charm of oral dictation, they were lacking in literary culture and historical scholarship; in fact it often required skilled stenographers and trained copy-readers to make printable “copy” out of their stories.

As a result, sokkisha helped to create works that often reflected their own predilections. Ikeda always maintained that Tamada II was the chief author and editor of the series, but because the Tatsukawa bunko was so readable compared to other forms of kaki-kôdan (written kôdan), many people have assumed otherwise. Suffice to say, this is an oversimplification. It is notable that after the series went into a

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108 山田唯夫 (1884-1918).
110 野間清治 (1878-1938).
112 Adachi, Tatsukawa bunko no eiyûtachi, 31.
113 Ikeda Ranpo in Sekka, Tatsukawa bunko ke’sakusen, 1:1-2.
114 Term: 書き講談.
decline, Otetsu retired from writing to return to his first vocation in dentistry. If he had been the creative force behind the series, surely he would have continued? These and other issues connected to the literature will be explored throughout this work.

**THESIS OVERVIEW**

Literary analysis offers a limited, but effective, means of approaching commercial fiction by treating it as a document that reflects the history of its time. Used judiciously, a body of work pertaining to a particular genre can illustrate some of the debates occurring within a specific social group. Borrowing elements from Erin A. Smith’s feminist reading of American pulp-fiction, it will be argued that Osaka, as a distinct site of production within the Kamigata region (here meaning Osaka and Kyoto), played a crucial part in liberal interpretations of Sasuke. Specifically, that in identifying with the historical vitality of Japan’s largest industrial hub, the Sekka Sanjin Collective headed by Tamada II inadvertently reflected the cultural might (and masculine insecurities) of the city during the early 1900s.

Smith sees the emergence of mass media, in particular ‘hard-boiled’ detective fiction, as a sign of modern masculinity in crisis. At the turn of the twentieth century, scientific approaches to management epitomised in the strategies of Taylorism, and later Fordism, radically altered the ways in which industrial production transpired. Time and motion studies reduced human activities in the workplace to a series of efficiency calculations dictated by company owners. Rationalisation reduced the task of individuals to their simplest elements, and the idea of the skilled labourer working in a factory setting took precedence over conventional notions of the independent artisan.
It is important to acknowledge that by the late nineteenth century the artisan was already a distant memory for most Americans, another fantasy to be admired from afar. There were benefits to modernity, however. Technology played a momentous part in reducing the need for physical labour. For the first time women (and children) were able to enter the workplace en masse and earn a living. Women were often exploited in factory environs. However, as Smith notes, the expansion of female labour marked the start of a new era in gender relations.

Nonetheless, in certain quarters, the presence of independent women employed in non-traditional roles appeared a threat to the status of male workers. Men who objected most to these social developments typically came from impoverished backgrounds. The demographic surveyed in Smith’s work came from the men at the economic margins of American society: farmers, ranch hands, soldiers, sailors, miners, and the like. Already in a subaltern position, these unskilled and semi-skilled men gravitated towards literature that projected fictions of men that Smith describes as ‘hyper-masculine’.

Like the narratives of the Tatsukawa bunko, the storylines of American pulp-fiction from the 1920s, 30s, and 40s are ‘unambiguously about men’ and the homosocial relationships between them. The protagonists most commonly depicted in the crime novels featured in Smith’s study are dominant alpha-males capable of easy violence: to them, life is cheap and cynicism second nature, especially if another male challenges the hero’s status or demonstrates effeminate characteristics. Such antipathy extends to members of the opposite sex. Intersecting with the locations of men, women serve as either dangerous seducers or victims in need of rescue. The lack of balanced

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female characters further intensifies the genre’s celebration of male domination.\textsuperscript{117}

In particular, Smith contends that male readers of American pulp-fiction constructed their identities from texts (printed and otherwise) re-forming their contents to suit their psychological and social needs.\textsuperscript{118} Smith’s research drew on data gathered during the 1930s by William S. Gray and Ruth Munroe (researchers at the University of Chicago). Gray and Munroe recorded the following results: fifty-five per cent of consumers they interviewed who subscribed to pulp-fiction had a grade school education, twenty-nine per cent had been to high-school, seven per cent had some form of higher diploma, but only nine per cent had attended tertiary education.\textsuperscript{119} No such study was carried out for readers of the \textit{Tatsukawa bunko}, nonetheless, it is evident from newspaper articles, such as the one featured in the introduction of this thesis, and from comments by made Japanese critics, writers, and fans who were alive during the first publication of the series, that the literature probably had a similar demographic.

Smith believes that formal studies of pulp-fiction allow the contemporary reader to ‘eavesdrop’ on the world of working-class men. During the early days of mass publishing in America, large vertically integrated publishing houses were few in number. The vast majority of producers were small autonomous enterprises. With no shareholders to please, independent companies were solely responsible for their editorial output, and could focus single-mindedly on pleasing their audiences.\textsuperscript{120} In order to do this educated novelists

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{117} Ibid., 33.
\item \textsuperscript{118} Ibid., 5.
\item \textsuperscript{119} Ibid., 23.
\item \textsuperscript{120} Ibid., 51.
\end{itemize}
had to perform an act of ‘class ventriloquism’ if they wanted to sell copy.  

In support, many editorial teams working in popular genres hired market researchers so they could steer their writers towards creating plots that gave readers satisfaction. This policy led to the creation of magazine forums for contemporary issues. For example, Black Mask magazine, which published the likes of Raymond Chandler (1888-1959), Erle Stanley Gardner (1889-1970), and Dashiell Hammett (1894-1961), discussed everything from the emerging role of women in modern society to the negative effects of Fordism in devaluing the place of the skilled (male) worker. Publishers worldwide followed similar protocols; Noma Seiji’s seminal magazine Kingu (The King) published during the late 1920s is one of the most successful examples of the adopted format in Japan.

The stenographical novels published by Bunmeidô were not shaped by market research. Nonetheless, there are important elements in Smith’s approach, which can be of help in analysing the leading figures from the Tatsukawa bunko and their relationship to their readers. The series was, in essence, a medium for the transliterated oral histories of kôdan. As an educated native of Kyoto, schooled in the oral tradition, living as a transplant in the bustling centre of Osaka, Tamada II fits with Smith’s notion of the ‘social ventriloquist’.

Having spent most of his professional life performing his narratives in the yose, the kôdanshi was intimate with the rich vein of local material produced in the Kamigata region, and, therefore, must have had a fair

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121 Ibid., 11.
122 Ibid., 55-59.
123 Title: キング.
idea of what appealed to audiences. Because of the city’s history, the
story of Sanada Yukimura was particularly well known in Osaka, which
is probably why Tamada II chose to incorporate it into his repertoire.
Likewise, as an independent editor, Tatsukawa Kumajirô had only the
predilections of his readers to consider. He clearly responded to local
needs first, as did the Sekka Sanjin Collective. This thesis aims to
elucidate the historical circumstances that fed into those desires.

More broadly, an analysis of the Tatsukawa bunko in its social context
sheds light on three important facets of Japanese cultural development
during the first quarter of the twentieth century:

- That Osaka as a centre of cultural production played a vital role in the creation of modern
  Japanese popular culture from the early 1870s until the mid-1920s (Chapters 1, 2, & 3).
- That oral tradition continued to play an important role in shaping Japan’s print
culture during the early twentieth century. Specifically, that the division between spoken
  and chirographical modes of narrative production were historically intertwined and not
  fixed, but moved back and forth between each form (Chapter 4).
- That Sasuke and other leading figures from the Bunmeidô collection often interpreted as
  ‘anti-authoritarian’ in fact resonated closely with the nationalist values propagated by the
  state through the official education system (Chapters 5 & 6).

Publishing in Japan was highly contested by a variety of official and
unofficial bodies. Timing played an important part in this process. The
frequent arrival of foreigners on Japan’s shores throughout the 1850s
occasioned a protracted period of political transformation, whereby
powerful regional forces in favour of an imperial restoration took
control of the country. Once established, the Meiji Government
rescinded censorship laws created by the previous Tokugawa
administration. The change paved the way for a cultural revolution,
allowing a variety of independent scholars, entrepreneurs, and artists
to publish commercial works in ways that were unprecedented during
the previous administration of the Bakufu.
The adoption of European-style printing presses, and new advances in metal type developed by American missionaries on the nearby Chinese continent that were efficient in reproducing traditional characters led to a situation, whereby publishing became accessible for many. This development was critical to the fledgling Meiji Government, which sought to use print media for its own state propaganda. However, once established, modern print culture inevitably moved beyond the scope of official involvement.

Performers from the *yose* working with oral traditions proved the most able in this new environment. Since the fourteenth century, the *kōdanshi*, a fraternity of (predominantly male) orators with a historical foundation in Buddhism from the Kamigata region, had preserved Japan’s most beloved national sagas through the discipline of unaccompanied recitation of *kōdan*. Specialising in diegetic forms of scripture, many of the *kōdanshi* emerged as leading theatrical players during the late Edo era following trends being set by their historical counterparts in *rakugo* (comic storytelling).¹²⁴

As authors of Japan’s national culture, theatrical performers from the *yose* created a new wave of popular literary works that confound contemporary notions of text. The resulting boom in stenographical writing that extended into the late Taishō era greatly problematises our understanding of the *Tatsukawa bunko* as a new genre of writing within mass publishing. The critical significance of the spoken word in the creation of contemporary artistic forms in Japan requires us to reevaluate where exactly the boundaries between chirographical and oral tradition begin and end. It is the contention of this thesis that the ambit of each bleeds from one into the other, and back again. Here,

¹²⁴ Term: 落語.
Johns’ use of the term ‘transitive’ to describe the continuing development of the book seems most apt.125

Japanese critics often cite the *Tatsukawa bunko* as a stepping-stone between the early print genesis of *kôdan* and the great ‘million seller’ magazines of the late Taishô era.126 There is some merit in this claim. However, the *Tatsukawa bunko* did not appear in isolation. As suggested, the great upheaval of the Meiji Restoration (1868) had a significant impact on publishing generally. Accordingly, Chapter 1 contains an overview of the seminal publications that prefigured the *Tatsukawa bunko*, before it emerged as a dominant force in the genre of historical romance.

Chapter 2 focuses on the human dimension of the publishing war that took place between reformers and classicists working with *kôdan*. The primary focus here is on the lives and working practices surrounding the creators of the popular series: Tamada II, Otetsu and his brother Tadao, niece Ikeda Ranko, and their publisher Tatsukawa Kumajirô (1878-1932).127 This collection of strong personalities had each migrated to Osaka from the surrounding areas of Kyoto, Ehime, and Himeji.

Working together as a collective under the group pseudonym Sekka Sanjin, Tamada II and the Yamadas produced several narratives derived from popular *kôdan* that focused on the historical exploits of Sanada Yukimura whilst he was in the employ of the Toyotomi clan. Through narratives rooted in the oral tradition of *kôdan*, the author(s) expressed their love for Osaka. The basic mode of narrative used in *kôdan* was rooted in the Kamigata region’s heritage of *gunkimono*

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126 See Chapter 1: Transitional Literature, 37.
127 立川熊次郎 (1878-1932).
Because of the complex nature of *gunkimono* and its relationship with the religion, ethics, and the spoken word, Chapter 4 is broken into three distinct sections: part one is a response to various criticisms that categorically state that the Bunmeidô catalogue consisted of ‘counterfeit’ forms of *sokhibon*, meaning stylised works produced by professional writers with no training in Japanese forms of oral tradition. This section outlines the theoretical framework of ‘orality’ — used here to denote the influence of oral tradition on text — a layered concept that has been under global discussion for over a century amongst folklorists, anthropologists, and linguists. In essence, historical debates about orality problematise distinctions between the spoken and written word. Having described the mechanisms of orality, I then discuss the historical and ethical development of *kōdan* as a regional art form as it emerged from the Kamigata. Orality as a concept is then utilised as an analytical tool on the writings of the *Tatsukawa bunko*. Original *sokhibon* from the nineteenth century connected to the Sanada legend that fed directly into the historicism of the *Tatsukawa bunko* serves to elucidate features of the writing process of the Bunmeidô novellas that support the hypothesis that Tamada II was the true architect of the *Tatsukawa bunko*.

Borrowing elements from Erin A. Smith’s feminist reading of American pulp-fiction, Chapter 4 uses literary analysis as a tool with which to consider the role of Osaka as a distinct site of cultural production within the Kamigata region. Seeking answers, theories of gender are used in the analysis of transcultural fiction known as *yomihon* (reading books), a Japanese term used originally to describe

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128 Term: 軍記物.
129 Term: 読本.
argot fiction from China, which are then juxtaposed with extracts from my translation of *Sarutobi-sasuke*.

Sinic influences on Japanese literature date back centuries, evidence of which can be seen in the current writing system. However, a late infusion of vernacular fiction from the continent during the seventeenth century via the Korean peninsula saw *yomihon* gain renewed popularity as a literary form of narrative within elite circles. Nascent forms of local *yomihon* emerged shortly thereafter. The fourth chapter takes this transcultural overlay as a starting point for popular narratives about commoners capable of inverting the orthodoxy of elite historiography found in traditional *kōdan*. The point being that Sasuke (and later forms of *kōdan*, meaning *sokkibon*) inherited much from this latter infusion of narrative content.

Chapter 5 asks why critics in Japan continue to portray Sasuke as an anti-authoritarian figure. To borrow Carlo Ginzburg’s notion of ‘active reading’, it appears that fans of Sasuke interpreted the actions of the *Tatsukawa bunko* protagonist in ways that legitimised their own experiences of collective hardship. Yet the persistence with which the recalcitrant hero is admired and celebrated indicates the occurrence of something more nuanced and complicated. Specifically, that in identifying with the historical vitality of Japan’s largest industrial hub (Osaka), the Sekka Sanjin Collective headed by Tamada II inadvertently reflected the cultural might (and masculine insecurities) of the city during the early 1900s. Moreover, that this allegorical reading was facilitated by the cultural practice of *ondoku* (*reading aloud*) common to all forms of education available to the working class in Japan.

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130 Term: *音読*. 
Chapter 6 examines the relationship between state ideology and the *Tatsukawa bunko*. Specifically, that imperial prosopography used in the creation of *tennōsei* (emperor system) during the Meiji and Taishō periods relied on classical tropes for sustenance. It will be argued that the conservative doctrine of the late Meiji education was best mediated through the oral literature of the classics, which celebrated martial violence conducted in the name of the mythical and historical emperors.

In order to reveal the mechanics behind this process, I have translated a number of extracts from the Monbushô series of reading books titled the *Jinjô shōgaku kokugo yomihon* (*Elementary School Japanese Reader*). The selected volumes were published and used in state schools during the Taishô at a time when the *Tatsukawa bunko* was at its height (c. 1914-1918). Moreover, each text used classical *kódan* to teach *shūshin* (moral education) as a mandatory part of the modern state curriculum. I juxtapose classical elements from the state syllabus with excerpts from the most famous work in the *Tatsukawa bunko*, that is *Sanada yukimura san yûshi ninjutsu meijin sarutobi sasuke* (*Monkey-jump Sasuke: Three Renowned Ninja Heroes of Sanada Yukimura*) published by Bunmeidô in 1914.

Both works functioned as literary aids for young people. By comparing the popular heroic figures from the novel with the traditional heroes found in the state material, I will attempt to show how they resonated with each other as artistic works. In doing so, I hope to explain how socio-political ideologies promulgated by the state was mediated through the skilful use of Japan’s ‘vocal literature’.

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132 Term: 修身.
I would now like to make clear my own personal connection with the content of this thesis. Like any individual, I bring with me a set of experiences that inevitably intrude upon my analysis. I feel therefore, it is best to say something about my own background before beginning. I have a condition that affects my ability to concentrate for extended periods. This has had consequences for me when dealing with text: I find I repeat myself on the page, a mental stutter if you will, the result of constant pausing for breath. Modern technology has helped relieve some of the symptoms but producing a thesis feels strange and challenging, like a deliberate act of self-harm.

I am not alone; my siblings are both dyslexic. However, I can read text without my neurological complex reducing the decoding process to a babble of meaningless signs. Having said that, each of us possesses sensitivity to verbal, visual, and spatial information that frequently appears unorthodox to others. Put simply, human beings process information differently from one another.

During the 1980s, the English educational system took little or no account of individuals who fell outside of the usual parameters of what was deemed normal. This lack of attention was particularly true for young people growing up in impoverished areas. This oversight was made worse by a lack of proper funding for schools. At that time the government policies aimed at reviving the failing economy introduced by the Conservative Party under Margaret Thatcher (1925-2013) divided mainland Britain. Hoping to stimulate business, leaders within the government sought deregulation of the country’s financial institutions. A simultaneous move towards the privatisation of Britain’s state-owned utilities (water, electricity, and gas) and transport (rail) illustrated the
Conservative Party’s commitment to fiscal reformation. The changes to infrastructure had a negative impact on many.

Changes to Britain’s national infrastructure began with the forced closure of the national coalmines, which precipitated a national miners’ strike (1984-85). I was born in London, but at that time I was in my early teens attending an inner-city comprehensive in Nottingham, a regional city at the centre of the troubles. The ensuing pitched battles between the British constabulary and the National Union of Mineworkers in local colliery towns surrounding the city provoked heated debates in the media that were palpable, even to children. It felt as if the coal-mining cities across the union (England, Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Wales) were under direct attack from bureaucrats based in the capital.

The introduction of the ‘Community Charge’ (more commonly known as the ‘Poll Tax’) in 1993, eventually ended the Conservative Party’s time in office, but the experience permanently scarred British society. Regional communities had learned to deal with centralised authority at arms length.

A combined lack of resources (and awareness) meant that neither me, nor my siblings were officially diagnosed with our respective learning disabilities until we had matured beyond the point where social support networks could offer any useful alternatives for self-development and academic attainment. All of us were fortunate, however. We made lives for ourselves. My sister trained as physiotherapist at university, my brother went to art school, and I trained as an actor.

After graduation, I worked briefly as a voice over artist. Later, I studied film and scriptwriting at Goldsmiths (University of London). There I
became particularly interested in text and its relationship to speech. I am now fascinated by identity politics and how in questions concerning social and regional differences between groups are reflected in popular culture. I hope you find these connections, points of entry, unexpected turns, about faces, and sudden arrivals as intriguing as I do.
CHAPTER 1
CHAPTER 1

TRANSITIONAL LITERATURE

SOCIAL & TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCES IN POPULAR JAPANESE PUBLISHING, 1850-1911

A thousand fibers connect us with our fellow men; and among those fibers, as sympathetic threads, our actions run as causes, and they come back to us as effects.

— Henry Melville (1798-1871)

INTRODUCTION

In a rare and extended interview with the Tatsukawa bunko copy-editor Ikeda Ranko, the author and critic Ozaki Hotsuki discussed the impact of historical romance as a genre of fiction on Japanese society during the Taishô era (1912-26). When discussing her work, Ikeda was mercurial. She switched quickly between assertive formality and colloquial speech, in her responses to Ozaki’s probing questions about the Bunmeidô phenomenon.

During the interview, Ikeda took centre stage. She stressed the poverty of her early life growing up in Imabari located in the prefecture of Ehime, Shikoku. As a child, Ikeda and her mother Yamada Yasu (1873-1954) had suffered destitution and received charity from Christian missionaries living in the area. Ikeda also recounted amusing stories about writers who frequented the Yamada’s lodgings after she and her mother were reunited with the rest of the family in Osaka. Touchingly she defended the complex relationship that split her family apart: her grandmother Yamada Kei (1850-1921) abandoned her husband and five children for a new life in Osaka with the series creator Tamada II.

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133 山田寧 (1873-1954).
134 山田敬 (1850-1921).
Despite her vivaciousness, Ikeda conceded little during the interview. At times, Ikeda was deliberately vague. For example, she stated that her uncle Yamada Otetsu, often credited as a major influence on the *Tatsukawa bunko*, ‘did something like political speechwriting’ before joining the family publishing collective as a *sokkisha* (stenographer). Thus, it fell to Ozaki, a seasoned critic and scholar, to contextualise the legacy of the literature.

Anticipating the works of other Japanese scholars, Ozaki argued that the *Tatsukawa bunko* was at the vanguard of print commercialisation in Japan, it was the ‘soil in which the popular print culture of the Taishô era took root’. The series provided a platform for adapted forms of vernacular fiction, which, in turn, made possible the inauguration of *Kingu* (*The King*) magazine published by Noma Seiji’s rival firm Kodansha: *Kingu* is universally hailed as marking the birth of contemporary mass media in Japan.

Ozaki correctly identified modern technology as the catalyst behind the Bunmeidô phenomenon. The books were inexpensive, portable, and easy to read. The effects of print capital in Japan were fundamentally linked to the political evolution of the nation during its transition into modernity, a trend most visible in the Japanese newspaper industry. Ozaki reversed this notion. In its place, the critic located the *Tatsukawa bunko* as an alternative site for this development. Ozaki argued that social change in readers’ habits did not precede the shift towards commercialisation in print but accompanied it.

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135 Ikeda Ranko in *Kindai òsaka no shuppan*, 606.
136 Ozaki Hotsuki in ibid., 618.
137 For more see Takumi Satô, ‘*Kingu* no jidai: kokumin taishû zasshi no kôkyôsei’ [キングの時代—国民と大衆雑誌の公共性] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2002), 3-12.
As evidence, Ozaki highlighted the well-known association between the affordability of the *Tatsukawa bunko* and its appeal to young working people. (This definition was extended to include schoolchildren because both groups were the main customers of the Bunmeidō publishing company.) Judiciously, Ozaki refused to conflate the issue of literacy in Japan with the accessibility of the *Tatsukawa bunko*. As he observed, there were plenty of other magazines published by rival firms such as Hakubunkan, Kodansha, and Shinshindō\(^{139}\) that could make similar claims.\(^{140}\)

Most important was the issue of ethos. Ozaki believed that the *Tatsukawa bunko* resonated with the public because the creators of the series understood the character of the time. The critic reasoned that the Yamadas had shared in the hardships typical of the late Meiji period, that is, rural poverty, induced migration in search of work, and the resultant social dislocation of those living in heavily urbanised areas.\(^{141}\) Ozaki claimed that the Yamada family were able to communicate this sense of pathos through their work. Consequently, in identification, readers bought their product. He went on to argue that that embedded in the works were the cultural attitudes of the region. Ozaki then posited the literature to be anti-Edo, in effect anti-Tokyo. Ikeda agreed, no one from outside of Osaka could have written the series.\(^{142}\) At this point the conversation digressed.

Ozaki is not alone in his reverence for the *Tatsukawa bunko*; numerous Japanese scholars hold the series to be a triumph of popular

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\(^{139}\) Company: 博文館新社, 講談社, and 進々堂.

\(^{140}\) Ozaki Hotsuki framed the influence of the Tatsukawa bunko on literacy rates in Japan as 'coincidental'. *Kindai ōsaka no shuppan*, 617–618.

\(^{141}\) The Yamada family’s reading of the period was something that Ozaki Hotsuki had asserted in an earlier work. Sekka, *Tatsukawa bunko ke’ sakusen*, 1:617–22.

\(^{142}\) Ikeda Ranko in *Kindai ōsaka no shuppan*, 619.
historiography in modern print. As a consequence, Japanese critics often describe the works as ‘transitional’ or even ‘seminal’ literature. Non-Japanese scholars correspondingly locate the sokkibon (stenographical books) as a starting point for contemporary forms of mass-produced historical fiction in Japan. These are not small claims.

If we are to examine the truth of these statements, we must first place the Tatsukawa bunko in its historical context. Therefore, this chapter will provide a brief outline of the cultural, legal, and technological developments that occurred in contemporary Japanese publishing. For practical purposes we will limit our discussion to a specific period beginning with the fall of the Tokugawa Bakufu (c.1853), when legal revisions to censorship under the nascent Meiji constitution created new spaces for the public to engage in political and social discourse. Our timeline will end with the emergence of the Tatsukawa bunko in 1911.

In order to illustrate the social context in which these innovations occurred, a number of prominent literary figures, politicians, inventors, and philosophers will be included in this overview. Significant literary works will be cited, as will a number of important inventions that facilitated the advancement of publishing in Japan. The hope being, that the largely hidden contribution of kôdan (classical narratives) to mass media becomes visible to the reader.

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144 A timeline for the major events in publishing and the creators of the Tatsukawa bunko can be found in the appendices: see Appendix B, 313.
Launched on the 10 April 1911, the Tatsukawa bunko characterised much of what was good in early mass based literature. The series of miniature hardback novels and historical biographies was fun to read, dynamically marketed, and easily accessible to readers of all ages and occupations. The Bunmeidō’s advertising campaign took full advantage of the commercial reliance of newspapers on advertising for income with an advert in the 1912 New Year’s Edition of the Osaka mainichi shinbun (ills. 2).\footnote{Illustration 2, 300.} Strategically chosen sales outlets put the literature directly in the pathways of people working in the metropolis and newly extended suburbs of the city. Copies of the Tatsukawa bunko were to be found everywhere that working people congregated: night-stalls, sweet shops, hardware stores, and lining the shelves of local kashihonya (lending libraries)\footnote{Term: 貸本屋.} — institutions that rented books to those that could not afford to own or house them.

The adventure novels sold for twenty-five sen (one sen = a hundredth of a yen) apiece, roughly the cost of two tickets to the cinema. Moreover, each volume could be part exchanged for another, further reducing their price to twenty-three sen. This sales policy made the Bunmeidō catalogue highly affordable, even to children from low socio-economic backgrounds.

However, the exploits of the Bunmeidō Publishing Company were part of a larger movement in modern commercial printing that had begun during the late Edo era. In this regard, the Tatsukawa bunko was not, as critics have suggested, an entirely unique phenomenon. It was dependent on that most ephemeral thing, timing.
Social upheaval during the 1850s and 1860s profoundly altered Japanese cultural attitudes towards information. The immediate effect would be that the Tokugawa Bakufu would lose its social standing with the public. During the nineteenth century, as commercial publishing increased, the practicality of monitoring each publishing guild eventually became too demanding a task for the Tokugawa authorities to control completely. The sailors, fishermen, merchants, and coastal guards who encountered foreign sailing ships were neither blind, nor stupid. Gossip, that most subtle form of social resistance, began to snake its way into the public’s ear.\footnote{James C. Scott, \textit{Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance} (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), chap. 1.}

Tokugawa censorship had always met with resistance. Allegorical writings, satirical poetry, and the profusion of theatrical genres ensured that social commentary always had a forum. However, increased unofficial activity amongst commoners, excited by the arrival of outsiders, loosened people’s tongues. As news of foreign arrivals spread, the power of the Tokugawa Bakufu diminished. Despite continued legal restrictions, the authorities were unable to stem the flow of information spilling across the country.\footnote{Albert Altman argues that newspapers ultimately brought social unity to Japan. Albert A. Altman, `The Press and Social Cohesion During a Period of Change: The Case of Early Meiji Japan', \textit{Modern Asian Studies} 15, no. 4 (1981): 869.} Reportage became an important part of daily life. Face-to-face gossip, illustrations, and pamphleteers operating illegally on an \textit{ad hoc} basis informed local communities about what was happening.\footnote{For a detailed account of the use of kawaraban (an unofficial single sheet precursor to the Japanese newspaper) see M. William Steele, \textit{Alternative Narratives in Modern Japanese History} (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), chap. 1.}

Similarly, the need for effective forms of diplomatic communication with (and about) foreigners drove innovation in the Japanese print industry. In a desire to avert widespread panic, the Tokugawa Bakufu
began to utilise newspapers for the purposes of controlling the public. Since the 1640s, the bureaucratic elite had received regular intelligence on political and scientific developments taking place outside of Japan from representatives of the Dutch East India Company based at Dejima (an artificial island in the port of Nagasaki). The Dutch reports remained confidential, strictly limited to the upper echelons of the Tokugawa government. However, in 1858, after the Treaty of Amity and Commerce (also known as the Harris Treaty) with the United States, the authorities formatted these reports as newspapers and made them available to the public, along with other periodicals from around the globe. It was the beginning of a revolution. For the first time, information, which also included the discussion of historical events, became legal public property. This was a critical development, for without the erosion of Tokugawa censorship, publications that thrived on historiography like the *Tatsukawa bunko* could not have come into being.

Before the encroachment of European and American powers, the Tokugawa Bakufu had enjoyed relatively little direct challenge to its authority. The offices of the shogunate achieved this by implementing a number of censorship laws:

- 1673
  - Only officially sanctioned notices are permitted in public spaces.

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150 *Media and Politics in Japan*, 9.

151 The bulletins were *Kanpan batavia shinbun* (官板バタビヤ新聞, 1862), *Kanpan kaigai shinbun* (官板海外新聞, 1862), *Kanpan kaigai shinbun besshū* (官板海外新聞別集, 1862), *Kanpan rikugō sōdan* (官板六合叢談, c.1862), *Kanpan chūgai shinbō* (官板中外新聞, c.1862), *Kanpan chūgai zasshi* (官板中外雑誌, 1864), and *Kanpan hong kong shinbun* (官板香港新聞, c.1864). *Bakumatsu-meiji shinbun zenshu* (vol.2) cited in Altman, *The Press and Social Cohesion During a Period of Change*, 868.

152 Tokugawa Ieyasu is the main villain in the Sanada Yukimura series. This would have been impossible under the Bakufu system.
All references to the Tokugawa Bakufu are forbidden. This includes anything that inconveniences significant persons attached or involved with the offices of the shogunate.

- Salacious talk or images that might offend public morality become illegal.

### 1703
- Political commentaries or satire produced for the stage are outlawed after the Akō Incident of 1703.

### 1823
- Prohibition on publishing anything on military matters; especially any references to Tokugawa leyasu and his conduct towards Toyotomi Hideyoshi’s son Hideyori.
- Waka (Japanese poetry) banned because of its feminine sensibilities.\(^{153}\)
- Calendars officially issued by the Tokugawa Bakufu. Independent producers are forbidden.
- Anything tantamount to rumour that might stir the public, banned.
- Erotica, such as *shunga* (Spring pictures), is also banned\(^{154}\).

### 1841
- The Tokugawa Bakufu enacts the Tempo Reforms.\(^{155}\)

The edicts were, at best, vague, but the lack of specificity granted the authorities vast latitude to inflict severe legal penalties. The Tokugawa Bakufu ruthlessly targeted publishers financially for non-compliance. Minor infractions, such as simple copyright disputes resulted in the confiscation of stock, and this included the original woodblocks used for printing. Traditional woodblock printing used during the Bakumatsu era (c.1853-1868) remained prohibitively expensive for anyone outside of the established print guilds. The expensive softwoods used for woodblocks allowed for intricate carving but wore out quickly. Worse, they were susceptible to damage from moisture, fire, and insects. So for insurance reasons, two copies of a text were manufactured for every initial publication: one for production use, and another stored at a local Buddhist temple. Knowing the expense

\(^{152}\) Term: 和歌.

\(^{153}\) Term: 花.

\(^{154}\) Term: 春画.

involved, the courts usually bankrupted both the claimant and the defendant by confiscating these items regardless of the legal outcome.

A system of mandatory pre-submission to the regional offices of the Tokugawa Bakufu aimed to ensure that publishers complied with state censorship at every stage of production. Print guilds were liable for their staff, and in certain cases, for their clients. Mere allusion to a sensitive subject by an author or a publisher could see them put in stocks and held for up to fifty days. Though rarely enacted, severe infractions carried the death penalty. Nonetheless, when sensing a commercial opportunity editors ignored legal restrictions and published regardless: this was especially true of book merchants in the provinces like Osaka and Kyoto, who were removed from the bureaucratic centre of Edo, and therefore, tended to be less restrained in their law-breaking.\textsuperscript{156}

The fall of the Tokugawa Bakufu brought about a change in the political climate and played a central role in loosening official controls on publishing. This by itself would have meant nothing, were it not for developments in technology that drastically reduced the cost of print manufacture to an affordable level that could sustain independent publishers catering to a broad commercial market. During Japan’s information revolution, two technological advances occurred that would make possible the creation of the \textit{Tatsukawa bunko}, that is, metal type and stenography. Both systems were a direct result of research commissioned by the Bakumatsu government (1853-67) attempting to better negotiate with the overseas powers.

Because of their strategic importance as places of trade and the growing number of foreigners living there, port cities engendered

\textsuperscript{156}Ibid., chap. 8.
mechanical innovations in print-based communication. This had been true for China, and it proved to be the same for Japan. Motoki Shôzô (1824-1875), an interpreter working in Nagasaki for the Tokugawa Bakufu on Dutch translation, perfected the modern system of printing in Japan. Motoki was not interested in the issue of metal type; he had applied for a license to create a Japanese to Dutch dictionary. However, he needed to work with European, Chinese, and Japanese (kana) scripts. Numerous attempts had been made on the continent with some success in Korea using ceramics during the thirteenth century, but the complexity of replicating the vast number of characters needed for Chinese fonts meant that an effective process had not yet been realised elsewhere, least of all in Japan.

During the 1590s, at the pinnacle of his power, Toyotomi Hideyoshi made two attempts at conquering the Korean peninsula. The conflict was too distant for there to be any real cohesion amongst his forces, supply lines were always vulnerable, and the ever-fragile political union of Japan demanded constant attention. Nonetheless, the campaign did yield something positive — it gave the samurai class direct access to print production.158

One of Hideyoshi’s generals Ukita Hide’ie (1573-1655)159 took special care to secure a number of neo-Confucian translations. The texts, along with a printing press, were shipped back to Japan. Circa 1593, Hideyoshi presented the stolen machine to the Emperor Go-Yôzei

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157 本木昌造 (1824-1875).
158 Someone with Hideyoshi’s power could have easily forced religious communities to print materials as he wished, thus, making the need for independent means null and void. However, the samurai as a class were spiritually impure, tainted by the blood they spilled in war. They were therefore reliant on religious orders to spiritually cleanse them, this made their relationship with religion complicated.
159 宇喜多秀家 (1573-1655).
Bearing the imperial seal, the machine was used extensively to produce moveable-type editions of secular texts from 1595 to 1621. For example, in 1599 the press was used to produce a collated version of the Four Books of the Confucian tradition and a reprint of the eight-century classic the *Nihon shoki* (*Chronicles of Japan, 720*). However, due to the difficulty in developing an accurate reproduction of the various Japanese scripts, and intransigence over the perceived lack of quality thereof, woodblock printing continued as the main method of print production. Consequently, the Korean press fell into disrepair and its influence in Japan was consigned to the history books.

Mechanical printing did not re-merge as a force in Japanese culture until 1869 when, building on the work of William Gamble III (1830-1858), a Christian missionary and type-caster working in the Shanghai newspaper industry, Motoki succeeded in creating Japanese metal type. The indigenous breakthrough in typography revolutionised publishing in Japan. As with woodblock printing, the process of electro-casting metal type required the carving of an initial set of characters in wood to make a relief. However, all similarities to the traditional process end here. The woodblock functioned as a base for a wax or latex mould (sometimes referred to as a *forme*), fine graphite was then applied to its surface. When electrified in a bath of copper sulphate and sulphuric acid, the graphite layering attracted the copper in the solution. Particles would continue to adhere to the dye until the electric current was stopped. (Longer exposure to the process

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160 后陽成 (1572-1617).


produced thicker layering.) What remained was a perfect copy of the original woodcarving in copper.  

It is impossible to overstate the benefit to publishers in cost reduction using metal type. Notably, the quality of wood needed for electrocasting did not have to be durable, drastically reducing the initial investment for the base block. In addition, once cast, moulds could be recycled. In addition, metal type was durable: it also needed less maintenance to preserve its print integrity than wood. Moreover, because of the construction of the type sets, publishers now had the ability to use typesets in combination to effect editorial changes. Formerly, printers would have had to re-work the original woodblock, this required several processes to make them usable. With metal type, the entire process took no more than a few hours. Therefore, publishers were no longer required to pay for the expensive upkeep of in-house artisans. If need be, work could be farmed out to specialists. Significantly, Motoki’s cast pieces worked with the Guttenberg press (and later, rotary mechanisms). The new procedure was unprecedented in terms of speed compared to conventional printing methods. Nonetheless, woodblock printing did not disappear entirely. For many, the traditional process was synonymous with prestige and quality. As we shall see, woodblock techniques remained for important publications well into the Taishô era.

The second great innovation in Japanese print culture was sokki (stenography). For diplomats engaging in dialogue with foreign powers on overseas missions, the ability to capture unfamiliar terms became critical. Reports of stenography filtered back to Japan via its attachés. In 1867, whilst on a diplomatic mission to Washington D.C. to secure

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the military purchase of the warship *Stonewall* for the Imperial Japanese Navy, navigator Ono Tomogorô (1817-1898) noted that foreign administrators used shorthand. However, successive attempts made over the following decade to replicate a suitable stenographic system for Japanese failed to materialise.

The turning point in Japanese stenography came in 1878, when Takusari Kôki (1854-1938) created a writing system based loosely on Pitman’s shorthand that was able to accurately and succinctly record all the sounds uttered in Japanese at speed. In all facets, *sokki* was superior to the many attempts at transcribing Japanese that had come before. In 1882, an article on Takusari’s work appeared in the September edition of *Jijishimpô (The Times)*. The newspaper’s founder was Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901), the man most responsible for promoting public education in Japan. Fukuzawa had become famous as a public intellectual, consequently the article, titled ‘Japanese honogurafuhii’ (‘Japanese Phonography’), garnered a great deal of attention. Attracted by the challenge of developing the *sokki* system, a number of candidates offered Takusari their support. The following year Takusari opened a school and very quickly qualified graduates found work in the areas of politics, law, and journalism.

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164 小野友五郎 (1817-1898).
166 田鎖綱紀 (1854-1938).
167 Scott Millar includes the Heian script known as ‘*okoto ten’*, ‘*sōro-bun’*, and the use of early ‘kana’ as historical attempts aimed at recording Japanese as it was spoken. Scott Miller, ‘Japanese Shorthand and Sokki-Bon’, 473.
168 Title: 音声記事.
169 福澤諭吉 (1835-1901).
171 Takusari began his experiments whilst at the Imperial University of Tokyo and continued studying the Graham technique under Robert G. Carlyle, a mining specialist working for the Meiji government. Scott Millar argues that sokki
The benefits of *sokki* combined with cheap print would soon flow into the *yose* (vaudeville theatre), an artistic arena key to the survival of oral tradition. But before making this relationship explicit, it is important to further situate the *Tatsukawa bunko* in the realm of mainstream publishing.

**Seminal Publications of the Meiji Period**

During the Meiji period, attitudes towards the west amongst Japanese intellectuals had a profound impact on those working in publishing. Rhetoric in Japan, seen as a principal form of public communication, was highly sophisticated from the Heian era (794-1185) onwards. However, as Massimiliano Tomasi argues, foreign conceptions of propriety and the importance of professional criticism amongst prominent writers affected all forms of public discourse. This attitude was particularly true for progressives involved with the government, such as the *Meirokusha* (Meiji Six Society).

Tomasi states that at this time publishing industry spilt into two broad factions: the modernisers of the *genbun’ichi* movement (unification of language and speech), whose number included novelists such as Masaoka Shiki (1867-1902), Takahama Kyoshi (1874-1959), and Tsubouchi Shôyô (1859-1935), individuals conversant in Japan’s classical traditions, who sought to bring the Japanese language into a progressive state of unity, and purists, like Mori Ôgai (1862-1922), who

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172 Term: 言文一致
173 正岡子規 (1867-1902), 高浜虛子 (1874-1959), and 坪内逍遥 (1859-1935).
174 森鷗外 (1862-1922).
felt the use of the vernacular language in print was a crude reminder of the public’s inability to let go of the past.\footnote{Massimiliano Tomasi, ‘Studies of Western Rhetoric in Modern Japan: The Years between Shimamura Hōgetsu’s Shin Bijigkau (1902) and the End of the Taishō Era’, Japan Review, no. 16 (2004): 164–165.}  

Artists working in other media were also involved in the process of rationalising the Japanese language. Shimamura Hōgetsu (1871–1918)\footnote{鳥村抱月 (1871-1918).} was a theatre director, playwright, translator, and critic associated with the shingeki (new drama)\footnote{Term: 新劇.} movement during the 1910s.\footnote{Tomasi’s analysis of Hōgetsu’s terminology for ‘bijigkagu’ (美辞学 translated here as ‘rhetoric’) is exemplary. Tomasi, ‘Studies of Western Rhetoric in Modern Japan’, 161–163, 168.} A proponent of modern rhetoric, he shared similar values with critics, directors, and producers involved with the pure film movement discussed in the introduction to this work. As you will recall, the group coerced the Terauchi cabinet, using the Monbushô as its auxiliary arm, to introduce tough censorship laws that required registration and the retraining of benshi (‘photo-interpreters’) reckoned to be in breach of government censorship laws. Many of the benshi were ex-kōdanshi exploring new opportunities for expression in the emerging medium of film, which we know directly fed from, and back into, the traditional canon of kōdan.

One could argue that the various developments of the genbun’ichi movement reflected a new dynamic worldview associated with the coming of Japan’s industrial modernity. It was an attempt at clarity. But in exploring the limitations of Japan’s ancient writings, popular texts, such as the Tatsukawa bunko, that were created using oral tradition as a foundation, were subjected to negative scrutiny or relegated to obscurity. Like Tomasi, I believe that these two traditions (oral and written) were not separate but intertwined.
Before continuing the overview, I shall give one example of why the spoken word remained so connected to reading. Before the Restoration of 1868, pro-imperial forces relied on official communiqués to engender calm and convey an appropriate sense of its gravitas to the public. In 1867, using traditional woodblock techniques, the new bureaucracy inaugurated Seiyō zasshi (Western Magazine): it was the first officially produced magazine in Japan. The publication brought news from abroad, often translations of western academic articles, commented on political life, and included a segment on arts and culture. Seiyō zasshi was short, only a few pages long, but it was generally inaccessible to the uneducated reader. The text was heavily laden with complex Chinese characters and featured no punctuation or paragraph spacing, making commercial prospects for the publication limited. This proved to be the case, when the magazine faltered after only six issues.

The failure of Seiyō zasshi did not deter Japan’s intelligentsia from actively participating in publishing. Politicians and notable thinkers continued to take great interest in the potential of print media to educate the civic community. Privately financed periodicals carried intellectual debates into the public sphere: Shinbun zasshi (Newspaper Magazine) established in 1871 by the Meiji political leader Kido Takayoshi (1833-1877) was one such publication. Another was Meirokusha zasshi (Meiji Six Society Magazine). Established two years later in 1873, the journal listed amongst its contributors the great

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179 Title: 西洋雑誌.
181 Shigetoshi Nagamine in ibid., 189.
182 Title: 新聞雑誌.
183 木戸孝允(1833-1877).
184 Title: 明六社雑誌.
intellectual luminaries of the age: magazine founder Mori Arinori (1847-1889), Tsuda Sen (1864-1929), and the aforementioned Fukuzawa.

Despite the transition to a modern system of bureaucracy, the Meiji Government remained patriarchal in its attitude towards the public. The fledgling government believed that many citizens did not understand or fully appreciate the benefits of its industrialisation programme. Constituted almost exclusively by members of the former samurai class, the Meiji Government decided that the public needed instruction. A major change to the information culture of Japan ensued after bureaucratic changes to the law required commoners to follow current events. In 1869, shinbunshi jôrei (official news notifications) began to circulate across the country. These short news-flyers were conceived of as a bridging device to aid in the understanding of the Meiji Government’s policies.

In an effort to reach the population, the state called upon educated heads of villages — Shinto and Buddhist priests, schoolmasters, wealthy farmers, and the like — to assist in enlightening the masses as to the benefits of westernisation. In support of this endeavour, regional offices offered public recitations of news via shinbun jûransho (news reading rooms). The need for shinbun jûransho highlights the major theme in this thesis: that Meiji society was still dependent on oral means for the dissemination of vital information.

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185 森有礼 (1847-1889).
186 津田千 (1864-1929).
187 Misako Shinazawa in Kabayama, Mirion sera tanjô e!, 180.
188 The Meiji Government’s approach to public education and other related issues are explored further in Chapter 6: State Ideology, Popular Literature, & Oral Tradition, 247.
189 The lectures on the benefits of modernity were held six times per month but the programme ended after the first Meiji cabinet split in 1873. Altman, ‘The Press and Social Cohesion During a Period of Change’, 873-74.
190 Term: 新聞紙条例.
191 Term: 新聞縦覧所.
As Japan began its rise as an international power, political writing appeared more frequently in the public sphere. Discourse moved beyond mere didacticism to that of genuine political debate. There was a proliferation of civil rights pamphlets, with revolutionary sounding titles, such as the *Jiyū no tomoshi* (Liberty Flame), *Jiyū shinbun* (Liberal Newspaper), and *Shafu-battei* (Rickshaw-man & Stable-boy).\(^\text{192}\) Cheaply produced, these tracts usually featured two to three editorials with inflammatory headlines. Offended individuals — many of them powerful political figures — frequently instigated libel proceedings against the authors involved.\(^\text{193}\) Because of the small size of their publishing ventures, and the nature of their targets, it is unsurprising pamphleteers were easily bankrupted, causing irreparable damage to the early independent press movement in Japan.

Other forms of news distribution endured, however, especially in regional areas like Osaka with an established print culture and sizable population. Established in 1876, Osaka’s first tabloid *Naniwa shinbun*\(^\text{194}\) featured woodblock illustrations that allowed the general public pictorial and textual access to information. The content of the hybrid newspaper tended towards sensationalist accounts of murder, infidelity, celebrities, and the amusing customs of the foreigners now living in Japan.\(^\text{195}\) Local reports included the supernatural. For example, the seventeenth edition of the *Osaka mainichi shinbun* (Osaka Daily News), formerly *Nihon rikken seitô shinbun* (Japanese Liberal Party Newspaper), after *Nihon nippô* (Japan Daily News),\(^\text{196}\) featured an article

\(^{192}\) Title: 自由の灯火, 自由新聞, and 車夫末弟.


\(^{194}\) Title: 難波新聞.


\(^{196}\) Title: 大阪毎日新聞, formerly 日本立憲政党新聞, after 日本日報.
titled ‘Satsujin nitsukimató rei’ (‘Homicidal Offender Accosted by Spirits’). The Meiji Government looked upon such public displays of ignorance as embarrassing.

Osaka would come to dominate mass publishing after 1911, when the newspaper magnate Motoyama Hiko’ichi (1853-1932), owner of the Osaka mainichi shinbun, bought out his liberal competitors at the Tôkyô nichinichi shinbun (Tokyo Daily News, est. 1872) in a national merger with the Asahi shinbun (Morning News, est. 1879). Motoyama saw news media in simple business terms; the newspaper was not a forum for politics, but a commodity.

Commercial newspapers that featured advertising were to become the champions of popular public opinion, but their allegiance to the masses was conditional. Seeking profit, many tabloids habitually conflated issues of political life and economics with nationalism, a trend that would increase as journalists tracked the ebb and flow of political life. Consequently, the Meiji Government was perpetually wary of giving the tabloid press absolute freedom. When the major newspapers joined the throng of minor publications in condemnation of the Meiji élite, the state’s response was regressive. In 1875, the recently founded Naimushô (Ministry of the Interior, est. 1871) began

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198 本山彦一 (1853-1932).
199 Title: 東京日日新聞.
201 For a detailed account see ibid., chap. 10.
202 Office: 内務省.
using libel laws based on the French model to regulate the outpouring of commercial news organisations.\textsuperscript{203}

By October 1880, the Meiji state programme for industrialisation resulted in national debt that led rising inflation, causing financial stress for workers. As the populace grew restless, newspapers attracted readers and controversy by airing popular political debate. Wealthy farmers reported having extra stores of rice, however, the economic benefits of hoarding supplies meant that these stores did not reach people in towns. Wages did not cover the rising cost of provisions. After the Liberal Party announced their dissolution, the following statement appeared in the Tokyo edition of the \textit{Nichinichi shinbun}:

\begin{center}
The least we deserve is rice three times a day. Nowadays the only [kinds of] people who get such things are criminals and fraudsters.\textsuperscript{204}
\end{center}

Blaming government in a time of economic hardship was nothing new.\textsuperscript{205} Nevertheless, public objections to the leadership of Japan had rarely been so open.

Delegates assembled in the Diet were outraged. Political retribution for criticising the state was certain, if not swift. In March 1890, at the inaugural meeting of the constitution, one of the first actions of the Diet was to establish the Police Investigation Bureau as a counter public dissent. The creation of the bureau suggests that in many ways the Meiji Government feared the freedom of information as much as their Tokugawa predecessors. Ultimately, the intervention of the

\textsuperscript{203} Kornicki, \textit{The Book in Japan}, 360.
\textsuperscript{204} Makihara, \textit{Kyakubun to Kokumin No Aida}, 4.
\textsuperscript{205} The influence of the Mito school found a contemporary resonance in Aizawa Seishi (会沢正志斎, 1827-1877), who’s xenophobic slogan ‘sonnō jōi’ (尊皇攘夷 translated here as ‘Revere the Emperor, expel the barbarians’) coined in his nativist reading of Confucian law titled Shinron (新論) (New Theses). The thesis retained much of its potency by becoming the basis for ‘kokutora’ (国体 translated here as ‘national polity’) after the Meiji Restoration of 1868. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Donald Keene, and Ryusaku Tsunoda, \textit{Sources of Japanese Tradition} (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), 593–603.
popular press into the realm of politics was symptomatic of far greater problems.

Makihara Norio\textsuperscript{206} states, ‘It is difficult to say if the readers and writers of the article published in *Nichinichi shinbun* had any tacit joint understanding of the poor’.\textsuperscript{207} He argues it was more a case of rhetoric on the part of the newspaper. The image of the underprivileged in the press remained in a state of constant flux with various advocates arguing on behalf of impoverished citizens, whom, isolated in rural areas, remained largely outside the sphere of political influence.\textsuperscript{208}

As the twentieth century approached, attempts at public education began to yield results. Imperfect though it was, the population enjoyed greater literary proficiency. Subsequently, the commercial magazine market expanded. *Kokumin no tomo* (*The Peoples’ Friend*)\textsuperscript{209} produced during the late 1890s was one of the first mass media successes with a subscriber’s list of around 20,000. The liberal magazine was a favourite with young intellectuals, but it was still beyond the comprehension of many.\textsuperscript{210} Magazines did not specifically cater to the general reader until after the Sino-Japanese War (1894-5).

Catering to the public’s demand for exciting war-stories, a raft of magazines appeared in the wake of publicity generated by the national newspapers’ reporting on the conflict. Hakubunkan launched *Shônen sekai* (*The World of Boys*)\textsuperscript{211} and *Bungei kurabu* (*Literature Club*).\textsuperscript{212} The

\textsuperscript{206}牧原憲夫.
\textsuperscript{207}Makihara, *Kyakubun to kokumin no aida*, 6.
\textsuperscript{208}Ibid., 5-6.
\textsuperscript{209}Title: 国民の友.
\textsuperscript{211}Title: 日本世界.
popular magazines made extensive use of photography, which made them appealing to young audiences. These periodicals represented an axiomatic shift away from the adult publications towards children’s periodicals, now acknowledged as a viable commercial market. Nonetheless, Hakubunkan’s most successful publication Taiyō (Sun) was predominantly in English. Indicating the growing strength of the middle-class market, the magazine sold an unprecedented number of 100,000 copies. Taiyō was edited by Yoshino Sakuzô (1878-1933), a Christian, liberal essayist, and political philosopher most responsible for defining minponshugi (crudely translated as ‘people-centrism’). Yoshino was a sincere proponent of universal suffrage. Nevertheless, he maintained that personal freedom could only be successfully defined and mediated through co-operation with the state. For Japan’s intellectual community it was a step forward, of sorts.

After the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5), a new generation of authors began to emerge, who understood the medium of publishing as an informal space for social discussion. This new breed of writer included members of the press, as well as intellectuals. They were self-reflexive, cosmopolitan, humorous, and cynical about the supposed benefits of modernity for all. Arguably, the most beloved literary figure of this company was Natsume ‘Sôseki’ Kinnosuke (1867-1916), hereafter acknowledged simply as Sôseki. Sôseki began his career as a writer

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212 Title: 文芸倶楽部.
213 Title: 太陽.
214 Kabayama, Mirion sera tanjô et, 190.
215 吉野作造 (1878-1933).
217 Ibid., 82-86.
218 夏目金之助 (1867-1916).
219 漱石.
whilst lecturing in English at the Tokyo Imperial University, but eventually quit his teaching post to pursue writing full-time at the Tōkyō asahi shinbun in 1907. Originally serialised in the intellectual magazine Hototogisu (Cuckoo, est. 1897) produced by during the conflict with Russia, Sōseki’s early work Wagahai wa neko de aru (I Am a Cat) is a whimsical account of an urban schoolmaster as seen through the eyes of an adopted housecat. In the novel, Sōseki’s feline protagonist pokes gentle fun at the social mores of the burgeoning middle class that had come to occupy a central position in Meiji society. The piece reminds us that much of the literature produce as part of the genbun’ichi movement was meant to be accessible equally to everyone. The author’s later works, such as Bochan (Master Darling, 1907), Kōjin (The Wayfarer, 1913), Kokoro (The Heart of Things, 1914), and Meian (Light & Dark, unfinished), dealt almost exclusively with the isolation of modernity.

Sōseki was a complex man. Ever the doyen of the Meiji literary world, he remained dismissive of literature that failed to edify the human spirit or reflect reality. Sōseki claimed that such novels were only fit for women and children. However, he sincerely believed that literature could educate and unite people through the fostering of independent thought. It was no vain boast. In 1911, the novelist

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220 Title: 東京朝日新聞.
221 時鳥, est. 1897.
222 Title: 我が衰錬である.
225 The titles in Japanese are 坊ちゃん, 行人, 心, and 明暗. Angela Yiu, Chaos and Order in the Works of Natsume Sōseki (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1998), 8-12.
226 Sōseki’s elitism is also evident in his condemnation of the provinces. Having toured the country extensively as part of a promotional lecture series organised by his editors, Sōseki labelled the regions as dirty, backward, and lacking in civility. Whether Sōseki thought the same of Osaka is hard to say. Sōseki Natsume, Kokoro: A Novel and Selected Essays (Lanham, Maryland: Madison Books, 1992), 240-41.
227 Natsume Sōskei in ibid., 285-315.
openly criticised the second Katsura Cabinet (1908-11) for persecuting writers associated with the Naturalist movement. Authors like Kosugi Tengai (1865-1952),228 who emulated the realism of European authors like Émile Zola (1840-1902), were accused of promoting non-Confucian values that undermined the state. Sōseki was not a fan, but, appreciating the right to ‘open discussion’ which had been included in the Gokajō no goseimon (Charter Oath)229 outlining the Meiji constitution, he defended them nonetheless.230

Freedom of the press was put to the severest of tests by a group of female intellectuals, authors, and poets, who proved themselves the ultimate harbingers of radical new thought. Seitô (Bluestocking, 1911-16)231 was the first periodical in Japan produced and run by women for women. I include it here because in many ways it was at the opposite end of the spectrum from publications like the Tatsukawa bunko. However, it was also derided in the press. Nevertheless, Seitô elicited an overwhelmingly positive response from its target audience. In this regard, the women’s periodical has since achieved a cult-like status similar to that of the Bunmeidô series.

During its initial run, the journal sold only 1,000 copies, just a fraction of the sales figure attributed to the Bunmeidô series. At its height, Seitô had 150 dedicated subscribers, mainly educated women from the metropolitan districts of Tokyo. Conversely, a number of patrons were from rural areas outside of the metropolis. The total number of readers influenced by Seitô remains unknown, however, the number of letters

228 小杉天外 (1865-1952).
229 Title: 五箇条の御誓文.
231 Title: 青鞜.
addressed to the editors suggest a peak figure of 3,000 sales for the fifty-six-issue run of the series as an absolute minimum.¹²²

Unlike the Tatsukawa bunko, which tended to nostalgia, Seitô was unapologetically modern. With the dawning of a new constitutional era, the magazine’s co-founders Hiratsuka Raichô (1886-1971), Yasumochi Yoshiko (1885-1947), also Kiuchi Teiko (1887-1919), Nakano Hatsuko (1886-1983), and Mozume Kazuko (1888-1979) were acutely aware of the need for a feminist political forum.¹²³ The frankness of these discussions intermingled with the public’s perceptions about the personal lives of the editorial team, often mistaking or imagining creative content to be reflective of real situations, brought Seitô into confrontation with the Meiji authorities.

Editors and writers from the male-dominated Japanese press objected to the women’s independent lifestyles and took every opportunity to slander them. Ensuing scandals led to increased press scrutiny, which highlighted growing internal divisions within the group over the rising level of militancy within the Seitô community.¹²⁴ Disenfranchised, a number of affiliated writers stopped their contributions, causing a partial collapse of the magazine. Seitô limped on under the editorial leadership of Itô Noe (1895-1925),¹²⁵ but diminishing sales forced the

²³⁴ In 1912, two major scandals ensued that proved fatal for the magazine: the ‘Goshiki no saké jiken’ [「五色の酒事件」 (Five-coloured Liquor Incident)] and the ‘Yoshiwara no hômon jiken’ [「吉原の訪問事件」 (Visit to the Yoshiwara)]. The Japanese press accused the female editorial team of becoming publicly intoxicated whilst in male company, and (later) visiting the red light district of Tokyo. The reports were not entirely accurate. In the first instance, the male company mentioned was actually female; a young staff artist named Otake Kôkichi (尾⽵幸吉, 1893-1966), an art student from Osaka who joined Seitô as an illustrator, had concocted the story for the press as a ruse to hide her intimate and intensely personal relationship with Hiratsuka Raichô. The second report misrepresented a visit by the editors to the Yoshiwara to investigate the plight of prostitutes. Subsequently, the Naimushô and Monbushô ministries put the Seitô founders under surveillance. Ibid., 8-11.
²³⁵ 伊藤 野枝 (1895-1925).
remaining members of the group to abandon their efforts.\textsuperscript{236} The women behind \textit{Seitô} came from privileged backgrounds, and it is perhaps for this reason that the journal failed to gain traction with a mass audience. Jan Bardsley notes that in their \textit{naïveté}, the writers of \textit{Seitô} were of the opinion that feminism was separate from the issue of class.\textsuperscript{237} It was a fatal mistake given that many young women at the time were economically and socially disadvantaged. Reaching out to a broader audience might have saved \textit{Seitô}, but is likely the publication would also have been compromised.\textsuperscript{238}

Edifying though it was for members of the Meiji literati to expound high-minded principles, it produced little obvious change in the tastes of the working class. In the same year that saw the launch of \textit{Seitô}, a much more powerful commercial force came into existence in the world of mass media. A plethora of small independent companies burst onto the commercial market grabbing the public’s attention by producing magazines and accessible serialised novels based on the oral tradition of \textit{kôdan}. Here, the \textit{Tatsukawa bunko} was a serious contender.

\textbf{The Effects of the Yose on Mass Literature}

In the latter days of the Meiji era, class-consciousness shaped the Japanese publishing industry in subtle, but profound ways. Paradoxically, at the heart of this creeping revolution was the \textit{yose}. Home to many of the oral traditions in Japan, these small-scale venues were scattered across the cultural capitals of Kyoto, Osaka, and Tokyo. The term ‘\textit{yose}’ literally means, ‘meeting place’. It could include

\textsuperscript{236} Bardsley, \textit{The Bluestockings of Japan}, 3.
\textsuperscript{237} Ibid., 13.
\textsuperscript{238} For an alternative account of \textit{Seitô} see Vera Mackie, \textit{Feminism in Modern Japan}, eBook (Adobe Reader) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), chap. 6.
anywhere that people gathered for festivals, fairs, and anniversaries. Temporary structures were constructed, which eventually gained permanency. Maria Teresa Orsi suggests the number for formal venues in Edo just before the Meiji Restoration stood at around 400 (1855). Shirane Haruo states that at the beginning of the nineteenth century that this number had dropped to 120. Cholera was partly to blame. Nonetheless, at the turn of the twentieth century there were still eighty stages in Osaka alone that catered exclusively to kōdan; no small number by any account. Tokyo had roughly a third more than that.

The yose offered its clientele solace from the isolation of the city: it was a place to meet friends, to laugh, and forget ones’ cares for an hour or so. They were also cheap when compared to the other theatrical venues. Consequently, the yose attracted a working-class audience, usually from the trades. Having worked hard for their money, and with little free time to spare, this demographic was unflinching in its criticism of performers. Sensitive to their patrons’ needs, theatre managers were naturally circumspect in their bookings. Consequently, competition was fierce, and standards high.

The yose provided legitimacy for many itinerant performers working the circuit between Japan’s major cities. Nonetheless, theatrical recitals were always susceptible to government censure. During the Tenpo Reforms (1841-43), the Tokugawa Bakufu declared that the presence of


241 白根晴夫.


243 For a detailed account concerning the effects of cholera in Japan see Chapter 2: Human Networks, 78-79.

244 Adachi, *Tatsukawa bunko no eiyūtachi*, 37.

female musicians in the *yose* corrupted public morals. The Meiji Government’s attitude towards entertainment was similarly ambiguous. In 1886, invoking the law against *fûki no binran* (‘the corruption of morals’), the Naimushô banned all street performances of *tsuji-kôdan* (wayside recitals of *kôdan* usually conducted at marketplaces, in temple grounds, and alongside busy thoroughfares), labelling such *ad-hoc* performances of *kôdan* as tantamount to ‘begging’.

In reality, the Naimushô was afraid of the potential of *kôdan* to serve as a political fulcrum against the state. The staunch orthodoxy of narratives presented by professional *kôdanshi* celebrated the values of loyalty and self-sacrifice. Nevertheless, it had been rumoured that rogue practitioners were advocating liberal views espoused by the *Jiyûtô* (Peoples Freedom Party, est. 1890). No one knows if this is true or not. Given the Meiji Government’s suspicion of the emerging socialist movement, it is easy to see why the home ministry took such as dim view of such practices. Moreover, the state had already begun to experiment with *kôdan* in the classroom. Bureaucrats, therefore, understood its didactic potential.

The two technical developments created by Motoki Shôzô (metal type) and Takusari Kôki (sokki) during the days of the Bakumatsu came to significance at this time. Both would help *kôdan* through another historical cycle of transition into a chirographical form: *kôdan* had

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246 Term: 風紀の紊乱.
247 Term: 辻講談.
249 Office: 自由党 (est. 1890).
begun as kôshaku (a Buddhist form of exegesis based on written sutras performed monastics for the laity).\textsuperscript{251} In this regard, sokki bequeathed as much to the entertainment industry as it did journalism, if not more. The adoption of sokki by commercial publishers allowed practitioners of oral tradition from the yose to preserve their craft in the new literary form called sokkibon (stenographical books).\textsuperscript{252}

The first known use of sokki for commercial purposes was for a theatrical adaptation of the Chinese ghost story Kaidan botan dorô \textit{(Tale of the Peony Lantern)}\textsuperscript{253}. Sanyûtei Enchô (1839-1900),\textsuperscript{254} the man most responsible for establishing the comedic art of rakugo (comic storytelling) during the late Edo period, adapted the narrative from one of his performances. Enchô captured much of the vibrancy of the original story whilst augmenting its plot and character development to suit a Japanese audience. In June 1884, Tôkyô Haishi Shuppansha (Tokyo Distributer Publishing Company)\textsuperscript{255} published Enchô’s rendering of the tale: it was an immediate success with the public.\textsuperscript{256}

It took time for commercial stenography to reach the other major cities of Japan. There is no official answer as to why this was so, but commercial rivalry between performers and establishments may have been a factor. Whatever the reason, sokki did not debut in Osaka for

\textsuperscript{251} Term: 講釈.

\textsuperscript{252} Contrary to his hypothesis for journalism, Scott Millar argues that sokki did not positively transform kôdan. He states: ‘Sokki ushered in an age of literacy and textual immediacy into Japan, but at the same time it robbed traditional storytelling of both its repertoire and its audience. In an iconically manic culture, the ephemeral, spoken word could not survive the cryptic distortion of its own textualized self. Nor, ironically, could sokkibon sustain itself against the eventual onslaught of a literature rewritten in sokkibon’s own colloquial image, and as a genre it disappeared into what has come to be viewed as the morass to taishû bungaku.’ This matter will be discussed in detail in the following two chapters. Scott Miller, ‘Japanese Shorthand and Sokki-Bon’, 487.

\textsuperscript{253} The narrative of Kaidan botan dorô \textit{怪談牡丹燈籠} is easily summarised: a samurai is visited by his former lover; unbeknownst to the young man, his paramour is now a ghost.

\textsuperscript{254} 三遊亭円朝 (1839-1900).

\textsuperscript{255} Company: 東京配信出発社.

\textsuperscript{256} Chôko Hatakeyama, ‘Tatsukawa bunko’ kiso kenkyû [「立川文庫」基礎研究] (Paper, Baika Daigaku, 2004), 2.
another five years. When it did, it first appeared in the local *Keimei shinbun* (*Crowing Cockerel Newspaper*) in 1899.\(^{257}\) Once established, however, serials such as *Momo-chidori* (*Myriad of Birds*)\(^{258}\) published by Shinshindō (*Rapid Hall*)\(^{259}\) triggered a nationwide vogue for adaptations of *kôdan* and *rakugo* from the Kamigata region.

First published in 1889, *Momo-chidori* was the forerunner to many of the popular magazines that emerged during the Taishô era, including the *Tatsukawa bunko* and Kodansha’s *Kôdan kurabu* (both published in 1911).\(^{260}\) Founded in Osaka, an industrial city with a large working-class population familiar with local forms of oral tradition, Shinshindō did good business. Issued fortnightly, the compendium was devoted to short stories and comic verse found in the *yose*, which gave it a broad appeal. *Momo-chidori* was also visually distinctive. Its covers were simple, but elegantly drawn. Inside there were subtle illustrations, often accompanied by equally refined miniature lithographs. The manuscripts were 122 mm x 180 mm in size and contained roughly 200 pages, typical for *kôdan* publications at that time. Despite its lavishness, each edition cost eight *sen*, putting the publication well within the means of most people.

The success of *Momo-chidori* stimulated a revolution in print infrastructure across Japan. Initially, shops connected to temple complexes, the traditional home of *kôdan*, served as outlets for the magazine. However, as *Momo-chidori* gained national favour companies such as Okajima shi-ten (Okajima Support Office), Hirai shinbun-ten (Hirai Newspaper Branch Office), and Nihon shinbun gaisha (Japanese

\(^{257}\) Company: 鶏鳴新聞. Ibid., 2.
\(^{258}\) Title: 百千鳥.
\(^{259}\) Company: 駸々堂.
Newspaper Company) began acting as distributors. Independent night stalls also carried the periodical. These venues would later prove invaluable to other companies like Bunmeidō and Kodansha trading in commercial forms of kōdan.

The editor of Momo-chidori was a young self-taught writer called Maruyama Heijirō (1867-1918); he would also work with Tamada II, author of the Tatsukawa bunko. Maruyama was from regional Japan, Nagano prefecture to be precise. He studied stenography at Keio University, founded by Fukuzawa Yukichi. As you will recall, Fukuzawa published Takusari Koki’s essay on phonography in his newspaper Jijishimpô around this time (c.1882).

In 1885, Maruyama left for Osaka to learn about kōdan. Whilst there, he produced a number of self-published works on sokki. Despite some financial aid from Murayama Ryūhei (1850-1933) of the Asahi shinbun, the budding editor’s initial venture with Shinshindō floundered. Later that year Maruyama left for Shikoku to work for another newspaper. With the editorial position vacant, other professional writers became involved with Shinshindō. Amongst them was Imamura Jirō (1868-1937), a writer for the Yamato shinbun (Yamato News). Imamura was a supporter of classical kōdan.

A literary genius with great style, Imamura wanted to exert greater controls over stenographers working with kōdan and rakugo. As a way of flexing his editorial muscle, Imamura put his name on the front
cover of the first section of the eleventh edition of *Momo-chidori*. It caused a major stir in the *sokki* and *kôdan* communities, one that quickly led to an all out publishing war between classicists who favoured traditional styles of narrative over storylines influenced by contemporary American publications: in this case *katei* shôsetsu (domestic novels), *jidô* shôsetsu (children’s novels), *tantei* shôsetsu (detective novels), and anything else deemed ‘foreign’ or ‘vulgar’ by the *kôdanshi*.267

Crucially, commercial writers, not artists, produced these narratives. This unsettled many of the classical fraternity working with oral tradition in print. Noma Seiji, who spearheaded this counter trend in mass publishing, explains:

> The popular interest attached to *Kodan* was due chiefly to the easy colloquial style in which they were written, with slips in grammar, etc. Though they might have been a little verbose and even hectic, with flamboyant exaggerations which *Kodan* artists were apt to make up in the interest of their audiences, these peculiarities made the *Kodan* attractive to the majority of uneducated readers. The idea occurred to us (at Kodansha) that if these *Kodan* artists could tell such stories, there was no reason why men trained in literature, such as novelists and essayists, could not write similar stories, imitating the *Kodan* style and in matter.268

The oxymoron Noma used to describe works created via this process was *shin kôdan* (‘new kôdan’).269 The publisher was obviously aware of the *genbun’ichi* movement and its drive for a coherent form of the national language. However, after reading his autobiography, it is clear that his motives for challenging the traditional community of *kôdanshi* were, for the most part, commercial. Ultimately, he wanted to control what was a lucrative market.

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267 Term: 家庭小説, 児童小説, and 探偵小説.
269 Term: 新講談.
Around the 1900, Maruyama returned to take over as editor of *Momo-chidori*. Unhappy with the changes that had occurred during his absence, but cognisant of the need to compete for a share of the commercial market, Maruyama’s first action was to inaugurate a new format for the publication.\(^{270}\) During the 1890s, the stories in *Momo-chidori* had been single issue only. Maruyama revised the magazine’s content to feature new colloquial forms of *kôdan* and *rakugo* from the Kamigata region, alongside news, and love songs.\(^{271}\) This change of favour was in recognition of the competitive standards in the region.

There is no definitive answer as to why vocal literature from Osaka in particular proved so popular at a national level. Hatayama Yoshiko\(^{272}\) provides a partial answer. She states that the work of Futabatei Shime (1864-1909),\(^{273}\) author and critic for the *Asahi shinbun*, and Yamada Bimyô (1868-1910),\(^{274}\) a writer for the *Osaka yomiuri shinbun*, proved highly influential in promoting *sokki* from the region at this time. In particular, *sokkibon* from Osaka drew on the rich theatrical heritage of *wagei* (oral arts) — principally *kôdan*, *rakugo*, and *naniwabushi* (lit. ‘Osaka elegies’, sometimes translated as ‘torch songs’ or ‘narrative singing’) — that made up the majority of performances at the *yose*.\(^{275}\)

Any magazine emulating these styles would inevitably have an advantage when appealing to the public. This proved to be the case when hundreds of branch offices had to be opened up in all the major cities in order to maintain an adequate supply of the magazine to

\(^{270}\) Adachi, *Tatsukawa bunko no eiyûtachi*, 35.

\(^{271}\) *Ibid.*, 36.

\(^{272}\) 畠山美子.

\(^{273}\) 二葉亭四迷 (1864-1909).

\(^{274}\) 山田微妙 (1868-1910).

\(^{275}\) Term: 浪花節. Hatayama uses the term ‘*wagei*’ (話芸 translated here as ‘vocal arts’) to indicate the shared nature of the three oral disciplines, that is, *kôdan*, *rakugo*, and *naniwabushi*. Hatakeyama, *Tatsukawa bunko’ kiso kenkyû*, 2.
distributers. These changes ushered in the era of the ‘mirrion sellâ’ (‘million seller’) in Japan.

**Conclusion**

Considering Ozaki’s statements made at the beginning of this chapter, it would seem that the *Tatsukawa bunko* was part of a series of transitions, driven by the cultural changes that occurred in Japan after the fall of the Tokugawa Bakufu. It was not, therefore, quite the driving force within the commercial print industry as suggested. This does not diminish the literature’s importance to the expansion of Japan’s commercial print industry, however.

Without question, greater historical forces were at work. Japanese people responded to the arrival of foreigners with a mixture of mirth and horror; this was expressed illegally at first via gossip, and, later, through handbills.

Paradoxically, in seeking political hegemony, the Meiji Government gave legitimacy to the people through its own state sanctioned publication and the establishment of reading rooms, the consequences of which produced a largely intellectual movement focused on enlightened debate. However, the Meiji Government failed to close the Pandora’s box that it had opened. Despite antithetical attitudes (and legislation) of the Naimushô, the sentiments of the people found an irrepressible voice in print media.

This cacophony of tones was amplified by the introduction of foreign technologies imported into Japan during the Bakumatsu era: a brief period that set the mechanical foundations for the coming print revolution. Metal type and stenography were essential components that

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facilitated the advance of inexpensive print: these technologies enabled ordinary citizens to produce, and consume, editorials that over time reflected their own tastes. Both tools would equip performers from the *yose* with the means to escape poverty by transliterating oral narratives customarily performed in the *yose* for profit.

The *Tatsukawa bunko* published at the height of the second phase in *sokkibon* was equally dependent on (and vulnerable to) the evolving cultural dynamics of mass publishing. Nonetheless, the series was rooted in the spoken word in a way in which other forms of the novel were not. It made the *Tatsukawa bunko* appealing to a select kind of reader with certain kinds of values. Exploring what the attraction was will be the continuing *foci* of this thesis.
CHAPTER 2
CHAPTER 2

HUMAN NETWORKS

THE EMERGENCE OF THE TATSUKAWA BUNKO IN A TIME OF CHOLERA, MASS MIGRATION, & PUBLISHING RIVALRIES

In nature we never see anything isolated, but everything in connection with something else which is before it, beside it, under it and over it.

— Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1747-1842)

INTRODUCTION

Having established a broad overview of publishing in Japan from the Restoration to the 1910s, this chapter will focus on exploring the biographies of the Bunmeidô collaborators (Tamada II, the Yamada family, and Tatsukawa Kumajirô). As micro-histories, these personal accounts give a deeper insight into some of the attitudes and circumstances of individuals from the yose (vaudeville), many of whom were also working in publishing producing chirographical (handwritten) forms of kôdan (classical narratives). Collectively, their contributions made up the bulk of commercial fiction sold at nightstands peddling small essentials, hardware stores frequented by merchant apprentices, and on the back pages of Japan’s national newspapers.

Like many other embryonic industries, publishing in Japan saw the creation of new social networks of disparate individuals living and working together, in effect adopted families, who shared collective fates. As was common for the time, domestic networks provided one of the few available forms of social welfare. Here, a person’s mobility was defined by his or her relationship with others. For those associated
with Bunmeidô, many of whom were directly related, the traditional *iê* (household)\(^ {277}\) system proved as much a curse as it was a blessing.

On a grander scale, the rhizomatic social structures of early mass-based publishing in Japan exemplified by the associations between publishers, *kôdanshi* (classical orators) and *sokkisha* (stenographers) would directly and indirectly define the rules of print commerce and spur growth in the publishing industry. Interpersonal relations would also intensify growing tensions over the place, nature, and purpose of *kôdan* in publishing.

To reiterate, new chirographical works of *kôdan* written by general authors from outside of the *kôdan* community, were at the centre of the controversial power struggles taking place in the *yose* over modernisation during the first quarter of the twentieth century. Therefore, to elucidate the broader spectrum of producers working with the adapted form of *shin-kôdan* (‘new kôdan’), extracts from the autobiography of Noma Seiji, founder of Dai Nippon Yûben Kai (later Kodansha), will also be included in this chapter.\(^ {278}\)

**TAMADA GYOKUSHûSAI II**

Central to the creation of the Tatsukawa bunko was the *kôdanshi* Tamada Gyokushûsaï II. He was born Katô Saijirô,\(^ {279}\) though some sources refer to him as Katô Manjirô.\(^ {280}\) His early life and induction into the world of *kôdan* of Tamada II is largely a mystery. According to Ikeda Ranko (1893-1976), her adopted grandfather was born in 1856 to a

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\(^{277}\) Term: 家.

\(^{278}\) Due to the commonality of names within the Yamada household, personal names will be given preference to avoid confusion. The names of other individuals will be treated in the traditional Japanese manner of family name first.


Shinto temple family from Kyoto. Japan was rapidly changing but there was enough of the old world present to remind everyone that the Tokugawa Bakufu still held some semblance of power, and that the imperial capital of Kyoto — elegant and refined, if not a little frayed — was still culturally important.

Growing up in a temple complex meant that Tamada II was formally educated; at the very least, he could read and write. Nevertheless, given his career trajectory and his family’s position within the local community, it is more likely that the boy’s exposure to practical and cultural literacy was extensive. It seemed inevitable that he would inherit a certain social standing amongst his father’s parishioners, but there was evidently something in the young man’s nature or an incident that caused him to seek another path in life. Disenchanted with the priesthood, Tamada II sought employment elsewhere.

By the end of the Edo period, Tamada was working for his paternal uncle as an artisan’s apprentice making temple bells in Osaka. It was a significant time for him. As was customary, a marriage was arranged with a local woman. A child soon followed. Around this time, Tamada began formal training in kôdan under Tamada Gyokushûsai I (dates unknown), who may have been a former pupil of the Shinto theologian and orator Tamada Naganori (1756-1836) from Shikoku. This second Tamada was a member of the military class, who specialised in the simple communicative form of kôshaku (exegesis) that synthesised elements of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Shinto into one. He was also a nationalist. Material by the scholar cum performer was later published by the Tokushima branch of the Taisei Yokusankai.

281 玉田喜秀斎 (dates unknown).
282 玉田永教 (1756-1836).
(Imperial Rule Assistance Association) for use as wartime propaganda during the Pacific War (1941-45). As a man with a Shinto background, Tamada II would have come across the scholar’s work. It may also be one of the reasons he eventually agreed to go on a tour of the southern island.

During the early Meiji period, an established touring circuit existed for kôdan, with many practitioners performing in and around the yose theatres located in the major cities of Kyoto, Nagoya, Osaka, and Tokyo. Tamada II thought to try his luck. It was not long before the young man became a member of the Kyoto literati and took on the stage name of Tamada Gyokurin. Building a following in Kyoto first, rather than in Osaka or Edo where the yose flourished, suggests two things: firstly, that the classical orator had remained on friendly terms with the artistic community in his hometown. Secondly, that perhaps he was not yet skilled or confident enough to command the discerning audiences and critics of the other cities. The general opinion is that Tamada II was a talented orator, but his written work seems to have failed to attract any great interest from publishers. It is curious that he should become so associated with Osaka as a writer later on in life.

Unbeknownst to Tamada II world events were about to change his life forever. Throughout the 1880s, cholera struck Japan, leaving in its

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283 Tamada Naganori’s work was later used by the Japanese right to promote a nationalistic agenda. For more see Naganori Tamada, Tokushima ken kyōyoku kaiginoku (taisei yoku sankai tokushima ken shibu) (Tokyo: Monbushō, 1943); For a short analysis of Tamada’s life and work refer to Kyosuke Hikino in Kyosuke Hikino, ‘Shintô kôshaku tamada naganori no shomin kyôka to shôkami kanryô chôjyô yoshida – senkai ni okeru shintô-ke no shisō to jissen, jiyû têma paneru’ [近世における神道家の思想と実践, 自由テーマパネル], Shukyô kenkyû, 79, no. 4 (3 March 2006): 1002-3.

284 Gerald Groemer correctly states that an exact figure for the number of performance venues that constituted the yose is hard to verify. Therefore, all figures must be treated as approximations. Certainly, three of the major cities in Japan after the Restoration (Kyoto, Osaka, and Tokyo) each had hundreds of formal spaces for performers to work in. A variety of alternative and temporary venues also existed. Groemer, ‘Dodoitsubô Senka and the Yose of Edo’, 176.

A severe epidemic of cholera has broken out at Yokohama and other places in Japan. On the 7th of July there were 283 new cases and 215 deaths in the infected districts. The cholera show signs of diminishing in Osaka, but in Yokohama it has assumed an unquestionably epidemic character at the latest reports. The Governor of Osaka notified on the 4th of July that the expense of the medical treatment and internment of those who are suffering from or have died of cholera will be entirely defrayed out of taxes. The outbreak began in Yokohama June 30. The rate of deaths is 57 per cent. Every means is being taken to stop the spread of the epidemic but thus far without much success. Full information regarding the ravages of the epidemic is as yet very scant.  

In 1882, Tamada II lost his wife and child to the disease. Stricken with grief, the young widower took to drink, and aimlessly toured about the country for several years. According to Ikeda, he never spoke of his wife or child again, hence we know nothing of them.

Fleeing the circuit probably saved the Tamada II from a similar fate. In the 1890s, cholera struck Japan’s cities again cutting the number of classical orators in Osaka to an estimated third. Panicked, the Naimushô (Ministry of the Interior) enacted sanitation laws. Consequently, the number of theatrical venues dedicated to kôdan in the city fell from eighty to around thirty. Vulnerable, many kôdanshi began to look elsewhere for income. Film was one such avenue. Thanks to the development of sokki (stenography) in the 1870s, publishing was another.

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290 Ibid., 38.
Newly designated as the imperial capital, Tokyo buzzed with energy after the Meiji Restoration (1868). Close to the site of foreign intrusion, the metropolis witnessed the political trading of public and state desires mediated through mass publishing. It was here that a number of small independent companies began to manufacture and publish books that were octavo in size with brightly coloured jackets, that were short enough for the average reader to enjoy without being too taxed for time (about 200 pages in length). Moreover, the books were affordable. A number of these editions sold for as little as six or seven sen. Both qualities helped establish reading as a common leisure activity.291

The vast majority of the publications were adauchimono (revenge stories).292 Violent in character, these historical romances based on gunkimono (military epics) found in the tradition of kôdan and transcultural sagas from China were hugely popular with audiences, raking in serious profits for publishing houses and lending libraries alike.293

As works from Tokyo began to dominate the market, titles from Osaka picked up the insulting moniker akabon (‘red books’),294 so-called because it was believed that their authors never made profit. There were tight restrictions on the prices for lending books; roughly, five sen per item. However, this figure was dependent on the location and the time that the book was borrowed. In this way, many of the works from

291 Ibid., 41.
292 Term: 仇打ち物.
293 The syncretic relationship between kôdan of the Edo era and Chinese argot fiction known colloquially in Japanese as yomihon (‘books for reading’) is explicitly reviewed in Chapters 4 and 5.
294 Term: 赤本.
Osaka ended up in bookshops as loan items, which in turn drove up their value.\textsuperscript{295}

Working practices also played a significant part in how such books were disseminated. Because minor vendors could make a profit from loans, bookshops existed nationally, functioning in many parts of the country like local libraries. Because of the price of books locally, the trend of lending books arose in the west of the country moving eastward.\textsuperscript{296} In Tokyo, writers would feature in collections together. In Osaka, things were different. Publishers split compendiums into individual sections and sold each volume separately. The practise added to production costs, but it meant that you had more volumes to sell. This meant more profit.\textsuperscript{297} Publishers in Osaka were not avaricious they were just being practical. Buying stock was generally more expensive outside of the capital. The bureaucracy in Tokyo required the latest print technology, and this soaked up resources but it made the manufacture of paper goods efficient. Osaka had more of a cottage industry to begin with. The outcome was that local prices in the port city were high; eighteen \textit{sen} per book, compared to the seven or eight \textit{sen} charged in the capital.\textsuperscript{298}

Something must have spurred the ambition of Tamada II because, at some point, he stopped touring and left for Tokyo. However, the litany of negative experiences and the loss of family had taken their toll on the performer. The \textit{kôdanshi} took criticism poorly and found it difficult to adapt to the vernacular style of the Kantô region. Nostalgia seems to have laid claim to him at this time; he joined a group of travelling

\textsuperscript{295} For example, in just one year loan figures for Kato Jujirô’s \textit{Mita no adauchi (Mito’s Revenge)} more than doubled from 90 to 200. Adachi, ‘\textit{Tatsukawa bunko no tanjyō}’, 41.
\textsuperscript{296} Adachi, \textit{Tatsukawa bunko no eiyûtachi}, 54.
\textsuperscript{297} Ibid., 56.
\textsuperscript{298} Ibid., 54.
players telling traditional folk tales on a tour of the southwest region. Disappointed, Tamada II departed Tokyo a failure.299

THE YAMADA FAMILY

In March 1896, Tamada II left Osaka and arrived in the port of Imabari (Ehime prefecture) located on the northwest of Shikoku facing the Seto Inland Sea. Thanks to its fast currents, Imabari has served as an essential stopover for merchant ships conveying goods around Japan. Shipbuilding remains a key industry in the region. Here the kôdanshi met his second wife, Yamada Kei. This encounter marks the beginning of the Tatsukawa bunko story, for it would change the orator’s fortunes forever.

Kei was the daughter of Yamada Ushizo (dates unknown), 300 a successful entrepreneur from a samurai household established during the Tokugawa era that continued to do well during the Meiji period. Ushizo was the proprietor of the Hiyoshiya301 shipping business, which is purported to have run supplies the length of the eastern seaboard from Ehime to Hokkaidô.302 As a child, Kei had been afforded every luxury that money could buy. Given free rein to do as she pleased, Kei matured into a strong and independent woman.303 However, Ushizo lacked a male successor. Thus, at seventeen, Kei was married with Hiyoshi Matasuke (c.1847-1899).304

300 Yamada Ushizo (dates unknown).
301 Company: 日吉屋.
302 A phone call to the Ehime prefectoral office confirms that this was the case, but I was unable to get any records that might indicate Yamada Ushizo’s date of birth or death.
Because Kei’s family held greater wealth, Matasuke went to live with his in-laws, he also took the Yamada family name. Unusually for the time, Matasuke was a Christian. It is not known whether he converted or practiced in secret, but the dentist’s interest in the faith meant that he was familiar with Western ethics. In a time of growing opportunity, a son-in-law with a genuine interest in the Occident ought to have been an asset. Unfortunately, Matasuke possessed none of the financial or management skills needed to run a large enterprise. His lack of business acumen would eventually prove disastrous for everyone in the family.305

After several years of marriage, Matasuke and Kei had their first child, a girl, Yamada Yasu (b.1873). Two years later Kei gave birth to the first of her four sons Yamada Otetsu (b.1875); followed by Yamada Motosuke (1878-1923);306 Yamada Akira (1882-1918);307 and finally, Yamada Tadao (b.1884). As befitted their station, all of the family were highly educated. The two eldest boys attended private universities in Tokyo. Otetsu took dentistry at the liberal leaning Waseda University, whilst Motosuke trained as a lawyer at Chûô University, then an English law school. Akira became a tax specialist based in Tokyo. Tadao, the youngest, stayed closer to home working in a salaried position for a local firm in Imabari. Yasu was found a suitable husband, a member of the local judiciary in Ehime.308 All seemed well, until a group of wandering minstrels from Osaka came to town.

In Onna-mon (A Women’s Crest, 1960), Ikeda suggested that Kei became acquainted with Tamada II after watching one of his performances at a
local theatre. At the time, Kei’s children were technically mature; Yasu was already twenty-four and a mother, and the youngest son Tadao was thirteen. This being the case, Kei was free to follow her impulses. After a number of secret trysts, the couple eloped together to Osaka, where they set up home in rented accommodation in the western district of Awahori.

A series of calamities followed, the family shipping-firm lost its fleet in a tempest. It was not long before the Hiyoshiya store went under and all of the family fortune with it. Kei’s husband Matasuke died soon after (1899). This might have been the end of the Yamada family’s troubles, were it not for the social mores of the day. Scandal caused by Kei’s absence continued to affect the remaining family in Imabari. Yasu suffered a divorce because of her mother’s actions. Ikeda Ranko bitterly recalled the shame of her and her mother’s predicament in the interviews she gave later in life to Adachi Ken’ichi and Ozaki Hotsuki. The copywriter was especially critical of her uncle Otetsu, who she felt had the financial means to have helped. The reality, however, was that everyone in the Yamada family was struggling to stay out of debt.

Tamada II and Kei eventually made their union official, but the marriage was not enough to bring them social legitimacy. Conscious of its reputation within the yose, the established kôdan community distanced itself from the errant storyteller and his wife. This made life financially difficult for the pair. The orator eventually made a professional recovery after succeeding his teacher Tamada Gyokusai (I). This in itself was not without consequence because other members of the guild coveted his formal title. Consequently, the

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310 Miyoshi, ‘Tatsukawa bunko no hitotachi (I)’, para. 6.
311 See Ikeda Ranko in Kindai ôsaka no shuppan, sec. Tatsukawa bunko.
couple remained professionally ostracised and in desperate need of help.\footnote{Miyoshi, 'Tatsukawa bunko no hitotachi (1)', para. 7.}

The literary community in Osaka was particularly incestuous, but the devastation left after the outbreaks of cholera caused divisions within the ranks of remaining kôdanshi. In 1897, two dissident writers from the league of professional storytellers, Maruyama Heiijirô (1867-1918)\footnote{丸山平次郎 (1867-1918).} and Yamada To’ichirô (d.1932),\footnote{山田都一郎 (d.1932).} began self-publishing titles in Osaka. By 1900, their firm Shishindô was doing well. Kei was devoted to Tamada II and wished to see her second marriage succeed. Aware of the growing number of opportunities in publishing, Kei made her move. In secret, she called on Yamada To’ichirô and successfully negotiated a writing contract for her husband by supplanting an alliance with another kôdanshi. In an open display of ambition, Kei used her own daughter Yasu to seal the bond between the local publisher and her husband. Destitute, Yasu had little choice but to comply with her mother’s demands. The marriage dissolved less than two years later.\footnote{Adachi, 'Tatsukawa bunko no tanjyō', 35.}

The fact that Yamada To’ichirô collaborated with Tamada II up until 1909 says much about the professional kôdan community: business was business.\footnote{The National Diet Library of Japan lists a number of on-going collaborations with a variety of stenographers before Tamada Gyoukushii II settled with the Yamada family collective Sekka Sanjin: the kôdanshi published with Maruyama Heiijirô (1890), Higuchi Nanyô (1904), Eika Suisai (1909), and Seiha Nako (1911).}

Notably, an early version of the Sanada story penned by Tamada II emerges at this time. The decision to include the popular military epic may have been an influence from Yamada To’ichirô, who had produced a version of Sanada san dai-ki (Three Generations of the

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\footnote{Miyoshi, 'Tatsukawa bunko no hitotachi (1)', para. 7.}
\footnote{丸山平次郎 (1867-1918).}
\footnote{山田都一郎 (d.1932).}
\footnote{Adachi, 'Tatsukawa bunko no tanjyō', 35.}
\footnote{The National Diet Library of Japan lists a number of on-going collaborations with a variety of stenographers before Tamada Gyoukushii II settled with the Yamada family collective Sekka Sanjin: the kôdanshi published with Maruyama Heiijirô (1890), Higuchi Nanyô (1904), Eika Suisai (1909), and Seiha Nako (1911).}
Sanada: A Chronicle) for the Osaka based kôdanshi Kyokudô Nanryô II (1877-1965). The piece was titled Ueda kago shirô sanada san dai-ki (The Cage of Ueda Castle-Three Generations of the Sanada: A Chronicle). Tamada II also dabbled with the legend of the monkey demon Sun-Wu’kung found in the Chinese classic Hsi yu chi (Journey to the West). As the following chapters will show, both narratives would contribute historical and transcultural aspects embedded in the most notable hero of the Tatsukawa bunko, Sarutobi ‘monkey-jump’ Sasuke.

The first work Tamada II published with Shinshindô, however, was Mikata akechi den (Mikata: The Legend of Akechi, 1890), based on the exploits of Sengoku general Akechi Mitsuhide (1528-1582). Maruyama acted as stenographer for the kôdanshi for all of that year. However, from 1902, onwards we begin to see publications for other firms that feature Otetsu, now using the penname ‘Suishin’ (‘The God of Drink’). The narratives fit with the genre of recognised personalities from the Sengoku and Edo eras that were being popularised at the time in Tokyo. Similar narratives created with Yamada Tadao as stenographer appear in an independent volume later on: Chûgo hyôgonosuke tabinikki (The Travel Diaries of Chûgo Hyôgonosuke, 1908).

Like many others driven by poverty during the industrial age, the most desperate, vulnerable, or ambitious gravitated to Japan’s developing cities. The collapse of the Hiyoshiya shipping firm had given the rest of the Yamada family back in Imabari little reason to stay in Shikoku. Osaka was an obvious choice for many economic refugees leaving the

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317 旭堂南陵二代目 (1877-1965).
318 Kyokudô Nannya II, Ueda kago shirô sanada sanaikei (上田篠城真田三代記) (Osaka: Hatakazan Dô, 1903).
319 Adachi, Tatsukawa bunko no eiyûtachi, 39.
320 明智光秀 (1528-1582). Gokushûsai Tamada II, Mikata akechi den (三賢明智伝) (Osaka: Shishindô, 1890).
321 Gokushûsai Tamada and Tadao Yamada, Chûjô hyôgo tabinikki (中条兵庫旅日記) (Osaka: Higuchi Takafumi, 1908).
island. After the break up of Yasu’s second marriage, Otetsu suggested the remaining Yamada family all move to assist their stepfather, whose career was once again in a precarious position.322

During the Meiji period, oratory as a skill had prestige. The pressing need for modernisation and mass education made it essential to those working in politics. Japan’s private universities Keio and Waseda were at the forefront of promoting the use of rhetoric in public debate at this time; Tōkyo Teikoku Daigaku (Tokyo Imperial University)323 also had a strong presence in the discipline (see below). The Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) saw an increase in the formal use of Western rhetoric used in Japanese newspapers by politicians wishing to appeal to the public in terms that were easy to understand.324 Otetsu had prospects as a stenographer in this contemporary discipline.

Whilst studying dentistry at Waseda, the sokkisha (stenographer) dabbled in amateur dramatics, enhancing his talent as a commercial writer. Financial problems caused by alcoholism forced him to relinquish his studies.325 However, having demonstrated a flair for writing, Otetsu succeeded in gaining a position as a political speechwriter for the Jiyûtô (Peoples Freedom Party). According to Wada Kiyomi,326 whilst on his way back to Tokyo, Otetsu stopped in Osaka to visit his family. He was met at the train station by his mother.

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322 With three generations of the Yamada women now established in Osaka, it would have been natural for the remaining male members of the household to seek out similar opportunities and make a fresh start. However, it is curious that Otetsu and Tadao should leave secure employment to join their mother and her second husband. It suggests that the two stenographers may have had some kind of amicable relationship with Tamada II whilst still in Imabari, Ehime. If the men any lingering resentments about Tamada II and Kei’s elopement, time must have healed the wounds or poverty dictated that such unpleasant matters be forgotten. This cordiality did not extend to the other two of Kei’s sons: Motosuke and Akira elected to lead separate lives.
323 Office: 東京帝国大学.
324 Shōchi Watanabe, Risōteki nihonjin: nihon bunmei no ishizue o kizuita 12 nin [理想的日本人ー「日本文明」の礎を築いた12人](Tokyo: PHP Kenkyūjo, 2004), sec. ‘Yûben’ kara ‘kôdan kurabu’ e.
326 和田清美.
Kei and his sister Yasu. It was obvious to the young scholar that neither was doing well financially. Tears ensued, Otetsu felt compelled to help, and so stayed.\textsuperscript{327}

Scholars contend that Otetsu’s manuscripts were highly popular with contemporary audiences due to their accessibility; Adachi went so far as to state that the stenographer’s work attracted the attention of rival publisher Noma Seiji.\textsuperscript{328} This makes sense given Noma’s interest in modernising kôdan. Similarly, Wada states that during the early phase of their literary union, Tamada II and the Yamada family successfully self-published a number of stenographical books.\textsuperscript{329} What happened to these works is unclear. Produced in 1902, the \textit{Okudaira sôdô fukushû bidan} (Tales of Revenge: The Okudaira Rebellion) is the first official listing for the two men at the National Diet Library.\textsuperscript{330} No sales figures exist for the book, so we do not know if Otetsu’s arrival really had that much of an impact financially or artistically.

The columnist Miyoshi Teiji\textsuperscript{331} believes that Otetsu’s first transcription was the tale of a well-known folk hero known as \textit{Nogitsune sanji} (Sanji the Fox).\textsuperscript{332} According to Miyoshi, Otetsu listened attentively to Tamada II as he recounted the narrative, but the stenographer wrote nothing down. His stepfather was outraged. Otetsu replied that he only needed to know the outline of the monologue because the story was ‘old’, thus, familiar to him.

\textsuperscript{327} Supposedly, Otetsu was on his way to work under a civil servant called Miyoda Shigemasa (妙田重政, dates unknown). Wada, ‘Yamada otetsu to sarutobi sasuke’, 18.
\textsuperscript{328} Adachi, ‘Tatsukawa bunko no tanjyô’, 36.
\textsuperscript{329} Wada, ‘Yamada otetsu to sarutobi sasuke’, 18.
\textsuperscript{331} 三善貞司。
\textsuperscript{332} Title: 野狐三次.
Otetsu took time to produce his first draft, but the clarity and ease of his writing supposedly astonished his stepfather.\textsuperscript{333} Thereafter, a routine was established. Tamada II would produce a synopsis of three to four pages. From this first \textit{précis}, Otetsu would flesh out the story. Tadao and Ikeda would then give their opinions on the text, but Tamada II always had the final say on the edit.\textsuperscript{334} Miyoshi’s account supports Wada and Adachi’s claims that Otetsu was an important contributor to the writing process, but he was not the architect of the Bunmeidô series.

As a \textit{kôdanshi}, Tamada II had undergone extensive training in oral tradition. He had at his command techniques common to all artists working with \textit{wagei} (oral arts) in the \textit{yose}. This facilitated the great speed at which the family produced work: a staggering 197 to 201 volumes (including reissues) over the span of fourteen years. Evidence of oral tradition as the basis for all the literary compositions of the \textit{Tatsukawa bunko} is the subject of the following chapter. The most succinct and reasonable answer for now is that it took all the family to produce the series, but that these efforts were tasked and shaped by the working practices of Tamada II.

In 1904, the political situation amongst the \textit{kôdan} community continued to be fraught with attempts by professional orators to break the lucrative process of distribution controlled by the classicists (such as Imamura Jirô, the former editor of \textit{Momochidori}). Change came, however, when the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) further stimulated the public’s interest in print media. As discussed in Chapter 1, the Meiji Government had begun to utilise the press for political purposes. News

\textsuperscript{333} Miyoshi, ‘Tatsukawa bunko no hitotachi (1)’, para. 8.
\textsuperscript{334} Wada, ‘Yamada otestu to sarutobi sasuke’, 18–19.
companies hoping to profit from the sensation were equally quick to adopt measures that made broadsheets more accessible to the public. Extensive glossing became common for reports from the front.335

This patriotic fervour similarly affected other areas of the medium, particularly children’s magazines. Launched in 1909, Nihon shônen (Japanese Youth)336 was full of images and information about military technology used in battles. The publication for boys regularly featured narratives (fictional and real) that celebrated young soldiers fighting for their homeland. The editors and writers of Nihon shônen made celebrities out of Japan’s generals by including photographs and artistic depictions of them in a manner that closely resembles the popular tabloid press of today.

Ironically, the public’s obsession with the war left the surviving body of kôdanshi with very few opportunities to perform or publish classical material. After such a turbulent time, kôdan must have seemed dull or worse, irrelevant. Thus, for a while, Japan’s living military heroes outshone the great shadows of the feudal past.

Tamada II tried to secure a long-term publishing deal but without much success. He finally tried Bunmeidô. The Osaka based company was successful, but still a fledgling enterprise nationally. This should have given the experienced kôdanshi an advantage; however, negotiations did not go well. Poverty meant that Tamada II had become known for distributing wherever he could. Well aware of the vagaries of publishing, Bunmeidô’s founder Tatsukawa, a pragmatic businessman from the provinces, refused to support him.

336 Title: 日本少年.
Dismayed at her husband’s lack of progress, Kei sent Otetsu and Tadao with their stepfather to see their potential sponsor. The strong-arm tactics were to no avail; the publisher would not be moved. The story of how the family lobbied the owner of Bunmeidō for a period of twenty-six consecutive days is now the stuff of legend. Eventually persistence paid off. Tatsukawa agreed to act as publisher for the family, but he insisted on a number of strict legal conditions:

- The manuscripts were to be fresh compositions.
- Each volume was to consist of 300 pages.
- A single page was to equal twenty lines made up of twenty characters.
- The production fee for each manuscript was set at fourteen yen, regardless of author.
- The cost was to be born by the Yamadas, not the publisher.
- The sale price for one volume would be set at twenty-five sen irrespective of the buyer.
- If sales were poor, the author responsible would be forced to take respite.
- Copyright was to remain the property of Bunmeidō.

It is evident from the agreement that Tatsukawa did not trust Tamada II not to recycle previously published works. Neither was he sure that Tamada II would remain faithful to Bunmeidō, so he made sure the kōdanshi invested in the project. The final clause was the only standard arrangement, a legacy of the Tokugawa era, when publishers took responsibility for their authors’ views.

A point of contention arose over the title of the publication, the first of many. Tamada II wanted to name the series Gyokushūsai bunko...
Otetsu opted for the historically inspired *Naniwa bunko* (*Naniwa* being the old name for Osaka and its surrounds). Tatsukawa overruled them both; he demanded that they use his name or nothing. Nevertheless, the Yamada family crest of a butterfly can be seen embossed on the covers of the books (ills. 1). It was a gesture, but an important one.

**Tatsukawa Kumajirô**

Tatsukawa Kumajirô’s history is as intriguing as that of the Yamadas and Tamada II, yet his part in the *Tatsukawa bunko* is often omitted from contemporary accounts (especially those in English). His story is no less significant, however. The publisher’s upbringing followed a similar trajectory to that of his more established counterpart, Noma Seiji. These men were true survivors, opportunists if you will, building media empires from little or nothing. As entrepreneurs, they were brilliant, able to promote an array of publications. Without their contributions, mass-based publishing in Japan could never have succeeded in the way in which it did.

Tatsukawa was born on 15 May 1878, in the Katsuhara district of Miyata, now part of the modern day city of Himeji (Hyôgo prefecture). His father Kume’emon Kai’ichirô (1843-1921) and mother Uta (1848-1932) were established rice growers and merchants whose ancestors

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340 Title: *玉秀斎文庫* or *玉田文庫* after himself.
341 Title: *浪花文庫*.
342 Miyoshi, ‘Tatsukawa bunko no hitotachi (2)’, para. 3.
343 See Illustration 1, 299.
344 粋石衛門嘉一朗 (1843-1921).
345 歌 (1848-1932).
were brewers of saké. 346 Tatsukawa was the fourth child in a family of five. First, there was his eldest sister Kaji (b.1866), 347 another girl Kosumi (b.1873) 348 followed. The eldest son was Fumai (b.1874); 349 brother Sutezô (b.1880) 350 was the youngest. 

Though intellectually astute, Tatsukawa was ostensibly self-educated. It put him at a distance from the highly literate philosophers and authors that made up his clientele. As a child, Tatsukawa went to the local village school, where he received a traditional education in the Confucian classics. In accordance with Japan’s industrial trajectory, the boy also learnt about foreign history. Tatsukawa was bright and passed the fifth and sixth grades, considered higher education at the time. However, in the spring of 1888, the local school temporarily closed due to a lack of local funding. Like many others of his generation from rural areas, the boy sought work as an apprentice. More fortunate than most he took a position in the family business trading in rice. 352

Life might have remained static for Tatsukawa were it not for his sisters. Kosumi, the younger of the two Tatsukawa girls, had married a miller called Inoue Toranosuke (1868-1951). 353 Inoue enticed his brother-in-law with the promise of wages and some responsibility to

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346 Kume’emon’s ancestors were brewers, producing saké and soy sauce. The family business was a small rural enterprise with a good reputation. Kôzô Ichikawa, ‘Wasureta bunko ô: tatsukawa kumajirô (1) [忘れた文庫をー立川熊次郎 (1)]’, BanCul Plaza, 3 June 1999, 75, Himeji Bunkakan.
347 来 (b.1866).
348 柔 (b.1873).
349 不 (b.1874?).
350 捨 (b.1880).
351 Himeji Bungakukan, Taishô no bunko, 15.
352 Miyoshi, ‘Tatsukawa bunko no hitotachi (3)’, para. 6.
353 井上寅之助 (1868-1951).
work for him. However, Tatsukawa disliked being at the disposal of his brother-in-law. In 1891, when the school in Katsuhara reopened, the young apprentice quit his work and returned to his studies.

Fortune seems to have smiled upon Tatsukawa. His graduation came at a time when, thanks to the growth of light industry, Osaka was expanding rapidly. It was a city of promise, its size capable of attracting into its orbit the populations of the satellite towns and hamlets of the southwest. In 1890, Okamoto Masujirô (1864-1940) founded Okamoto Zôshindô (Okamoto Promotional Hall) dealing in antiquarian books near the Yoshinoya Bridge in Shinmachi. Masujirô’s wife was Tatsukawa’s eldest sister Kaji. In 1898, Okamoto started to deal in new publications under the company name of Okamoto Bunshindô (Okamoto Literati Hall). At the behest of Kaji, Okamoto offered Tatsukawa the chance to manage the daily running of the book business. The offer proved too exciting an opportunity to miss, and, breaking his own promise not to become involved in family operations, Tatsukawa accepted. The young apprentice would get a brokerage fee of one per cent on every sale. It was obviously a test; the standard price for one of Okamoto’s books was ten sen, which meant Tatsukawa would have to work hard if he were to sustain himself. However, he was determined to succeed in the venture. On his first sortie, he sold eighteen volumes, and made a profit of eleven sen. The future looked bright, but bad news concerning the family business forced Tatsukawa to abandon the trial and head home to Katsuhara.

355岡本増次郎 (1864-1940).
356Okamoto Masujirô’s company Zôshindô (増進堂) is still a thriving business dealing primarily in educational texts.
357Company: 岡本文真堂.
358Miyoshi, ‘Tatsukawa bunko no hitotachi (3)’, para. 10.
In 1901, unseasonal weather made life difficult for farming communities across Japan. Katsuhara was particularly hard hit. Despite its scenic beauty, uneven ground and alluviation from the Ōtsumo River had made proper irrigation impossible. Consequently, the Tatsukawa family crops had not fared well. Worse still, Tatsukawa’s father Kaïichirô had lost the remainder of the family fortune trying to recoup profits on the American stock market. With the family fortunes in a state of ruin, Tatsukawa returned to Osaka, spending the next three years working in and around the industrial heartland. Not much is known about his activities until 1898, when he opens a small saké shop near Nipponbashi (not to be confused with Nihonbashi, which is in Tokyo).359

Tatsukawa’s limited experience working for his elder sister in the book trade seems to have ingrained a passion for publishing in him. In 1904, having amassed the grand sum of 400 yen, he took his own first steps in the print industry. Moving to Kuramoto (present day Namba), Tatsukawa set up shop under the banner of Tatsukawa Bunmeidô (Tatsukawa Enlightenment Hall). Capitalising on the wave of patriotic sentiment driven by the war with Russia, the entrepreneur made his initial fortune touting modern versions of rôkyoku (narrative chant),360 commonly referred to during the Taishô era as naniwabushi (‘Osaka elegies’), which were patriotic war songs derived from popular renditions of jôruri (choral verse)361 accompanied by music, commonly used in traditional Japanese puppet theatre and, of course, kôdan.362

359 Himeji Bungakukan, Taishô no bunko, 71.
360 Term: 浪曲.
361 Term: 浄瑠璃.
Tatsukawa also traded in English-language dictionaries and educational materials.\textsuperscript{363}

The firm’s first popular commission was *Saishin kenbujustu sôkai kappatsu shôbu imikanjyô* (New Swords of the Martial Arts: Stirring Accounts of Military Vigour and Purity from Defending Soldiers, 1905).\textsuperscript{364} The title suggests Tatsukawa was something of a nationalist and proponent of the Meiji State. The anthology celebrated military leaders and constitutional progressives associated with the Restoration: meaning Kido Takayoshi, Sakuma Shôzan (1811-1864),\textsuperscript{365} Ōkubo Toshimichi (1830-1878),\textsuperscript{366} and Saigô Takamori (1828-1877).\textsuperscript{367} In many respects, the views of these passionate men conflicted greatly. For instance, Sakuma and Saigô perceived the cultural attachments that accompanied western technology quite differently to one another. Nonetheless, both agreed that if Japan were to be free of foreign interference industrial innovation was essential. Nevertheless, to the host of small publishing companies like Bunmeidô and their audiences, these men were evidently worth reading about.

Tatsukawa’s prudence was legendary. Early in 1905 he married, but divorced a week later claiming that his bride was a spendthrift.\textsuperscript{368} By this time, Tatsukawa’s second sister Kosumi and her husband Inoue had established Seishindô (Advancement Hall).\textsuperscript{369} The distributor specialised in promoting academic material. Inoue searched for a better match for his brother-in-law, someone who was more inclined

\textsuperscript{363} Adachi, *Tatsukawa bunko no eiyûtachi*, 16-18.
\textsuperscript{364} Tatsukawa Bunmeidô, ed., *Saishin kenbujustu: sôkaikappatsu* [最新剣舞術ー壮快活溌] (Osaka: Tatsukawa Bunmeidô, 1905).
\textsuperscript{365} 佐久間象山 (1811-1864).
\textsuperscript{366} 大久保利通 (1830-1878).
\textsuperscript{367} 西郷隆盛 (1828-1877).
\textsuperscript{368} Miyoshi, *Tatsukawa bunko no hitotachi (3)*, para. 2.
\textsuperscript{369} Company: 盛進堂.
to support the Osaka publisher in his financial ambitions. This second marriage was to last. Asa (1886-1938) was the very model of Meiji domesticity; she understood the importance of entertaining business guests, bore the publisher a number of children, and was financially prudent.

In 1909, having significantly increased his fiscal standing, Tatsukawa moved his business to a new building on Fourth Street in the eastern part of Osaka. Adopting the shortened name Bunmeidô, Tatsukawa continued to reprint volumes of stock that had sold well during the war. However, in 1911, Bunmeidô launched its first publication under the rubric Tatsukawa bunko: Ikkyû zenshi (Zen Master’s Retreat). At this time, Tamada II still used the portmanteau Katô Gyokusai. The novel proved popular. Mito kômon (The Elder Lord of Mito), based on the life of Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628-1701), soon followed. Both works are now considered classics.

Five issues in, Tamada II and the Yamadas began using the group name Sekka Sanjin (‘Snowflake Hermit’). It was the Japanese equivalent of putting ‘anonymous’ on the cover. No explanation has ever been as to why the change occurred. It may simple have been as case of internal politics within the group, an acknowledgement that everyone was contributing to the work. It may also have been a response to the general trend in publishing for single antonymous authors (the details of which, follow in the next section). Certainly, it was not because of poor sales.

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370 朝 (1886-1938).
371 Himeji Bungakukan, Taishô no bunko, 16.
372 Gyokusai Katô, Ikkyû zenshi shokoku manyûki [一休禅師諸國漫遊記], vol. 1 (Osaka: Tatsukawa Bunmeidô, 1911).
373 加藤玉斎.
374 徳川光圀 (1628-1701).
375 Himeji Bungakukan, Taishô no bunko, 65.
Never one to sit idly by, Tatsukawa took direct action to promote his new line of books by delivering them to local booksellers and dealers at the lending markets in person. To compete with other publishers producing similar works, Tatsukawa also lowered his wholesale prices. The publisher went as far as to substitute volumes of the *Tatsukawa bunko* for other orders, then claim clerical errors for the mistaken deliveries.\(^{376}\) As sales began to soar, the Tatsukawa followed up with a series of advertising promotions. Raffles were held that offered a set of 100 volumes of the *Tatsukawa bunko* as first prize, with second prize being forty volumes. The publisher also solicited promotional deals with local restaurants.\(^{377}\) Success, it seems, was assured.

### Noma Seiji

Bunmeidô was not the only company working with *kôdan*; other publishers also established their fortunes with the classical genre. As discussed in Chapter 1, the appearance of modern authors writing in the style of *kôdan* for profit caused great calamity amongst the centuries-old fraternity of *kôdanshi*. Having just received the tools of stenography that would allow them to preserve their oral art, the ability to profit from publishing was being taken away by professional writers. Responses amongst the *kôdan* community were extremely divided. Some embraced the trend in new writings as inevitable, others fought hard against it, seeing the presence of non-canonical work as a corruption of Japanese tradition. To fully understand the ensuing conflict that took place between classicists and so-called reformers after the creation of *sokki* and the introduction of literary

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\(^{376}\) Miyoshi, *Tatsukawa bunko no hitotachi (4)*, para. 5.

\(^{377}\) Ibid.
outsiders, we must include something about the new trend’s instigator, the great Noma Seiji.

Noma is rightly regarded as the father of mass media in Japan. For many years, his firm Dai Yûben Nippon Kai (later Kodansha) competed in the same markets as Bunmeidô. The Tokyo firm’s most successful publication was *Kingu* (*The King*) magazine. Launched in 1928, the social-political candour of *Kingu* ensured its position as the first iconic mass-produced publication of the early twentieth century in Japan.

Before its official debut, Noma ran a two-month promotional campaign in the national press calling for submissions from future readers. People enthusiastically responded; 3,205,780 postcards with content suggestions. This engagement with his readership was significant because Noma, known for his highly conservative views, acknowledged the place of the modern Japanese citizen in the realm of popular debate.

The launch of *Kingu* was similarly unprecedented. Noma reached out to communities directly, sponsoring numerous national parades with flags and street musicians. Noma commissioned the well-known folk musician Noguchi Ujô (1882-1945) to compose a song in praise of the magazine titled ‘*Kingu no uta*’ (‘King’s Song’), which was also released as

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378 Company: 大雄弁日本会.


380 Documenting similar effects of mass media in Germany during the Interwar years Corey Ross states: 'The wide distribution of cultural artifacts via technologies, encouraged by the competitive pressures of an increasingly commercialized entertainment industry, served to undermine the position of educated elites as the principle arbiters of culture and gradually began to shake the foundations of traditional class hierarchies in Germany.' Corey Ross, *Media and the Making of Modern Germany: Mass Communications, Society, and Politics from the Empire to the Third Reich* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 5.
To ensure that all of these elaborate arrangements ran smoothly and to maximise reception of the magazine in the public sphere, the industrialist sent dozens of junior staff members across the country via the railway network to ensure a near-simultaneous press release. This proved to be a wise investment. A demographic survey on newspaper preferences taken not long after the launch of *Kingu* indicated that readers regardless of their political creed enjoyed the magazine as a reading supplement.\(^\text{382}\)

Noma was born into an impoverished samurai household in Kiryû (Gunma prefecture). After finishing his primary education, which included tuition from his parents in the Confucian classics,\(^\text{383}\) Noma took the opportunity to go to Tokyo to study at the Post and Telegraph School.\(^\text{384}\) However, the distractions of a big city proved too much him. He often played truant and frittered the little money he had on petty luxuries. Unable to pay for his board and lodging, Noma was forced to return home. By his own admission, Noma did very little during this period. Nonetheless, he was able to assist his family by acting as an informal tutor for local children.\(^\text{385}\)

In April 1896, frustrated by his lack of success, Noma sat and passed the entrance exam for the Prefectural Normal School in the nearby city of Maebashi. Though his grades were average, the free schooling

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\(^{381}\) Nogichi Ujô (野口雨情, 1882–1945) was a poet, translator, and folk musician from Ibaraki prefecture. His best known works, such as 'Nanatsu no ko' ('Many Children'), remain popular to this day. Takumi Satô, *Kingu no jidai: kokumin taisshū zasshi no kōkyōsei* (キングの時代ー国民と大衆雑種の公共性) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2002), 10.

\(^{382}\) Public records state that the survey data was collected in May 1928. The survey was titled: *Kōkō shōsetsu* (広告資料調査会報), Satô does not state who authorised the investigation. Satô, *Kingu no jidai*, 11.


\(^{384}\) Ibid., 26–27.

\(^{385}\) Ibid., chap. 3.
allowed him to access to teacher training in Tokyo. It is here that Noma first became interested in politics and rhetoric.\textsuperscript{386}

In 1904, Noma obtained his first teaching position working for the Monbushô (Ministry of Education) as a schoolmaster in Okinawa. Having spent time in Tokyo, Noma’s impression of Shuri, the old capital of the Ryûkyû Islands was predictably condescending. Though well meaning, he described the red-tiled buildings of the ancient Luchuan kingdom as, ‘no more than huts’ and claimed to understand nothing of the ‘natives’ that gathered about him at the port. Nonetheless, he was happy:

\begin{quote}
It was early April but the climate was as warm as midsummer in Tokyo, and the air was full of the carol of unknown songsters, echoing the music in my heart. It was altogether a strange world, and I thought of Marco Polo stranded in an amazing foreign land.\textsuperscript{387}
\end{quote}

During his tenure at the Middle School, Noma demonstrated a fondness for traditional forms of learning. He frequently adopted older pedagogical methodologies common in the terakoya (temple school system),\textsuperscript{388} such as ondoku (reading aloud) and storytelling to support pupils in their studies of classical literature:

\begin{quote}
I encouraged the practice of reading aloud, and taught elocution, giving the pupils many opportunities of exercising their own oratorical talents, and in between lectures on the text-books, I would entertain them with tales about the heroes and heroines of old, and their adventures of stirring self sacrifices.\textsuperscript{389}
\end{quote}

Noma eventually rose to the level of a school inspector, but broke his contract to return to Tokyo after receiving information from an old friend about an administrative position at Teikoku Daigaku (The

\textsuperscript{386} Ibid., 38.
\textsuperscript{387} Ibid., 75–79.
\textsuperscript{388} Term: 寺⼦屋.
Imperial University of Tokyo). However, the experience of teaching classics in the Ryûkyûs would stay with Noma for the rest of his life, underpinning his positive preference for accessible forms of political dialogue, and for kôdan. This inclination was soon realised in the material form of two publications, one focusing on rhetoric, the other on ‘vocal literature’ from the yose.

Thanks to his extravagant lifestyle in the islands, Noma had amassed a substantial mount of debt. So whilst working as an administrator at the Imperial College of Law, he took up copying manuscripts and editing as a means of earning extra income.\textsuperscript{390} On 3 November 1909, inspired by the fashion for oratory sweeping the nation, Noma established Dai Nippon Yûben Kai as a platform for the university’s debating society: its first publication Yûben \textit{(Eloquence)} evolved from this project.\textsuperscript{391} Its title is a strong indicator that his sympathies lay with members of the \textit{genbun’ichi} movement. The financial rewards gave Noma a taste for publishing as a career. Gathering the best members from Dai Nippon Yûben Kai around him as staff, Noma went full time with the project.

In 1911, Noma created \textit{Kôdan kurabu (Kôdan Club)}.\textsuperscript{392} In doing so, he played a major part in redefining publishing by producing \textit{shin-kôdan}. The new wave of writers employed by Noma had not trained in the oral tradition of the \textit{yose}, but they imitated its style using popular legends as a template for new writings. In an appeal to contemporary audiences, Noma also included modern detective stories.\textsuperscript{393}

A schism began to appear within the ranks of the professional \textit{kôdanshi} (classical orators) and \textit{sokkisha} (stenographers) working in the

\textsuperscript{390} Ibid., 124.
\textsuperscript{391} Title: \textit{雄弁}. Ibid., 130.
\textsuperscript{392} Title: \textit{講談倶楽部}.
\textsuperscript{393} Satô, ‘Kingu’ no jidai, 8.
commercial publishing industry: should they become independent authors or not? Realising the danger caused by Noma’s innovations, the conservative body of kôdanshi announced an official boycott of his new publication. Nationalism framed their objections: Kôdan kurabu was too ‘American’ in style, a euphemism for its contemporary content. The criticism was also personal. Noma had argued that many of the kôdanshi ‘lacked education’. The comments were deeply offensive to a community that cherished the spoken and written word.\(^{394}\)

Imamura Jirô (the former editor of Momo-chidori) retaliated with a new periodical for Bunkodô (Illuminated Publishing House).\(^{395}\) As a matter of policy Imamura refused to publish anything he deemed to be detrimental to the reputation of kôdan proper. Edited collections of traditional narratives published by Bunkodô helped to wrestle away some of the growing monopoly on mass-based print held by Dai Yûben Kai, bringing Imamura directly into personal opposition with Noma.\(^{396}\) Tired of the confrontation, Noma diversified his interests by branching out into novels.

**LAST DAYS OF THE TATSUKAWA**

The highest selling novel in the Tatsukawa bunko was *Sanada yukimura san yûshi ninjutsu meijin sarutobi sasuke* (Monkey-jump Sasuke: Three Renowned Ninja Heroes of Sanada Yukimura), hereafter *Sarutobi-sasuke*. The *sokkibon* sold well in excess of 100,000 copies, making it one of Bunmeidô’s all-time bestsellers.\(^{397}\) First published on 20 Jan 1914, Tamada II produced the narrative in the traditional manner, though

\(^{394}\) For Noma’s comments on the kôdanshi see Chapter 1: Transformative Literature, 68.

\(^{395}\) Company: 文光堂.

\(^{396}\) Adachi, ‘Tatsukawa bunko no tanjyô’, 33.

\(^{397}\) Wada, ‘Yamada otesu to sarutobi sasuke’, 17.
not under conventional circumstances, of a kôdanshi. Like other orators working with print, he relied on Otetsu and Tadao working in tandem as stenographers to capture aspects of his performance for publication. Naturally they took liberties with the copy before Ikeda proofread the material. But the kôdanshi retained all editorial rights before going to press. His work stressed the feudal codes of loyalty in combat and martial ingenuity, presenting them as mournful elegies dedicated to fateful acts of heroism. In this way, the production values used by the Sekka Sanjin Collective to create the Tatsukawa bunko typified the customary practices found in publishing associated with the oral tradition.

Paradoxically, thanks to Noma’s high-profile publishing war with Imamura, mass media now provided the best means of disseminating such work. This caused problems for the team at Bunmeidô. Other commercial publishers, seeking similar profits, took to imitating works from the Tatsukawa bunko. Carbon copies of Sasuke and his cohort of ‘Braves’ quickly saturated the market. Many of the derivative works had parallel titles such as Bushidô bunko (Way of the Samurai Library), Ninjutsu bunko (Hidden Arts Library), Shincho bunko (New Writings Library), Shidan bunko (Historical Tales Library), and Taishô bunko (Taishô Library). The only serious contender, it seems, was Noma’s Kôdan kurabu.

Publishers were not the only ones to recognise the cost benefits of emulation. Traditional card games such as menko (‘faces’), which featured folk heroes from the kabuki, like Nikki Danjô and the

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399 Term: 面子.
400 仁木弾正.
historical bandit Ishikawa Goemon (d.1594), introduced the Bunmeidō creations to a broader audience. Board games similar to ‘Snakes and Ladders’ were likewise adapted to incorporate figures from the Bunmeidō constellation of heroes. Shopkeepers and roadside vendors took it upon themselves to enter the market. In doing so, unofficial merchandisers created a plethora of new consumables for fans of the series, which included amongst other things cheap sweets and action figures in the shape of Sasuke (and his rival Kirigakure Saizô), costumes, and kites. Tatsukawa benefited from the exposure: it was free advertising. However, Tamada II and the Yamadas had signed away their rights to the series. Receiving little in the way of compensation, they took to producing facsimiles of their own.

The death of Tamada II in 1921 effectively brought to a close the Bunmeidō series proper. Reprints with changes to the colophons made up the bulk of the publications after that date, the writing became slack and tired: proof positive that Otetsu was not the sole creative engine of the series. The halcyon days of the Tatsukawa bunko were over.

Noma would continue to shape the materiality of mass publishing in Japan, but in an oblique manner. In 1925, three years before the launch of Kingū magazine, Noma created an alliance with Dai Nippon Insatsu (now known as Dai Nippon Print, hereafter DNP). The commercial union precipitated a development in technology. Noma placed a bond of 750,000 yen with DNP to fulfil a ten-year contract to supply paper and print facilities for his business. This allowed DNP to

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401 石川五右衛門 (d.1594).
402 岸本近江館，時と造る松武文庫，sec. 木津ずくくる松武文庫。
import the latest rotary printing technology from America. The
equipment was so large it had to be housed in a new purpose-built
structure, and a letterpress (used for the enormous amount of
correspondence received by the magazine) stood in a separate annex.

Significantly, DNP and Dai Nippon Yûben Kai acted in consort,
functioning as a vertical unit up until 1945. The union marked the end
of a preference for traditional woodblock printing in Japan; the
ancient process could not keep up with the demands of modern
publishing. The symbiosis of Dai Nippon Yûben Kai and Dai Nippon
Insastu was not revolutionary, however. Since the 1600s, print guilds
had worked in union with customers wishing to produce commercial
manuscripts. Nonetheless, the period of mutual investment made by
both companies was unprecedented, as was the scale. In 1929, Nippon
Yûben Kai changed its name to Kodansha (The Kôdan Company).
Kodansha remains the largest and most powerful publishing firm in
Japan.

The narratives of the Tatsukawa bunko would filter through to a variety
of alternative, but related, mass mediums. Throughout the 1920s,
producer Makino Shôzô directed Japan’s first film star Onoe
Matsunosuke (1875-1926) in a series of action films featuring Sasuke.
The first movie, produced in 1918, was the imaginatively titled Sarutobi-
sasuke. Onoe reprised the role for Makino again in 1919. In that same
year he also portrayed Sasuke’s nemesis Kirigakure Saizô. Onoe’s final

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404 Woodblock technology remained the method of choice for high quality documents, such as imperial edicts direct from the monarchy, and artists working in classical mediums where visual quality was of paramount importance.

405 Company: 講談社.

406 Satô, ‘Kingu’ no jidai, 10.

407 尾上松之助 (1875-1926).

appearance as the Sanada vassal was in 1921, this time in a colour production titled *Sanada daisuke to sarutobi sasuke* (*Sanada Daisuke & Sarutobi Sasuke*).\(^{409}\) Most of the films were made in Kyoto for Nippon Katsudô Shashin (Japan Motion Pictures).\(^{410}\) However, Asakusa Fujikan (Asakusa Fuji Hall),\(^{411}\) based in Tokyo, distributed the films nationally.

Much of what we think of the as the Tatsukawa legacy may, indeed, be attributable to Onoe because it was his personal appeal that helped to maintain the visibility of the Bunmeidô canon at a national level. Unfortunately, nearly all of his work has been lost. During the Taishô era, it was common practise for traders at film theatres to cut up used prints into pieces to be sold as mementos for extra profit.\(^{412}\) Because Onoe was so popular, many of his films suffered the same fate. Neglect took most of what was left. A single remaining lithograph is all that remains of the Bunmeidô adaptations; Onoe poses as Sasuke on top of a mountainous ridge, other actors dressed as Sasuke’s spiritual mentor Tozawa Haku’unsai, a child, and giant mouse crouch nearby (ills. 3).\(^{413}\)

From 24 October 1922, another version of *Sarutobi-sasuke* began to appear in a long running serialization (100 episodes) in the evening edition of the *Asahi shinbun*\(^{414}\). Displaced, the Bunmeidô titan and his cohort sat lodged between product advertisements for beer, hair tonic, and board games. The man responsible for this re-imagining of Sasuke was the Tokyo based *kôdanshi* Matsubayashi (a.k.a. Shôrin) Hakuchi.

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\(^{409}\) Title: 真田大助と猿⾶佐助.

\(^{410}\) Company: 日活活動写真, now 日活株式会社.

\(^{411}\) Company: 浅草富⼠館.


\(^{413}\) See Illustration 3, 301.

whose publishing career began in 1894 with *Akiya no bijin* (*The Beauty of the Empty House*). The conservative Imamura Jirō is credited as his stenographer. Matsubayashi produced his own version of *Sarutobi-sasuke* for the *Tôkyô asahi shinbun* from 1921 onwards. Nonetheless, the format of interpersonal exchange in the series matched that of the earlier *sokkibon* novels, in which dialogue prevails over narrative. The celebrated artist Migita Toshihide (*1868-1925*) provided accompanying illustrations for the series. Migita was well regarded for his *ukiyo-e* and western style of painting. The artist commonly painted scenes from the *kabuki*, but was best known for producing visual records for the First Sino-Japanese War (*1894*) and the Russo-Japanese War (*1904-5*). The first *Asahi shinbun* series concluded 5 February 1923. After this, Sasuke was replaced with another heroic archetype of a similar ilk. He was revived again until 1926, at which time Matsubayashi began a new series based on the peasant uprisings known as the Kaga Disturbance that followed the Ônin War (*1467-77*).

On 1 September 1923, the Great Kantô Earthquake struck the metropolis of Tokyo. The scale of the disaster would create an indelible impression in the minds of many for decades to come. A witness to the event, Noma described the scene thus:

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415 松林伯知 (*1856-1932*).
416 Title: 空き家の美人.
418 An in depth discussion of the vocally embedded nature of *Tatsukawa bunko* and its significance to Japanese audiences during the Taishô period occurs in Chapter 3: The Philosophy of Song, 117.
419 右田年英 (*1868-1925*).
The vermilion glow of flames spread over the distant horizon as far as the eye could see. The fire was silently consuming thousands of lives and millions of yen of property. There was not the tinkle of a fire-bell, nor the swish of a water-pump to be heard. Deep solemnity reigned. We, the distant spectators, gazed in hushed stillness and helplessness; we talked in whispers. It was a terrifying and majestic scene.\textsuperscript{422}

The disaster had some positive effect on the publishing industry. Fire temporarily put many of the capital’s newspaper firms out of action. In order to keep production houses going and people informed, Noma gathered many of the local publishing companies together under his leadership to create a special report on the disaster and the government’s recovery efforts. It was a stroke of genius. Noma always claimed that he made nothing on the 200-page publication.\textsuperscript{423} However, in reviving the fortunes of local businesses associated with the press, the publisher succeeded in cementing his influence in the capital.\textsuperscript{424}

Bunmeidô fared less well. With offices in both Osaka and Tokyo, the publishing firm had exceeded all expectations, but it was not as politically well networked or situated as Noma’s venture Kodansha. Bunmeidô issued the last official edition of the \textit{Tatsukawa bunko} on 10 October 1926.\textsuperscript{425} Tatsukawa, however, managed to move on. In 1930, the Bunmeidô founder became Chief Councillor of the Osaka Union of Book and Magazine Publicists. This was short-lived. On 9 January 1932, after a brief bout of ill health, the publisher passed away.

After Tatsukawa’s death, his youngest brother Sutezô, and second son Tatsukawa Kumajirô II (1907-1969)\textsuperscript{426} took over the firm. They switched


\textsuperscript{423} Ibid., 223.

\textsuperscript{424} The Great Kantô Earthquake of 1923 temporarily hampered the successful economic turnabout of print commerce. Satô Takumi believes that this catastrophic event drove the commercial print industry on to further success because it helped to galvanise government, industry, and the Japanese people. Satô, \textit{'Kingu' no jidai}, 12-13.

\textsuperscript{425} Himeji Bungakukan, \textit{Taishô no bunko}, 46, 47, & 69.

\textsuperscript{426} 二代目立川熊次郎 (1907-1969).
production at Bunmeidô back to educational textbooks, many of which are supposed to have been shipped out to the Japanese colonies of Korea and Taiwan. In 1945, what was left of Bunmeidô essentially came to an end after the print factory in Osaka was firebombed. Bunmeidô along with the licence for the *Tatsukawa bunko* was subsequently sold as a minor concern to the publishing house Iwanami Shoten.

**Conclusion**

Critics and historians praise the *Tatsukawa bunko*, seeing it as one of the crucial building blocks of modern commercial literature in Japan. Others, as we shall see, condemn the Bunmeidô series, arguing that the romance novels and their ilk were nothing more than commercial facsimiles of the classical genres of the past, a nadir, soon to be forgotten. The two views appear as polar opposites, distorting the actual legacy of the *sokkibon*.

*Kôdan* as a genre was intrinsic to the development of publishing. Displaced by rapid industrialisation and the cholera outbreaks of the 1890s, publishing provided alternative opportunities for performers from the *yose* with talent. Nonetheless, this evolution was problematic. It created anxieties over the identity, place, and role of *kôdan* as a traditional art form in the modern age, creating serious divisions within the professional community of editors, *kôdanshi*, and *sokkisha*.

Aggressive publishing firms, exemplified by Dai Nippon Yûben Kai, were the winners of the subsequent conflict. Noma’s experience as a teacher and inspector in Okinawa convinced him of the power of *kôdan* to educate and entertain. Nonetheless, never having trained in the *yose*, the publishing magnate had no attachments to traditional practices. This freedom allowed him to innovate in ways unforeseen. In search of profit, Noma abandoned the *kôdanshi* in favour of
professional writers, severing the ties that located the genre of historical romance with its vernacular origins in the spoken word. *Kôdan kurabu* marks the start of this evolution, and *Kingu* magazine the fruition.

Bunmeidô was but one of many companies trying to navigate publishing at this time. However, the case of Tamada II and the Sekka Sanjin Collective working for Tatsukawa differs radically from that of their rival in Tokyo. Bunmeidô existed at the very epicentre of oral tradition in Japan, namely Osaka. Popularism associated with the *yose* demanded that classical orators like Tamada II keep artistic faith with the working-class institution. Consequently, the *Tatsukawa bunko* retained stronger links with the vocal art form of traditional *kôdan* than many other contemporary publications. I do not mean to say that the Bunmeidô series was canonically purer than anything created by Noma (or others); it was not. However, Tamada II could not escape his formative training, which he embodied in his daily working practices. Supported by his family, the classical form of oral composition established in *kôdan* determined the nature of his work with text. As we shall see in the following chapter, this physical connection anchored the *Tatsukawa bunko* to an ethos that was as historically complex, as it was intellectually concise.
CHAPTER 3
CHAPTER 3

THE PHILOSOPHY OF SONG

ARGUMENTS FOR ORAL TRADITION IN A TIME OF MASS MEDIA

To call Japanese Literature "oral" rather than "literate" might seem odd, but such forms as Japanese monogatari, nikki, noh, and renga as well shôsetsu could best be described as imbued with interiorized or residual orality.  

– Miyoshi Masao: Against the Native Grain

INTRODUCTION

The novels of the Tatsukawa bunko produced during the early twentieth century inherited much from the oral tradition of kôdan (classical narratives). Visually the texts have the look of a play script. Colloquy dominates the page, reflecting the stenographical method of transcription used to capture and augment the utterances of the kôdanshi (classical orator). Each sentence begins with a single Chinese character in bold type informing the reader of which protagonist is about to speak. Instances of internally psychologised monologues are almost non-existent. Characters vent their emotions openly, giving voice to their thoughts as one would in a soliloquy or an aside, and entire chapters are given to conversation. Instances of narration in the novels of the Tatsukawa bunko are brief, except where there is historical exposition, and then the formal protocols of classical kôdan are evident; this particularly applies to the naming of sacred and auspicious days, matters of historical record, and well-known personages. Descriptions of locations used for atmosphere are suggestive rather than detailed. Visual accounts of people are less still

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427 Miyoshi and Harootunian, Postmodernism and Japan, 322.
428 三好将夫.
These techniques reveal much about the compositional approach of Tamada II to writing.

Considering the theatrical heritage of the *kôdanshi*, it is clear that embedded in the written works of Tamada II are the vocal practices of oral tradition, acquired initially during his formal apprenticeship as a classical orator, then developed over a lifetime working in the *yose* (vaudeville theatre).

J. Scott Millar has argued otherwise. He states that the creation of *sokki* (stenography), crucial to the evolution of *kôdan* into its transliterated form, had a number of serious consequences for the performing art. Scott Millar suggests that the transliteration of *kôdan* into popular forms of *kaki-kôdan* *(written kôdan)* from the 1870s onwards ultimately sapped talent from the spoken tradition, causing its demise by the end of World War I (1914-1918). Capitalism was the cause:

The demands from publishers, newspapers, and their own audiences weighed heavily upon [performers], sometimes driving them to extremes that would not have been considered before the appearance of *sokkibon* [stenographical books]. Storytellers began to circumvent the traditional *yose* reaction-and-interaction approach to creating stories and started writing them sans performance. Editorial changes also became more noticeable and common toward the end of the century, suggesting the growing image of *sokkibon* as a literary, rather than oral, genre.

Specifically naming the *Tatsukawa bunko* as a part of this evolution, Scott Millar then gave the following clarification:

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429 See Appendixes A and D, 307 & 331.
430 Adachi, ‘Tatsukawa bunko no tanjyô’, op. For a similar account see; Adachi, *Tatsukawa bunko no eiyûtachi*.
431 Scott Millar uses the term to include all writings using *sokki* (stenography), including *kaki-kôdan* *(written kôdan)*, *shin-kôdan* *(new kôdan)*, and *bunkobon* *(文庫本* [translated here as ‘mass produced paperbacks’]). Though there are notable differences between each type of work, for the sake of simplicity, Millar’s general definition takes precedence in this section.
Yet another type of sokkibon emerged in the last decade of the century when authors, and even storytellers themselves, began writing pseudo-sokkibon, that is, texts that had the appearance of transcribed oral performance but in fact had never been performed on the stage. These counterfeit sokkibon, many of which made their way into anthologies of stories for the masses, such as Tatsukawa (or Tachikawa) Bunko, had a considerable impact on popular literature in the early twentieth century.433

Though ostensibly true, there are a number of points raised by Scott Millar that deserve further investigation.

It is common knowledge that the production of sokkibon was, generally speaking, a collaborative act. Sokkisha (stenographers), known for their ingenuity and skill in adapting the recitations of kôdanshi to the page, often added embellishments to narrative as they took dictation. The Tatsukawa bunko was similarly a joint venture. Unquestionably, the stenographers Yamada ‘Suishin’ Otetsu and Yamada Tadao contributed much to the linguistic dynamism of the Bunmeidô novels. Nevertheless, having dismissed previous claims that Otetsu was the main author of the series, we are left with the fact that the Tatsukawa bunko was not a ‘counterfeit’ form of sokkibon — it was something far richer.

Millar’s historical reading of the Tatsukawa bunko seems to be informed by the work of Walter Benjamin. As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, Benjamin’s seminal treatise on the effects of mass media, ‘The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction’ presented the advent of mass media as heralding the end of authenticity in art.434 For Benjamin, print culture was the first evolutionary stage in creating art that was disconnected from its spatial

433 Ibid., 478.
and temporal origins, the result, he argued, separated a work of art from its own history.

In noting the powerful effects of capitalism of the production of art, Benjamin’s work prefigured a number of postmodernist theories on photorealism and the simulacrum. Yet a number of critics continue to locate the start of mass media as the end of traditional culture, usually for the following reasons: (1) mass media is not rooted in the community; (2) mass media is not participatory, but consumed; (3) mass media precludes any chance of variance. Other scholars view reproducible media very differently.

Following in the footsteps of Ruth Finnegan, Ingrid Åkesson has challenged the view that such a clear division exists between the supposedly static forms of reproducible art and the fluidity associated with folk traditions. Åkesson stated that since the eighteenth century in Scandinavia, and earlier in many parts of Europe, songs with oral and literary origins appeared simultaneously in commercial broadsheets and chapbooks, complicating notions of purity in either form. She states:

We do find some variability in many kinds of printed texts, for instance, in songs and poems; they are not completely stable but reveal a blurred area between the Text with a capital T and versions/variants in the plural. Further, though song texts may have been learned from the page of a chapbook or a song book, the print has often been put aside after a while, and the song has entered into the singer’s orally maintained repertory. There are examples of the reversed process as well: many singers have written down newly learned song texts or copied song texts from others’ collections for their own use. Some of these songs have entered the singer’s active

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The practices of mass media may be less accommodating of spontaneous change than in oral tradition, but as Åkesson argues, mass media has given performers and audiences numerous forums for dialogue, and devices for content modification. Significantly, Åkesson reasons that the interplay between oral and chirographical forms (now mediated via digital technology) has produced new spaces where oral traditions can regenerate and thrive. Subsequently, artists are becoming increasingly aware of how they can use modern technology to harness cultural knowledge to preserve oral traditions. Having spawned so many emulations in the mediums of print, film, and television, the *Tatsukawa bunko* appears to be an example of this process at work in the modern industrial age. However, the question of how best to proceed with a study of *sokkibon* is a perplexing one.

In the current era, the question of how to appropriately engage, ascertain, and understand the content of unfamiliar works without projecting one’s own cultural bias remains a serious issue for scholars working across cultural borders. The imbalance of the world’s political and socio-economic power, signified by the hegemonic grip of English on academia, has ensured that western attitudes to the production of knowledge have largely prevailed, reproducing the power structures that created them. Scholarly traditions with roots elsewhere have often been forced to adopt the techniques of the Anglo-sphere to avoid being marginalised. This trend is reversing slowly. Academics from

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437 Miyoshi Masao reminds us that the term ‘modern’ is a ‘chronopolitical’ linguistic formation concomitant with the development of Western forms of capitalism, and that such definitions ‘are not always unilateral. Miyoshi and Harootunian, *Postmodernism and Japan*, 336.
English-speaking countries are becoming competent in languages that are foreign to them, but much more needs to be done to address the disparity.

Miyoshi Masao argues that ‘interiorised or residual orality’ embedded in the Japanese forms of narrative are difficult to define using western techniques of literary criticism:

> Japanese literature does not conform to Western literary terms even though it is not ontologically exceptional. One must pursue a step further: if it is not an exception, in what context should the critic turn next?\(^{438}\)

Miyoshi recommends taking a transnational approach: first, begin with regional literatures that share an historical commonality with Japan, that is, China and Korea. Second, look to the developing world for similar oral traditions still in existence. Both suggestions I believe are apt for a study of 説書-based literature.

Sokkibon was a chirographical extension of the Buddhist oral tradition of 般若 (exegesis). As a historically transnational discipline from the Asian continent, 般若 in Japan relied on ‘standardized oral forms’\(^{439}\) for the purposes of proselytisation. To this end, local Buddhist institutions adapted the spoken renditions of sutras, integrating their moral content with the appealing grandeur of epic poetry making them more attractive to the public. The historiography of 決行 (military epics) that evolved out of this adaptation as 説書 is explored later in this chapter with a focus on its relation to the content of the 塚川文庫.

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\(^{438}\) Ibid., 322.

\(^{439}\) See below, 125.
Whilst heeding Miyoshi’s ideas on the inadequacy of western methodologies, we must be cautious not to dismiss all of the tools at our disposal. Epic poetry is not unique to Japan, or Asia: the Norse *Edda*, the Britannic *Mabinogion*, the Grecian *Iliad*, the Vedic *Mahabharata*, and the Russian *Bylínas* are but a few examples of the same trope in a variety of cultures situated in other regions. Hence, our methodology need not be parochial. Periodization is, however, an important consideration.

During the first quarter of the twentieth century, the role of oral tradition in societies across the globe remained significant. Sokkibon produced during Japan’s industrial age occupied the edges of poetry and prose at a time when universal literacy was still in its infancy. At this time, popular forms of accessible literature based in oral tradition took on a new meaning in working-class society. Straddling the realms of the spoken and printed word, sokkibon functioned as an alternative means of education, bridging the literacy gap for those forced by poverty into work. Richard Torrance cites Osaka as the epicentre of this autodidactic phenomenon.

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441 In the 1850s, Denmark, Germany, Finland, Iceland, the Netherlands, Norway, Scotland, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States all had illiteracy rates of roughly thirty per cent. England and France lagged behind with up to half of their populations unable to attain anything more than a functional mastery of the written word. The Mediterranean countries of Portugal, Spain, and Italy fared even worse. In the Slavic states of Poland, Romania, and Russia, illiteracy was the norm. As late as 1912, there was little uniformity amongst the western nations. Poverty retarded literacy in southern Europe. Wealthy countries were also susceptible to shocking disparities. Blighted by racial segregation the United States produced a two-tier system of education leaving the black community scholastically impoverished. Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire: 1875-1914* (London: Abacus, 1999), sec. fig.IV Illiteracy.

442 Citing Ōya Sōichi (大宅壮一, 1900-1970), Torrance was continuing an argument put forward in the 1960s by the literary scholar Leon Zolbrod, who argued that in Japan scholars generally placed little value on regional literature preferring instead to designate writing from Tokyo as Japan’s national literature. Torrance, ‘Literacy and Literature In Osaka, 1890-1940’, 45-57, 60; for a similar argument see Leon Zolbrod, ‘Yomihon: The Appearance of the Historical Novel in Late Eighteenth Century and Early Nineteenth Century Japan’, *The Journal of Asian Studies* 25, no. 3 (May 1966): 485-98.
In the creation of Japan’s popular culture, there appears to have been a structure of exchange between Osaka and the rest of the nation. Genres created for Osaka’s mass audience, much of which was marginally literate, were later imported by other regions, though the brash, politically independent, and sometimes vulgar, content would often be adulterated and homogenized in order to appeal to a more polite and educated audience nationwide.443

Locating the *Tatsukawa bunko* as a dynamic exemplar of the *sokkibon* genre, Torrance praised the Bunmeidô series for its positive contribution to Japanese society. In particular, Torrance correctly identified the importance of the miniature books as a literary aid to the artisan class of apprenticed men in Osaka, a salient point given the inconsistent levels of academic attainment amongst working people in the city around the turn of the twentieth century.444 Crucially, Scott Millar came to a similar conclusion:

Those from the illiterate fringes reading a *sokkibon* for the first time might have found the orthography strange and the format unfamiliar, but the text would have made some sense since there was an inherent orality to the *sokkibon* that could be articulated simply by reading them aloud.445

As argued by Adachi, Torrance, Millar, and others, the accessible content of the *Tatsukawa bunko* made the Bunmeidô series attractive to young readers. Gloss affixed to difficult Chinese characters used in the Japanese writing system could be sounded aloud and easily identified. The way in which those words were written could then be studied, making the books useful as a study aid: separate assertions by the rival publisher Noma Seiji and family copywriter Ikeda Ranko that *kôdan* was useful as a learning tool supports this theory.446

443 Torrance, ‘Literacy and Literature In Osaka, 1890-1940.’, 60.
444 Ibid., 54.
446 See Chapter 2: Human Networks, 41 & 101.
Neither Torrance nor Millar fully explain the inherent mechanics or import of orality as a theoretical concept — this challenging task was not the focus of either study. Nevertheless, both authors touch upon the importance of what Jack Goody refers to as ‘standardized oral forms’. Goody argued that, as genres, ‘standardized oral forms’ are crucial even in complex literate societies because the demarcations between literate, non-literate, and the illiterate are, at times, unclear.

Responding to Millar and Torrance’s observations, using the original 1914 Bunmeidô edition of Sanada Yukimura san yûshi ninjustu meijin sarutobi sasuke (Monkey-jump Sasuke: Three Renowned Ninja Heroes of Sanada Yukimura, 1914) in conjunction with supporting references from the composite elements of the novel, within the theoretical framework(s) of ‘orality’, this chapter will investigate two hypotheses: (1) that the transition of kôdan from oral to text was a natural evolution of the spoken art (not its end); (2) that the centuries-old process of interweaving vernacular speech and text was not permanently fixed in one mode, but part of an historical and on-going dialogue between forms shared by literate and so-called ‘non-literate’ communities involving textual and oral recitations of history that were self-reflexive in nature.

The second proposition is that the Tatsukawa bunko was a contemporary expression of this process, which made malleable its constitute elements via ‘distortion’ (a process described by Jan Vansina as allied to ‘refinement’, whereby narratives are altered to fit an ideal). This chapter will establish what the ideals and mechanisms of kôdan

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447 Jack Goody in Bauman, Folklore, 14.
were, and begin a discussion of how they shaped depictions of historical (and later fictional) figures in the Bunmeidō cannon.

**Cultural Polyglots, Paratactic Processes**

Industrialisation in Japan during the Meiji period (1868-1912) resulted in the fragmentation of rural communities and large-scale migration to industrial areas. Living in urbanised environs for the first time, many individuals brought with them their rural habits and customs; things that Alan Dundes defined as a common factor in the creation of folk traditions. As migrants new to the unfamiliar sprawls of Japan’s industrial cities, many remained socially and economically marginalised. The influx of outsiders made life distinctly more challenging for city dwellers too. Local de’chi (apprentices) to the numerous workers guilds, though not impoverished, often endured great hardship during their early indentured lives.

It is a given that no society or social group is entirely uniform, and exceptions are always evident. Without question, many working people, migrants or otherwise, aspired to — and enjoyed — complex works of literature. The proposition put forward here is not that the workers from low socio-economic backgrounds were illiterate, but that a significant number of individuals in this demographic were ‘non-literate’ (Goody’s term): meaning, an individual with a basic degree of competency in reading and writing, with an appreciation of literature and the book, but not as we might imagine today. In other words, text does not play a significant role in that individual’s daily life.

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449 Alan Dundes in ibid., 35.
450 Term: 弟子.
Goody is positive in his view of communities across the globe still connected to their oral traditions, but his term ‘non-literate’ has the possibility for a number of negative interpretations. I prefer Walter J. Ong’s developmental view that societies relate to the written word in a variety of ways depending on era. Ong posits two broad but useful categories:

- Primary orality: people with no conceptual understanding or knowledge of the written word.
- Secondary orality: those that had encountered text but remained alert to the spoken word as valid medium for thought.\(^{452}\)

It is my belief that working people in Japan with less access to formal education were cultural polyglots, able to move their attentions between oral and chirographical forms without hindrance, in ways that (perhaps) surpassed their middle and upper class contemporaries. Moreover, that texts produced using oral forms of tradition as a foundation for narrative had a greater significance for cultural polyglots than modern chirographical modes of writing, which — generally speaking — cultivated literary aspects of the book associated with the new nation state’s emerging middle class.

Wisely, Ong cautions against viewing oral and chirographical culture as separate entities, either in time or in practice.\(^ {453}\) Eric Havelock agrees:

\[\text{[In Homeric society] singing, recitation, and memorization on the one hand (a cultural combination we can conveniently label as orality) and reading and writing on the other (the habit of a documented and literate culture) were coming into competition and collision.}\]


\(^{453}\) Ibid., 1–2.
Not that the latter was automatically replacing the former. The affair conducted between them was more subtle. Hellenic society became literate only by degrees, and did not instantly abandon its spoken customs, which meant that memory was essential in maintaining oral culture.\(^{454}\)

The reassessment of Homer began during the seventeenth century, after François Hédlin, abbé d’Aubignac (1604-1676) attacked the Greek poet for his poor dramaturgy, stating that the Iliad and Odyssey were *clichéd* and structurally repetitive. Questions arose as to how Homer created so many great and elaborate works from memory. The debate continued with Robert Wood (c.1717-1771), an English diplomat and archaeologist, who forsook the common assumption that Homer had written the poems as texts. Instead, he identified Homer’s use of formula and reiteration as signs of the spoken word. Albert Bates Lord (1912-91)\(^{455}\) argued that *cliché* in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* helped orators to remember the long tracts of narrative; a technique Parry referred to as ‘rhapsodising’.\(^{456}\)

Conversely, Lord argued that there was a fundamental difference between purely oral traditions and the oral transmission of texts — the latter lacking creativity, functioning merely as an *aide-mémoire*.\(^{457}\) In contrast, ‘pure orality’ was a dynamic process, a ‘stitching of songs’, like musical improvisation whereby singers constantly shuffled and elaborated upon small mnemonic units (rhythm, repetition, alliteration, and motifs); via this paratactic process singers created ballads of great length. It is important to note that the refrains changed

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\(^{455}\) Lord was building on the formidable work of Milson Parry (1902-35) who pioneered the study of orality using Balkan epics.


\(^{457}\) Albert B. Lord, ‘Homer, the Trojan War, and History’, *Journal of the Folklore Institute*, Special Issue: Folklore and Traditional History, 8, no. 2/3 (12 1971): 23.
with each narrator and every rendition. Accordingly, instead of seeing the changes as conflicting, Lord — foreshadowing Åkesson — believed the flexibility helped the lexical structures to remain intact as performance pieces, thus, preserving their contents.\textsuperscript{458}

The strict dichotomies between oral and chirographical (handwritten) renditions of the \textit{Iliad} and the \textit{Odyssey} have since been problematised. Many now believe Homer to have been illiterate,\textsuperscript{459} or at least to have dictated his poems to a scribe.\textsuperscript{460} This suggests a paradigm at odds with our contemporary notions of the author, the autonomy of composition, and of the division between oral and chirographical cultures. It appears that in the ancient world, the formal discipline of rhetoric was held in high regard, equal to that of writing. That is not to say that mechanics of writing were unimportant, as scholars were quite conscious of its immediacy as a means of preserving knowledge. It is important to note that those deemed less educated than the orator could produce text. With rhetoric, things were different. Only those possessing a disciplined mind enhanced by rigorous training in oratory were deemed capable of it.

The case of Homer appears highly relevant to a discussion about kôdan and the creative processes of Tamada II and the Yamada family. In revaluating the process of composition used to create the \textit{Tatsukawa bunko}, we ought to ask ourselves how methods of transcribing oral tradition might have affected contemporary audiences still in tune with ‘orality’.

\textsuperscript{458}\textit{Ibid.}, 87.\textsuperscript{459} Ong, \textit{Orality and Literacy}, 19.\textsuperscript{460} Lord, \textit{Epic Singers and Oral Tradition}, 4.
During the course of the Edo era, professional artists codified and perfected many of Japan’s oral traditions. It is likely that performers gravitated towards the disciplines in which they were most skilled. In doing so, they could attract suitable patronage from the various strata of Edo society. Seeking profit, performers eventually segregated their practices into a variety of artistic genera. All of the theatrical traditions commonly known outside of the country (jōruri, kabuki, nō, and rakugo) arose from the cross-pollination of indigenous and transnational religious practices. Only then did they eventuate in a secular complex of oral traditions supported by various forms of benefaction (homosocial, artistic, and fiscal). The results can be imperfectly bracketed as wagei (oral arts). Each custom of wagei underwent several stages of development before secular artists codified them as text. Hitherto, each tradition shared an inherent appreciation of ‘orality’.

The Tatsukawa bunko makes liberal use of kiroku-mono (feudal annals), kyōkaku-mono (‘men of honour’), kizawa-mono (poignant episodes of daily life), and shinkōki (stories of saints), all of which were integrated with kōdan — and its cousin rakugo (comic storytelling) — some time around the Muromachi era (c.1333-1573). A brief history

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461 Term: 歌舞伎.
462 Term: 能.
464 Term: 記録者.
465 Term: 侠客者.
466 Term: 生世話物.
467 Term: 信仰記.
of wagei in Japan will provide a genealogy for kôdan, and help problematise some of the divisions thought to exist between the spoken and written word associated with sokkibon in the Bunmeidô catalogue.

Like the vast majority of Japanese theatrical disciplines dependent on the human voice, kôdan became codified in writing during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It was a particularly fruitful time for artists working with gunkimono (military epics), the lifeblood of kôdan. Historical factors were largely responsible. The speed at which the Ashikaga clan had come to dominate the court had thrown into question the nature of Japan’s imperial line. The ascendency of the Kamakura Bakufu (1192-1333) ended any assumptions that the imperial household was in control of the country or could survive without political help.

The political sea change greatly affected the culture of Japan. Former state chronologies that justified the hereditary position of the emperors as rulers of Japan, such as the Kôjiki (Matter of Ancient Records, 712) and the Nihon shoki (Chronicles of Japan), diminished in importance. The vacuum provided secular artists from Japan’s military caste with a similar opportunity to establish new social spaces for themselves and their ideas. Their intervention radically altered the direction of the arts. It allowed kôdan to evolve from its religious roots into a new secular form of national record; one that recognised the sanctity of the imperial institution, but which valourised the samurai, upholding the hegemony of the shogunate system. This intervention

469 Title: 古事記.
471 See Table: The Evolution of Kôdan, 313.
began a cycle of ‘refinement’ that would continue for centuries, well into the industrial era.\textsuperscript{472}

Foremost amongst early \textit{kôdan} is the \textit{Heike monogatari} (\textit{Tale of the Heike}).\textsuperscript{473} Composed by a network of authors, using oral and literary means, the historiographical account took inspiration from the continuing civil disputes that occurred during the thirteenth century between two powerful families, the Heike of the western provinces, and the Genji situated in the east.\textsuperscript{474}

The opening passage stresses the theme of karmic retribution that runs through the work:

\textsuperscript{472} Jan Vansina described ‘refinement’ as a subtle process, whereby narratives are fashioned to fit a socio-political ideal. However, it would be too crude an interpretation of his work to label such changes to ‘testimony’ as propaganda. Oral tradition is bound by the social conventions it extols. As a ‘series of oral documents’ that bestow power and rights to elites within a community, orators, the custodians of oral tradition, occupy a special place in their societies. Such individuals are part of a ‘chain of transmission’ going back to the ‘observer’ responsible for giving the original ‘proto-testimony’ of a particular historical event. Aberrations naturally occur over time as the original event recedes into the past. Language and social settings induce subtle changes to the giving of testimony. However, any overt acts of violence to the process and nature of an accepted account are usually discounted. The emphasis on accuracy of a testimonial is enforced by the public settings in which such statements are often produced. Due to the social, political, and religious consequences of these ceremonies, the training for orators is highly formalised because any slip could jeopardise the authority of the status quo, and might spell disaster for the tribe as a whole. Consequently, testimony is always rigorously invigilated giving it a high degree of accuracy and reliability as oral history. At some point, a final testimony is given to a ‘recorder’ who transliterates that oral tradition into the pages of a book. Jan Vansina, \textit{Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology}, trans. H.M. Wright (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969), chap. 2.

\textsuperscript{473} Title: 平家物語.

\textsuperscript{474} In 1160, the house of Taira crushed their rivals the Genji during the Heiji Disturbance. This action caused a partial hiatus in the Genpei War, in which the two most powerful families in Japan fought for hegemony under the reigning Emperor Nijō (二条天皇, 1143-65). Taira no Kiyomori (平清盛, 1118-81) took pity on his fallen enemy’s wife and spared the youngest sons of Minamoto no Yoshitomo (源義朝, 1123-60). However, the Heike chief banished the remaining Genji brothers Yoritomo (源頼朝, 1147-99), Noriyori (源範頼, 1156-93), and Yoshitsune (源義経, 1159-89) to different parts of the realm to live out their lives as hostages serving in religious institutions. After the death of Kiyomori, the Minamoto siblings made a surprise return to the political scene in a bid to reclaim power from the Taira. However, the relationship between the brothers became acrimonious. In 1185, Yoshitsune the youngest brother of Yoritomo and commander of the Minamoto forces was propelled to fame after he succeeded in destroying the remaining Taira, thus assuring the future of the Minamoto. However, Yoshitsune was not a politician. The cloistered emperor Go-Shirakawa (後白河天皇, r.1155-1158) invited Yoshitsune to stay with him to celebrate the victory, the warrior accepted. It was a fatal mistake. Yoritomo was immediately suspicious of the motives behind the invitation and his younger brother’s acceptance. Yoritomo issued a direct command for his brother to return to the Minamoto stronghold of Kamakura. Foolishly Yoshitsune tarried, falling foul of his elder brother’s own ambitions for supremacy. Despite a written declaration of loyalty, Yoshitsune was hunted across the breadth of Japan before choosing to take his own life, and that of his wife and young daughter. R.H.P. Mason and J.G. Caiger, \textit{A History of Japan}, Revised Edition (Boston, Massachusetts: Tuttle Classics, 1997), 121-32.
The Jetavana Temple bells
ring the passing of all things.
Twinned sal trees, white in full flower
declare the great man’s certain fall.
The arrogant do not long endure:
They are like a dream one night in spring.
The bold and brave perish in the end:
They are as dust before the wind. 475

The passage continues listing a host of individuals lost to greed, who
finally perished in war:

Masakado in the Shôhei years (931-38),
in the Tengyô era Sumitomo (938-47),
during Kôwa (938-47), Yoshichika (1099-1104),
during Heiji, Nobuyori (1159-60),
each stood out in pride and valor,
yet all still pale beside that man
among us in the recent past:
the novice monk of Rokuhara,
former chancellor, his lordship
Taira no Kiyomori,
tales of whose deeds and ways surpass the imagination,
exceed all that the tongue can tell.
What ancestry could this lord claim? 476

The narration’s listing of generations of Kiyomori’s family implies
nothing noble. It is a sign. We know that Taira no Kiyomori will die
horribly of a fever, his karmic destiny robbing him of the greatness he
achieved as a youth. The moral of the story is simple; even the great
pass into oblivion.

Since its inception, the Heike monogatari has undergone numerous
transformations leaving a multiplicity of versions. Some accounts are
lyrical and strongly influenced by Chinese texts; others have a more
metronomic quality indicative of Buddhist sekkyôshi (preachers) 477 who

476 Ibid.
477 Term: 説教師.
began the oral tradition.\textsuperscript{478} The epic poem stresses the ephemerality of life, an ethical position closely associated in Japan with the faith from which it came. Nevertheless, after the \textit{Heike monogatari} was transcribed into a plethora of chirographical forms, it continued to thrive in oral tradition.

Helen Craig McCullough states that the most characteristic versions of the \textit{Heike monogatari} were texts of intermediate length, composed by \textit{biwa hôshi},\textsuperscript{479} blind minstrels schooled by Buddhist monks to play the Chinese lute as a means of sustaining themselves. Because of the musical dexterity of the \textit{biwa hôshi}, many common folk believed that the musical poets possessed a strong affinity with the spirit world. Vibrations of stringed instruments were thought to resonate with the frequencies of the dead. Consequently, the mendicant narrators frequently performed exorcisms and other forms of protective magic in rural areas.\textsuperscript{480}

In a secondary function the \textit{biwa hôshi} acted as ‘jongleurs’ giving wayside recitations of epics, poems, and songs. Barbara Ruch sees this later function as the beginnings of Japan’s national body of ‘vocal literature’. She explains further:\textsuperscript{481}

\begin{quote}
From the very beginning of its history, vocal literature has had firm ties to the written language; indeed it was usually based upon written texts: sutras, chronicles, sermons, and many other types of writing. Further, it was more often than not recorded in to daihon or libretto texts. Illiteracy, among either practitioners of vocal literature or audiences, is a periphery factor.\textsuperscript{482}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{479} Term: 琵琶法師.
\textsuperscript{480} McCullough, \textit{The Tale of the Heike}, 6.
\textsuperscript{481} Barbara Ruch Ruch, ‘Medieval Jongleurs and the Making of a National Literature’, 286.
\textsuperscript{482} Barbara Ruch in ibid., 287.
Importantly, Ruch notes that even amongst the illiterate beggars who gave narrative recitations many had ‘had close ties to written texts’. The reasons for this are clear:

Some practitioners were highly literate, as were preachers such as the shōdōshi of the Agui school, or actor-playwrights such as Zeami. Some [practitioners] blind from birth, obviously had no knowledge of or use for writing, but we know in the case of the blind lute playing persists – biwa hôshi, for instance – that many worked in an environment where the colleagues on whom they depended were both sighted and literate.

The same range of literary appreciation applied equally to audiences.

Internal migration played its part in ensuring that kôdan took root in Japan’s southwest. Local demand in the Kamigata for stories about the Genpei War (1180-85) led to large numbers of biwa hôshi migrating to the then capital of Kyoto, where they were invited into the homes of local samurai. It is here that kôdan began to transcend the feudal class system. A number of established scholars — principally Hasegawa Tadashi, Helen Craig McCulloch, Royall Tyler, and Ruch — have noted that collaborative writing between lay Buddhists trained in wagei and local aristocrats began a new trend in orally informed historiographical writing. At this point a clear instance of ‘refinement’ occurred.

As the Buddhist scripture travelled east it had become further ingrained with Chinese philosophy, that is, the political ideals of Confucianism, mixed with aspects of Taoist thought. The now syncretic teachings of Buddhism were further veiled in text as they passed through the kingdoms of Koguryŏ, Paekche, and Silla, before

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483 Barbara Ruch in ibid.
484 Barbara Ruch in ibid.
485 長谷川正.
being carried across on diplomatic missions to the Japanese archipelago early in the fifth century.\textsuperscript{486}

By the Muromachi era, Buddhist monks in Japan were involved with all levels of society: they gave alms to the poor, pursued intellectual debates with other religious traditions, served as court bureaucrats, and, on occasion, fought with the military class in wars. Highly literate, they also controlled Japan’s flourishing print industry. A great number of lay and ordained monks resided at the Tendai monastery Enryaku-ji on Mount Hiei. Many Tendai monks were \textit{buzô} (religious paramilitaries),\textsuperscript{487} commonly samurai who had nominally withdrawn from political life.\textsuperscript{488} \textit{Kyôten} (scripture)\textsuperscript{489} was complex, requiring a high level of education beyond the means of all but the most educated. However, Buddhism embraced vernacular speech for the purposes of proselytization, seeing it as \textit{upâya} (skilful means).\textsuperscript{490} Inspired by the simplicity of Jôdô Shinshû, the priests of Enryaku-ji used \textit{kôshaku} as a simple means of explaining sophisticated religious and philosophical debates to those with less formal education in reading and writing.

Extended periods of civil war demanded that the education of Japan’s military houses be geared towards the practical business of warfare. Consequently, a significant proportion of the \textit{buzô} were less educated in literary matters than their fellow monks. Favouring the oral tradition, the intellectual minimalism of \textit{kôshaku}, this sub-sect of the monastic order at Enryaku-ji passed their techniques on to other

\textsuperscript{486} Kornicki, \textit{The Book in Japan}, chap. 1.
\textsuperscript{487} Term: 武僧.
\textsuperscript{489} Term: 教典.
religious mendicants, many of who were unemployed samurai. This loose community of individuals refined the canticles of kōdan into the popular forms of narrative practiced by professional artists (and beggars) during the late nineteenth century.

Original kōdan stressed the Buddhist principles of karma: (actions which bring about concordant results); anitya (unreality of the physical world); and samsara (the cycle of life and death to which humans in their ignorance are spiritually shackled), but it did so in a simplified form. Faced with the political challenges of the time, buzō placed an emphasis on narratives that the depicted the carnage of the battlefield. Here, gunkimono not only celebrated the history of their associated class — the samurai — it also helped to psychologically inoculate the politically active monastics from the effects of war, and instil their ranks with confidence.

Work by Paul Varley clearly shows that the ‘war tale’ (as he terms it) had a long and varied history reaching back to the tenth century. The Shōmonki (The Chronicle of Masakado) composed in 940 using hentai kambun (an archaic form of Chinese script, now abandoned) is one of the first recorded tsuwamono (‘weapon tales’). The term tsuwamono

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493 Hōnen (法然, 1133-1212) and his disciple Shinran (親鸞, 1173-1262) were the founding fathers of Jōdō Shinshū (浄土真宗, Pure Land Buddhism). During the turbulent Kamakura period (1192-1333), Hōnen advocated the simple practice of nembutsu (念仏), an invocation of the Amitābha (阿弥陀仏) buddha’s name as a suitable method of salvation for the laity, simplifying the esoteric practices of Tendai, so that commoners might attain Buddhahood, and thus, escape the pain of existence during the time of Mappō (末法, Latter Days of the Law). Osaka Furitsu Kamigata Engei Shiryōkan, Kamigata engei taizen (上⽅演芸大全) (Osaka: Sōgensha, 2008), 324-25.
494 Title: 将門記.
495 Term: 変体漢文.
496 Term: 兵. The narrative concerns a rebellion in the 930s under Taira no Masakado (平将門, d.940). Emanating outwards from the Kantō region, Masakado’s revolt ended abruptly, when he was defeated and killed in battle by Taira no Sadamori (平貞盛, d.989).
refers to an archer mounted on horseback, which was still the preferred method of fighting at that time. The author(s) of the Shômonki was evidently someone with an extensive knowledge of Chinese culture — most likely a high-ranking Buddhist priest or buzô. Frequent use of intertextual references from China, allegory, moralistic injunctions, and assessment of character propel the narrative forward. As such, the historical chronicle is now considered a work of literature.497

The existence of the Shômonki indicates that, with time, the epic narrative as a form could shift from text into the realm of oral tradition, and back again. The fluidity of each mode ought alert us to the fact that the sokkibon of the Tatsukawa bunko, as a recent chirographical manifestation of the oral tradition of kôdan, possesses both qualities, and is, therefore, capable of being interpreted by a reader (or listener) in either manner depending on the setting, and/or their proclivity.

Developmental work undertaken by buzô living and working in the temple complexes of the Kamigata region marks a critical stage in the artistic development of kôdan. As the power of the nobility waned, oral traditions in Japan took on a distinctive hue indicative of the rising military class. However, it is important to note that others made significant contributions to kôdan. Talented artists then helped spread the narrative innovations of the buzô beyond the grounds of the temples of the Kamigata and into greater society. Akashi no Kaku’ichi (1299-1371)498 of the Tôdôza guild specialising in heikyoku (recitations of the Heike monogatari),499 was most responsible for popularising the

498 明石覚一 (1299-1371).
499 Term: 平曲.
narrative within élite circles. Prefiguring later arguments within the kôdan community at the turn of the twentieth century, conservative laymen within the fraternity of biwa hôshi objected to Kaku’ichi’s vocal innovations. Subsequently, the Tôdôza guild — roughly six hundred strong — split into two factions, the Ichikata-ryû and the Yasaka-ryû. The Ichikata School was well organised and funded, but Kakuichi’s splinter faction declined around 1600.

Notably, women played a critical role in the development of Japan’s ‘vocal literature’. Nuns associated with the Tendai schools in Kyoto, who traversed routes taken by pilgrims, introduced stories of love and romance into the military epic, thereby softening the male chauvinism inherent in the popular genre. Ruch argues that the ‘close relation between love (even prostitution) and proselytizing’ for the women, many of who were former courtesans, made for powerful sermons on salvation. Song was vital in communicating their pious message to the public, but according to Ruch, their greatest contribution was to the materiality of the book. The women used similar methodologies to secular groups of goze (blind men and women who gave narrative performance for alms) and etoki (‘picture explainers’) or etoki hôshi (‘picture explaining priests’).

Appearing sometime during the twelfth century, etoki used a variety of visual props to aid their storytelling, mainly emaki (picture scrolls).
and *e-hon* (picture books).\(^{506}\) The multimedia practices of the *etoki* seem to have been imported with Buddhism from T’ang China. The first forms of *emaki* in Japan were the hanging scrolls that could be seen in the temples of Osaka, Nara, and Kyoto.\(^{507}\) Mostly these were biographical depictions of the life of the devout Shôtoku Taishi (573-622)\(^ {508}\) or temple histories. Sadly, we know little about how such things were integrated into public performances.\(^ {509}\) However, there is evidence that during the fourteenth century, the nuns of Kumano produced and sold small manuscripts as a memento of their recitals to raise money for their temple. (We cannot know for sure, but it is possible that these diminutive books had a secondary function serving as a protective talisman for the buyer.) Nevertheless, as Ruch states, for the most part ‘we must assume that the nun’s narratives were either memorized or composed anew at each performance according to the principles of extemporization’.\(^ {510}\) It means their discipline was primarily located in ‘orality’.

The practice of transcribing narrative created during performances was also adopted by *kôdanshi*, but for purely commercial purposes. It meant that simpler versions of *kôdan*, unaccompanied by music, remained popular throughout the Edo era. That said, the creative use of song, image, and text by the various factions of *biwa hôshi*, *kôdanshi*, *etoki*, and the nuns of Kumano illustrate how fluid notions of the book were in Japan up until the advent of modern publishing. The appearance of *kaki-kôdan*, and its modern hybrid *sokkibon* at the start

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\(^{506}\) Term: 絵本.


\(^{508}\) 聖徳太子 (573-622).

\(^{509}\) Baraba Ruch in Ruch, ‘Medieval Jongleurs and the Making of a National Literature’, 297.

\(^{510}\) Baraba Ruch in ibid., 301.
of the twentieth century, therefore, requires us to rethink what we know about the book and its function in Japan.

**ASPECTS OF ORALITY IN THE TATSUKAWA BUNKO**

This section is concerned with how the stenographical book might function in a society that was familiar with its roots in oral tradition. It is difficult to gauge reception of an artistic work without some kind of feedback. Usually we examine the comments from critics or tally commercial sales figures. However, in this instance, I want to look at the mechanics of ‘standardized oral forms’ to see what kind of literary devices were passed down from antiquity in the form of ‘orality’. Tamada II inherited much of this ‘cultural capital’ from his apprenticeship as a kôdanshi. Understanding the influence of oral tradition on Japanese literature might tell us more about Tamada II as a writer.

*Gunkimono* serves as the backbone for traditional kôdan. Filtering through the oral tradition, the common use of panegyrics found in the sub genre has shaped contemporary chirographical forms of *kaki-kôdan* and *sokkibon*. It is particular evident in the period pieces that constitute the *Tatsukawa bunko*. Yet the extension and development of the naming system by Tamada II highlights difficulties with the aforementioned critiques of ‘standardized oral forms’. As discussed, Benjamin’s critique of mass media for its reproducibility prefigured Frederic Jameson’s observations on the nature of simulacra, whereby parody of an original artwork became ‘pastiche’. Jameson defined parody as a judgment containing an inherent set of social norms and values, but pastiche was an artefact ‘blank parody’, a copy incapable of
conveying political or ethical messages about the original.\textsuperscript{511} In effect, the connection between artists and art was lost, leaving only a ‘simulacrum’, a hollow sign. The following textual analysis will reveal that the \textit{Tatsukawa bunko} was much more than a copy of past works from the oral tradition.

Vansina maintains that the peculiarity of narrative reveals much about the ethical worldview of its creators. Time, ethos, and custom affect orators, who limited by memory, must choose what to discard and what to keep.\textsuperscript{512} Unlike chirographical culture, which contains footnotes, amendments, provisos, and auxiliary clarifications, ‘orality’ relies on assumed cultural knowledge. A performer may presume with a reasonable amount of certainty that the audience is already acquainted with the performance rituals and the idiom being presented. Audience familiarity is often assumed to extend to the historical circumstances being recounted, and the nature of individuals cited. The audience reciprocates, they understand the protocols expected of them as participants cum witnesses.\textsuperscript{513} Similarly, Chris Ballard has proposed the idea that oral tropes act as signifiers for greater meaning, with panegyrics operating as a discreet form of annotation.\textsuperscript{514} \textit{Kôdan} operates in both ways.

The ephemerality of being associated with military life is encapsulated in the term \textit{ hôganbi’iki} (‘sympathy for a fêted hero’).\textsuperscript{515} The critic Satô


\textsuperscript{512}Jan Vansina explored the use of mnemonics in African culture and how they played a fundamental role in the construction and maintenance of oral recitations (repetition, rhythm, and the ritual of public performance). Counter intuitively Vansina did not include eyewitness accounts as part of orality because – despite the presence of an observer – such reports tended to exist for a limited period and were, therefore, no more reliable than gossip. News, often associated with empiricism, also fell under the same rubric. Vansina, \textit{Oral Tradition}, 19-21.

\textsuperscript{513}Ibid., 4.


\textsuperscript{515}Term: 判官贔屓.
Tadao\textsuperscript{516} gives the following list of protagonists celebrated in \textit{kôdan} who he believes exemplified this ethic by achieving success or death in the face of great adversity:

- Minamoto no Yoshitsune (1159-1189)
- The Soga Brothers (1172/74-1193/93)
- Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598)
- Miyamoto Musashi (1584-1685)
- The Ten Brave Heroes of Sanada Yukimura (1567-1615)*
- Mito kômon (The Elder Lord of Mito) a.k.a. Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628-1700)
- Akô gishi (1701-03) a.k.a. Chûshingura
- The Shinsengumi (1863-68)
- Sakamoto Ryôma (1835-1867)
- Shimizu Jirôchô (1820-1893)\textsuperscript{517}

Satô’s collective term \textit{sakuhingun} (‘related works’)\textsuperscript{518} accounts for each period of history associated with the narratives: \textit{kodai} (ancient); \textit{chûsei} (medieval); \textit{kinsei} (early-modern); and \textit{kindai} (modern).\textsuperscript{519} Henry Smith, who has worked closely with Satô, states that \textit{sakuhingun} can be simply aggregated into three types: (1) historical biography; (2) narratives featuring commoners (usually professional warriors); and (3) political. Smith’s analysis of the Satô’s last category is highly relevant to our discussion about the \textit{Tatsukawa bunko}:

The final characteristic that Satô saw as conducive to the formation of major \textit{sakuhingun} was an “integration of politics with the lives of the people,” by which he appears to mean that while the heroes mingle with the people in their day-to-day activities, their actions ultimately have wider political implications. In the pattern of the “noble failures,” the protagonists are often those who challenge the dominant political powers and die in the process, as with Yoshitsune’s defiance of his half-

\textsuperscript{516}佐藤忠男.  
\textsuperscript{517}Personal communication by the eminent film critic, Satô Tadao, currently president of Nihon Eiga Daigaku (日本映画大学, Japanese Institute of the Moving Image).  
\textsuperscript{518}Term: \textit{sakuhingun}.  
\textsuperscript{519}Term: \textit{kodai, chûsei, kinsei}, and \textit{kindai}.
brother Yoritomo, or Sanada Yukimura’s support of Toyotomi Hideyori
in opposition to the Tokugawa regime.\(^{520}\)

It is clear that the underlying sentiment of these works is more about political opposition to established authority than the religious need to appease the spirits of the dead. Symbols are often a means of stating the sensitive.\(^{521}\) In this way, the names on Satō’s list of sakuhingun serve as a kind of shorthand for greater political meanings. As Smith states:

> Whatever the precise mix, it is revealing that the heroes of popular history include both those who played an important role on the national political stage, as well as those who in the end were crushed by those in power.\(^{522}\)

Nevertheless, as with any political narrative, official (and unofficial) bodies can designate acts of violence as just, or otherwise. Official responses to the ‘Akō incident’, better known by its theatrical title Kanadehon chûshingura (Copybook of the Treasury of Loyal Retainers),\(^{523}\) illustrate this point perfectly.

In 1701, after an alleged public insult Asano Nagori (1667-1701)\(^{524}\) the Lord of Akō attempted to assassinate Kira Yoshinaka (1641-1703),\(^{525}\) a senior bureaucrat overseeing his indenture as an imperial envoy. Wary of any potential upset to the social order the ‘Akō incident’ outraged the Tokugawa government. Officials forced Asano to commit ritual suicide in atonement for his transgression and disbanded his estate. Asano’s chief vassal Ōishi Kuranosuke Yoshio (1659-1703)\(^{526}\) and his

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\(^{521}\) Vansina, Oral Tradition, 68 & 70.


\(^{523}\) Title: 仮名手本忠臣蔵.

\(^{524}\) 浅野長矩 (1667-1701).

\(^{525}\) 吉良義央 (1641-1703).

\(^{526}\) 大石内蔵助 (1659-1703).
fellow rônin plotted revenge. In the winter of 1703, the errant samurai infiltrated Kira’s compound, slaughtered his bodyguards, and commanded Kira to commit ritual suicide to atone for his sins. Kira refused, so was beheaded. Immediately after placing their victim’s head on the grave of their master as a tribute, the outcast group of retainers formally submitted themselves to the Tokugawa authorities.

As discussed, the establishment of the Tokugawa Bakufu disinherited the imperial court of its power and singularity. Personal allegiance to a lord implied potential opposition to the state. However, the attitude of the ‘forty-seven’ exemplified the highest Confucian ethos of fidelity, something that the shogunate promoted within its ranks. The Tokugawa Bakufu recognised the honourable conduct and compliance of the men, but the rule of law had been broken. Public sentiment overwhelming approved of the vendetta, however. This further complicated matters. To avoid an outcry the Tokugawa judiciary permitted the offending party the honour of following their master in ritual suicide.

The ‘Akô incident’ proved so popular it was quickly immortalised in the arts. In 1748, Miyoshi Shôraku (c.1696-1772), Namiki Senryû (1696-1751), and Takeda Izumo II (1691-1756) recreated the event as ningyô-jôruri (puppet theatre) for the Osaka stage. Conscious of the 1673 Tokugawa edict prohibiting public discussion of notable persons, the playwrights successfully avoided any legal repercussions by changing the names of the protagonists; Asano became Enya Hagen, Kira altered

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527 三好松洛 (c.1696-1772).
528 並木宗輔 (1696-1751).
529 二代目什田出雲 (1691-1756).
530 Term: 人形浄瑠璃.
to Kô no Morano, and Ōishi was named Ōboshi Yuranosuke. The writers also set the drama in the medieval era.

Due to its infamy and the known protocol of historical allegory in Japan, the case was instantly recognised by the public. Nevertheless, the real names of those involved in the Akô incident did not appear until 1850, by which time the narrative had been absorbed into several theatrical traditions: most notably kôdan, and its popular musical derivative nanivabushi (‘Osaka elegies’).  

Smith — to whom this study owes much — argues that the ambiguity of meaning in Kanadehon chûshingura that so troubled the Tokugawa Bakufu was immediately utilised for political gain by the Meiji Government (1868-1912). One of the emperor’s first official actions was a visit to the graves of the ‘forty-seven’ at Sengaku-ji (near Shinagawa, Tokyo) to pay his respects. In expressing his admiration for the deceased, the Meiji Tennô (r.1868-1912) identified the actions of the rônin (‘wave men’) as honourable, and therefore moral. In doing so, the emperor appropriated the popular image of the ‘forty-seven’ for imperial state purposes. Their unswerving loyalty would serve as a model for the Japanese citizenry with the emperor substituted for Asano (the Lord of Akô), and people as the ‘forty-seven’.

The custom of allegorical reading in Japan continued well into the twentieth century; the alleged social consequences of which are

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531 Henry Smith states that the first historical novels to treat Chûshingura seriously in Japan evolved as rensai (serials) in the Asahi shinbun during the Russo-Japanese war (1904-1905). The most significant developments in this genre occurred later when writers began experimenting using the style of kôdan to produce alternative forms of kaki-kôdan (written kôdan) as manuscripts. At the forefront of this new wave was the Tatsukawa bunko. Smith contends that the series was for children, but there is no evidence that this was the case. It is generally accepted that young people took to the Bunmeidō collection because it was easy to read. Smith, ‘The Media and Politics of Japanese Popular History’, 80–81.

532 明治天皇 (r.1868-1912).

533 Term: 浪人.

explored in the subsequent three chapters of this thesis. For practical reasons, however, we will limit our discussion here to the mechanisms and content of traditional kôdan, which Tamada II enlisted to reinforce (and on occasion undermine) classical notions of heroism in works he produced for the Bunmeidô Publishing Company.

Many of the heroes that epitomise hôganbi’iki listed by Satô also appear in the Tatsukawa bunko: Mitokômon (The Elder Lord of Mito, 1911); Sanada Yukimura (1911); Miyamoto Musashi (1911); Ōishi Kuranosuke (1912) adapted from Kanadehon chûshingura; Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1913), and many more. However, one figure stands out from all of the others, however, that is, Sanada Nobushige (hereafter distinguished by his alias Yukimura). From as early as 1903, the kôdanshi produced a number of Sanada narratives for a host of Osaka publishers using a variety of professional names before perfecting the narrative for Bunmeidô in 1914. Yukimura was a local hero in Osaka, who first distinguished himself during the great civil wars of the Sengoku era (c.1467-1603). His ability to outwit a superior force was legendary.

Tamada II was fixated with Yukimura for a number of very good reasons. There were the obvious commercial benefits in writing about a local figure, but Yukimura’s story also represents much of what is best about kôdan: the historical narrative is dramatic, full of action and intrigue, and it ends tragically. Understanding the military tactician’s place in Japanese history will also help to reveal why he remained such a powerful political symbol in Osaka after his death.

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535 Gyokushûsai Tamada II, Sanada yukimura shokoku manyûki [真田幸村諸国漫遊記] (Osaka: Nakagawa Tamanaridô, 1903); Gyokushûsai Tamada II, Sarutobi sasuke sanada san yûshi [猿⾶佐助真田家三勇⼠] (Osaka: Matsumoto Kinkadô, 1910); Gyokushû Katô, Sanada yukimura [真田幸村], vol. 5 (Osaka: Tatsukawa Bunmeidô, 1911); Sanjin Sekka, Sanada yukimura shokoku manyûki [真田幸村諸国漫遊記], vol. 28, Tatsukawa Bunko (Osaka: Tatsukawa Bunmeidô, 1912).
The House of Sanada was already famous for having fought under Takeda Shingen (1521-1573) during the warring states period: their exploits during this time were later celebrated in a variety of oral, pictorial, and literary forms, most notably Sanada sandaiki (Three Generations of the Sanada: A Chronicle). During the civil war, the Sanada were adversaries of the Toyotomi clan. However, having fought well for the Takeda clan, Toyotomi Hideyoshi decided to pardon them. He proceeded to incorporate the Sanada clan into his own army. Sanada Yukimura later distinguished himself whilst serving as a leading commander for the shogun during Japan’s ill-fated attempts to secure China as a tributary of Japan (in 1592 and 1598).

The death of Hideyoshi created a political vacuum. Tokugawa Ieyasu, the most powerful regent within the alliance of five advisors charged with protecting a newly unified Japan, saw a chance to secure total power. He usurped Toyotomi Hideyori, who had been named as the rightful successor to his father’s office. The leading lords of the realm fell into two distinct factions, east and west, propelling the country into another period of civil war. As a family, the Sanada inclined towards their former leader’s son, Hideyori, based in the western seat of Osaka.

The clan’s fame increased when, having withdrawn to the family stronghold at Ueno Castle in Shinshū (now Nagano prefecture), Yukimura and his father Sanada Masayuki (1547-1611) with a force of 2,000 men withstood a siege led by Ieyasu’s son Tokugawa Hidetata

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536 武田信玄 (1521-1573).
538 真田昌幸 (1547-1611).
in command of 40,000 solders. Eventually, Hidetata left the field to join his father elsewhere.

At the Battle of Sekigahara (1600), Yukimura’s elder brother Sanada Nobuyuki (1566-1658) sided with the ‘Eastern Forces’ of the Tokugawa. It is commonly believed that the division was a political strategy devised by the clan’s elders to preserve the Sanada family name: inevitably one of the brothers would fall, but the survivor might be in a position to beg for clemency and inherit the family estate. This eventually came to be. Yukimura and his father sided with the ‘Western Forces’ of the Toyotomi under the command of one of the former regents Ishida Mitsunari (1563-1600) from Kyoto. Ishida had previously attempted a coup, but Ieyasu had granted him a stay of execution; he was not so lucky the second time round. The House of Sanada was more fortunate, however. Ieyasu confined the Sanada clan leader Masayuki to his residence at Kudoyama at the foot of Mount Kōya. Yukimura dutifully followed. The Bunmeidō novels featuring the Sanada vassal Sarutobi Sasuke begin just before this interim period, when the possibility of a Toyotomi victory still lingered in the air.

As tension between the ‘Eastern’ and ‘Western’ forces mounted, the Toyotomi clan summoned Yukimura to Osaka to oversee a number of key fortifications. During the ‘Winter Siege’, under Yukimura’s command the fortress remained impregnable, forcing the Tokugawa into negotiations. Having failed to get past Yukimura’s defences, Ieyasu agreed to a truce on the condition that Hideyori dismantle the earthworks at Osaka Castle, drain the moats, and stand down his senior battle commander. Believing his opponent to be honourable,
Hideyori foolishly agreed. Ieyasu reneged on the treaty and attacked the Toyotomi stronghold with a reputed force of 155,000 routing the smaller western force of 55,000.\textsuperscript{542}

The ‘Summer War of Osaka’ was a success for the ‘Eastern Forces’ of the Tokugawa. Overwhelmed by their enemy, Hideyori, and his mother the Yodo-dono (1569-1615),\textsuperscript{543} took their own lives as the Osaka’s keep fell around them. Hideyori’s wife, the Sen-hime (1597-1666),\textsuperscript{544} who was the eldest daughter of Tokugawa Hidetata (chief commander of the Tokugawa clan’s second base at Okayama-guchi), had, by arrangement, already fled the compound. Tragically, her husband sacrificed their infant son. Having failed to convince Hideyori to take to the field, Yukimura’s only son Sanada Daisuke (c. 1602-1615)\textsuperscript{545} committed harakiri like his master. Yukimura himself continued to fight on, dying in a last ditch battle at Tennoji-guchi (close to the site of Ieyasu’s primary camp outside of Osaka) that same year. As for the general population, few escaped the fire or the rampaging horde that swept in to the city to claim its riches.\textsuperscript{546}

Banished to the outer provinces, the remaining ‘Western Forces’ were made responsible for guarding Japan’s coastlines against potential invasion, and so were vital to the Tokugawa Bakufu’s security. However, the legend of Yukimura lived on. The prominence of the Toyotomi general during the ‘Winter Siege’ and ‘Summer War’ of Osaka has seen him identified with the city of Osaka, and the buzó tradition of hóganbi’iki.

\textsuperscript{542} Special Affairs Committee Osaka Castle Museum, ed., Ikusaba no kôkei [いくさ場の光景] (Osaka, Japan: Private publication by Shinsei Printing Co., Ltd., 2009), sec. 1.
\textsuperscript{543} 滋賀 (1569-1615).
\textsuperscript{544} 千姫 (1597-1666).
\textsuperscript{545} 真田大助 (c. 1602-1615).
\textsuperscript{546} Ryûji, Sanada jûyûshi sarutobi sasuke, 287.
As discussed in Chapter 1, Tokugawa censorship introduced in 1673 forbade any public discourse concerning the Tokugawa Bakufu; this ban extended to any prominent figures associated with the military oligarchy. The same laws extended to public depictions of certain historical events. Narratives that posited Yukimura as the ‘people’s champion’ would, by loose association, besmirch Ieyasu’s reputation. Celebrating Ieyasu’s victory might prove equally as contentious. In truth, the regulations were designed to combat the growing power of the press, which had begun to flourish after the establishment of national peace under the Tokugawa Bakufu.

Histories concerning the Sanada clan enjoyed a strong revival during the Meiji era, a time when it was possible to speak of the clan without official dissent. *Kawaraban* (tile-block printed newspapers) from the seventeenth century showing the destruction of Osaka also resurfaced. Doubtless renewed interest from the public helped lay the foundations for the Bunmeidô editions that followed. Two published versions of the Sanada tale from the period still exist: *E-hon sanada sandaiki* (*An Illustrated Book of Three Generations of the Sanada: A Chronicle, 1882*); and the anonymous *Sanada sandaiki* (*Sanada: A Chronicle of Three Generations, 1898*), produced using *sokki*.

*E-hon sanada sandaiki* (1882) resembles late *yomihon* (reading books). Originally from China, this brand of argot fiction became popular with

547 See Chapter 1: Transitional Literature, 39-73.
549 Term: 瓦版.
551 Ryūtei, *E-hon sanada sandaiki*.
552 Anonymous, *Sanada-sandaiki*. 
Japanese audiences during the 1770s.\textsuperscript{553} In order to catch the public’s interest, *yomihon* were sumptuously illustrated. Many resembled picture books, and their plots could be understood simply by following the woodblock images. Accordingly, the illustrated version of the Sanada tale is like a modern graphic novel, with text assimilated into the prevailing imagery. Masked areas filled with cursive text supported by *rubi* (phonetic gloss)\textsuperscript{554} weave in and out of illuminated figures in an imitation of opulent gardens paths, quick-running rivers, or in the billowing form of smoke emanating from fire. The visual composition of the *e-hon* suggests that it may have been accessible to children or those of low literacy, demographics closely associated with the *Tatsukawa bunko*.

*Sanada sandaikei* (1898), by contrast, is a clear example of *kaki-kôdan*. Austere in tone, with no illustrations it is full of the linguistic complexities of traditional *kôdan*. Again, a proliferation of *rubi* makes the content highly legible to the contemporary reader. The creative origins of the Sanada story are unknown, but the preface in the editors’ edition speculates that *haikaishi* (‘sauntering poets’)\textsuperscript{555} working in a similar ilk to Bashô (1644-1694)\textsuperscript{556} produced the first artistic versions.\textsuperscript{557} There is no substantiated evidence as to why *haikaishi* gravitated towards the Sanada tale, but claims made in the preface state that in the ninth year of the Genroku period (1688-1704) universal admiration for the Sanada clan led to the production of countless *engi*
(adaptations/performances)\textsuperscript{558} of the wartime chronicle, eventuating in the first seventeenth-century edition. Whatever its true origins were, the influence of the spoken word is evident, even in this late chirographical reproduction.

Aspects of \textit{Sanada sandaiki} are clearly legible in the most successful and recognised novel in the \textit{Tatsukawa bunko}, that is, \textit{Sarutobi-sasuke}. Published in 1914, the Sekka Sanjin Collective’s interpretation of the Sanada story helped establish Bunmeidô as a serious competitor in the field of mass publishing. The \textit{sokkibon} capitalised on the success of early adaptations of \textit{Sanada sandaiki} by Tamada II, becoming a miniseries in its own right. This set it apart from the \textit{Bushidô seika (Flowering of Bushidô)\textsuperscript{559}} novellas that made up the vast majority of titles in the \textit{Tatsukawa bunko} collection, which were isolated tales of daring adventure and military biographies. From a commercial viewpoint, the expansion of the Sanada mythology by Tamada II and his cohort encouraged consumers to buy future instalments from Bunmeidô. However, the connectivity of the extended series also reflected the working practice of the \textit{kôdanshi}.

Citing Kenneth Butler, Varley has argued that the use of panegyrics in \textit{gunkimono} mimics the eleventh century social custom of ‘\textit{tsuwamono no ie}’ (the practice of naming and ranking samurai by their house of birth).\textsuperscript{560} Conscious of their privileges, and obligations, samurai would call out to one another on the battlefield in order to establish their identities. This process helped them to arrange a proper fighting order, whereby nobles of equal rank were matched in combat. Whilst accepting the literary nature of the \textit{gunkimono}, both Butler and Varley

\textsuperscript{558} Term: \textit{演技}.
\textsuperscript{559} Title: \textit{武士道精華}.
\textsuperscript{560} Term: \textit{兵の家}.
have observed that the use of nanori (spoken genealogies)\textsuperscript{561} between the elites of the Taira and Minamoto clans in the Hōgen monogatari (Tale of the Hōgen)\textsuperscript{562} are clear indicators of custom entrenched in oral composition.\textsuperscript{563}

Significantly, the use of naming in kōdan indicates a moral as well as a genealogical tree. We shall begin with the anonymous Meiji version of the Sanada tale, which inspired Tamada II.

*Sanada sandaiki* begins reflexively with a historical account of the Muromachi era inspired by the Taiheiki (Tale of Grand Pacification). Drawing legitimacy and nourishment from the original gunkimono, the opening passage of the nineteenth-century sokkibon relies on panegyrics to extol the virtues of Kusunoki Masatsura (1326-1348),\textsuperscript{564} son of Kusunoki Kawachi no Hangen a.k.a. Kusunoki Masashige (c.1294-1336),\textsuperscript{565} who was ‘Minister to the Left’ and servant of the emperor Go-Daigo (r.1318-1339).\textsuperscript{566} Both men are typical of the hôganbī’iki tradition of heroes in that they died in battle whilst facing great odds. Critically, the introductory narration relies on ‘standardized oral forms’ found in kōdan, that is, panegyrics:

This is a matter of import pertaining to the art of war, given in truth, but suppressed. The [Ashikaga] villains were captured, and for a time the world knew peace. Thus, our ninety-fifth emperor Go-Daigo continued in his peaceful reign.

The Minister to the Left, henceforth, Lord Kusunoki Kawachi no Hangen [Lord Masashige], presented his scion with his first robes received from his wife Kōmei at a coming of age ceremony.

\textsuperscript{561} Term: 名乗り.

\textsuperscript{562} Title: 保元物語.

\textsuperscript{563} Kenneth Butler cited in Varley, *Warriors of Japan as Portrayed in the War Tales*, 60.

\textsuperscript{564}楠木正行 (1326-1348).

\textsuperscript{565}楠木正成 (c.1294-1336).

\textsuperscript{566}後醍醐天皇 r.1318-1339.
Like a flower, the child blossomed. This is the great hero you shall now hear of.

Lord Masashige had humbly petitioned the emperor, who had shown compassion to the felons letting them become priests, and — like his deceased father — the boy [Kusanoki Masatsura] possessed the Three Virtues (valour, wisdom, and benevolence).\(^{567}\)

Panegyric associations informed by *nanori* allow the author(s) to omit the name of the main subject, that is, Masashige. Citing the father (Masashige) is enough to prompt the audience as to the identity and the righteousness of the son (Masatsura). Similarly, these two identities Masashige (named) and Masatsura (as yet unnamed) confirm the position of the villains (the Ashikaga). Significantly, the narration unambiguously identifies the title and lineage of Go-Daigo as emperor and moral compass. The ‘Minister to the Left’ and his ‘scion’ gain imperial favour and status by this association. Having posited Masashige as a paragon of virtue, inferring that the moral calibre of both men is the same, only then does the narration introduce the figure of Yukimura.

The contemporary use of the established opening form seen in both the oral and chirographical forms of *kôdan* by Tamada II in his version of the Sanada tale is interesting. The *kôdanshi* acknowledges his tradition but, appealing to his contemporary audience, allows for a certain amount of inventiveness. In the 1916 edition of *Sanada yukimura nankai manyûki* (*Sanada Yukimura: Journey Around the South Sea Provinces*), once again Tamada II amalgamates panegyrics with the historiography of traditional *kôdan*. The *kôdanshi* praises the perspicacity of the Sanada clan in preparing for war and holding off the invading Tokugawa army led by Hidetata.

Significantly, Tamada II highlights the moral positions of his protagonists using names. Particular attention is given to portraying all the members of the Sanada clan as filial men. Nevertheless, Yukimura stands out. The Toyotomi general is described as a simple man, untouched by the political machinations of war, a man familiar with nature and the tasks of everyday life. Like a farmer, his positivity is linked with the blossoming of the land. The loss of his 50,000 koku means little to him, for he has the company of the ubiquitous Braves, his ‘princely brothers’:

Under Heaven, before the scene of Sekigahara (1600), a force 50,000 strong waited [outside the gates] of the small Castle Ueda in Shôshû (now Nagano prefecture). Under the glare of their enemy Ieyasu, the Sanada keep one eye on their preparations for Sekigahara and the other on the battalion amassed on the Kantô plane. Whilst preparing to meet the Tokugawa in battle the Sanada sat blowing bubbles at Hidetata [son of the shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu]. The forces of the Sanada appeared active and alert.\footnote{Sanjin Sekka, \textit{Ninjutsu meijin sarutobi sasuke nankai manyûki} [認術名人猿⾶佐助南海漫遊記], vol. 93, Tatsukawa bunko (Osaka: Tatsukawa Bunmeidô, 1916), 1.}

Sanada Awa no Kami’s most talented son Sanada Nobuyuki – [who sided with the Tokugawa] had traded his life for the sake of his father and brother [Yukimura]. Ieyasu too [in admiration] sensed [the depth of this act of] filial piety. Yet, Ieyasu took Ueda Castle for all its 50,000 koku. [That said], Yukimura remained happy.

The princely brothers, the Ten Braves, accompanied Yukimura, now parted from his clan. Calm and collected they headed for Kyushu.

Yukimura had rapidly gained brilliance leaving the Tokugawa dizzy. [For him,] time was measured by the farming not yet done. Across the surface of the plains, there were blossoms. Heaven could be seen in the palm of his hand.\footnote{Ibid., 93:1.}

In secret, [Yukimura planned to move camp accompanied by] sixty of his outstanding followers, each man [to be] drawn from the most loyal of his retainers. Amongst some of the Sanada, this pretence of [non]
action caused terror. The lords of the small provinces knew of this situation. Thus, arrangements for the day were carefully attended to.\textsuperscript{570}

The opening passage to the Bunmeidô hit Sarutobi-sasuke follows in a similar vein, but critically Tamada II explicitly connects the ethos of hôganbi'iki of kôdan from the past with figures from the modern age. Again, the use of panegyrics based on nanori is essential:

When a tiger dies, he leaves [only] himself. When a man dies, his name remains. The Kemmu era of the bygone past (1334-36) bequeathed us nobles such as Dai-nankô (Kusunoki) Masashige, [later] Sanada Yukimura, the Forty-Seven Loyal Retainers’ splendid achievements [of 1701], and General Nogi [Maresuke] (1849-1912) of the Meiji era. Even though those times and names differ, their hearts and aims were one.\textsuperscript{571}

Kusunoki is the ‘shining star’ in the pantheon of heroes that feature in the early medieval war tales (Hôgen monogatari, Heike monogatari, and the Taiheiki), thus, his presence is to be expected: as we shall see in subsequent chapters the warrior features in state dôtoku (ethics)\textsuperscript{572} administered by the Monbushô (Ministry of Education). References to the ‘Akô Incident’ are also in keeping with the more popular traditions of kôdan. General Nogi Maresuke (1849-1912)\textsuperscript{573} is a more controversial figure, however. Nogi (and his wife Shizuko) committed ritual suicide or junshi (‘following one’s lord in death’)\textsuperscript{574} as an act of filial devotion after the death of the Meiji Tennô. It is hard to fathom Tamada II’s motives for the inclusion. It could simply have been that he wished to acknowledge the passing of a personal hero. Perhaps Tamada II felt that Nogi’s action, which epitomised classical notions of self-sacrifice, should serve as an example for the rest of society. We can deduce two

\textsuperscript{570}Ibid., 93:1-2.
\textsuperscript{571}Sekka, Sarutobi-sasuke, 40:1.
\textsuperscript{572}Term: 道徳.
\textsuperscript{573}乃木希典 (1849-1912).
\textsuperscript{574}Term: 殉死.
things from the passage: it is clear that, (1) despite his colourful past, Tamada II was rather a conservative man; (2) and this is more germane to our argument on ‘orality’ in sokkibon, that the kôdanshi relied on his knowledge of historical works to aid him in the creation of the Tatsukawa bunko. This second point brings us back to Scott-Millar’s contention that the series was somehow a forgery, rather than the real thing; but evidently this was not the case.

The moral message seen in the introduction in Sarutobi-sasuke is amplified throughout the sokkibon via succeeding layers of historical exposition. This technique is arguably common to all forms of literary narrative. However, the use of highly regulated sections, which extends to chapter formation, is not typically associated with the modern novel, but with the spoken idiom of the epic poem. Common structural features in the Bunmeidô:

- Aphorism or a précis reminds the orator/reader/listener(s) of the plot.
- Main action.
- Suspenseful moment – induces orator/reader/listener(s) to continue.

The near universality of form used throughout the Tatsukawa bunko is a strong indicator of its origins. (It is also partly a transcultural inheritance from Chinese argot fiction.) However, there is subtlety at work. Variance is expressed in the choice of each moral aphorism dictating the tone of each segment. A good number of the opening statements provide a simple link to what has gone before, for example: ‘And so the enemy from the night before today became an ally’. 575 Some openers are eloquent in their allusions to Chinese classicism: ‘The moon is in danger from the clouds. The flowers fear the wind’. 576 Other axioms are blunt in their appeals to local common sense: ‘There

576 Ibid., 40:64.
is no medicine for idiocy’. 577 The vast majority of opening lines, however, are morally didactic. Here the original purpose of kôdan as a religious teaching aid is most evident: ‘Against the strength of evil things, good remains strong’. 578 The emphasis on individual agency in the fight against evil is stressed in the following statement: ‘In a time of many evils, the man who is fixed upon it decides the wining of Heaven’. 579 Moral didacticism is also evident in the following admonition: ‘When evil is strong, good once more strengthens [to match it]’. 580

The ability of traditional kôdan to promote contemporary social politics is also apparent throughout the text: ‘Although mountains are tall, they are not noble. Yet, the trees are also accomplished in nobility. It is the same with people: you may be a great hero, but it is nothing without wisdom’. 581 Likewise, formal learning as means of social progression is also regularly endorsed: ‘Without education, a person knows nothing. Unless you polish a gem, it will not shine’. 582 These declarations may simply be a reflection of the contemporary ambitions of the Meiji Government, which had demanded its citizens attend schooling and embrace western forms of learning; however, as the following example illustrates, the general ethos endorsed by the Tatsukawa bunko is martial. It reads: ‘Women wear cosmetics for those they love. For those they love, heroes throw away their lives’. 583 As Erin Smith might well observe, this is a decidedly ‘hyper-masculine’ world.

577 Ibid., 40:47.
578 Ibid., 40:136.
579 Ibid., 40:87.
580 Ibid., 40:136.
581 Ibid., 40:99.
582 Ibid., 40:19.
583 Ibid., 40:31.
The willingness to sacrifice one’s life for a cause is a central theme throughout the *Tatsukawa bunko*, as the final aphorism states: ‘When two sides fight, one continues, one falls’. A notable figure in the cannon of *sakuhingun*, Yukimura’s end encapsulates the essence of *hōganbi’iki*. Pathos in the series is generated through various actions of the Braves (Sasuke and his crew) acting as proxies for their master. For the most part, their exchanges are extremely funny. Word play, puns, riddles, and profanity are further proof of time spent in the *yose* listening to the comic banter of *rakugo* and comedic double acts known as *manzai* (‘overflowing with talent’). These exchanges, common in oral tradition, are lengthy, so for practical reasons they are not included here. However, they are in the appendices (app. A).

As the Braves continue on their mission, they encounter challenges from a litany of *kyōkaku*: generals, fallen knights, and swordsmen from the pages of Japanese history. It is another subtle use of the panegyric *nanori* system. Maeda ‘Ichimatsu’ Gen’i (1539-1602), Gamō Katahide (1534-1584), Katō ‘Toranosuke’ Kiyomasa (1561-1611), and Fukushima Ichimatsu (1561-1624), Shibata Katsu’ie (1522-1583) each make an appearance, as does Nakagawa Kiyohide (1542-1583). Sakakibara (Kohei’ita) Yasumasa (1548-1606), a brilliant warrior

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584 Ibid., 40:224.
585 Term: 漫才.
587 Term: 侠客.
588 前田玄以 (1539-1602).
589 蔵生賢秀 (1534-1584).
590 加藤清正 (1561-1611).
591 福島正則 (1561-1624).
592 徳田勝家 (1522-1583).
594 榊原康政 (1548-1606).
in the service of Tokugawa Ieyasu, is also involved in the action.\textsuperscript{595} Yasumasa is described as one of the Four Devas (Buddhist guardians of great ability and size associated with the four cardinal directions of the compass). The term is also used to describe Tokugawa Ieyasu’s most effective generals: Li Naomasa (1561-1602),\textsuperscript{596} Honda Tadakatsu (1548-1610),\textsuperscript{597} and Sakai Tadatsugu (1527-1596)\textsuperscript{598} who accompany him. The Tokugawa retainer Ōkubo Hikozaemon (1560-1639)\textsuperscript{599} and the famous general Ban Dan’emon (1569-1615)\textsuperscript{600} also feature.\textsuperscript{601} Towards the end of the novel Prince Hide’ie (1573-1655)\textsuperscript{602} and Môri Terumoto (1553-1625) provide comic relief.\textsuperscript{603}

As the narration in \textit{Sarutobi-sasuke} states: ‘One cannot avoid the path of a virtuous gentleman’.\textsuperscript{604} Belligerent in the name of his lord and master Yukimura, Sasuke conquers them all. However, the Sanada’s success is fleeting; they are doomed from the very beginning of the tale to fail gloriously. The turning point in the novel comes with the death of the Sanada overlord Toyotomi Hideyoshi. Tamada II relishes the opportunity to tell the story in all its historical glory.

Many of the \textit{kyôkaku} serve only to further the plot. Other warriors, such as those listed below, are mentioned in relation to important events that take place outside of the action. This helps the audience

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{595} Sekka, \textit{Sarutobi-sasuke}, 40:118.
\item \textsuperscript{596} 井伊直政 (1561-1602).
\item \textsuperscript{597} 本多忠勝 (1548-1610).
\item \textsuperscript{598} 酒井忠次 (1527-1596).
\item \textsuperscript{599} 大久保彦左衛門 (1560-1639).
\item \textsuperscript{600} 塙団右衛門 (1569-1615).
\item \textsuperscript{601} Sekka, \textit{Sarutobi-sasuke}, 40:151-52.
\item \textsuperscript{602} 宇喜多秀家 (1573-1655).
\item \textsuperscript{603} 毛利輝元 (1553-1625).
\item \textsuperscript{604} Sekka, \textit{Sarutobi-sasuke}, 40:92.
\end{itemize}
locate the narrative in history. On these occasions, the kôdanshi exploits every single poetic device available to him. Auspicious dates, names, and religious practice all function as they would in a classical performance of kôdan. The following quote from Sarutobi-sasuke is long but worth reading in its entirety:

> Time flies like an arrow, and it cannot be defended [against]. Three years passed like a dream: during this time, the House of Takeda was extinguished. The Sanada remained the last [free] lords, Ueda Castle was solemn, the state of world affairs covert.

Oda Nobunaga’s chief marshal of the overseas campaigns Tokugawa Ieyasu based in the nearby region of Kinki [near Osaka] was somewhat afraid of Awa-no-kami Masa-Yukimura because he had the strength to defend his territory without the need for allies.

After the assassination of the Supreme Minister Oda Nobunaga (b.1534) – in 1582, during the sixth month of the Taishû (The Years of Heavenly Righteousness, 1573-92) – his servant Toyotomi Hideyoshi took revenge at the Battle of Yamazaki in the central country. Hashiba-chikuzen-no-kami [Toyotomi] Hideyoshi killed Akechi-Mitsuhide (1528-1582) for forcing Oda Nobunaga to commit suicide at [the Nichiren Buddhist] temple of Honnôji.

The influence of Toyotomi Hideyoshi was growing. On the fifth day of October, incense was burnt at Daitoku-ji in a Buddhist memorial service for Nobunaga. Hideyoshi had summoned many lords to the ceremony. Awa-no-kami Masa-Yukimura (1547-1611) too attended the service. Hideyoshi was generous. The junior lord, and his son Yukimura – who was not yet well known – noted this.

*Sarutobi-sasuke* ends with a caution on the ephemerality of life. Again, panegyrics signal the tragedy that is to come:

> The Chronicles of Naniwa (Osaka) are well known, and so this period shall be humbly omitted from [our] tale. After [the Summer Campaign], the faces of [our] heroes would abide with Prince Toyotomi

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605 Ibid., 40:153.
606 Ibid., 40:102.
607 Ibid.
[Hideyori]. Under his banner they would again endeavour, but at the last would come to their end.\textsuperscript{108}

Descriptions of graphic violence and humorous carousing that dominate the pocket novel are left aside, allowing the audience to contemplate the sadness of the Sanada clan’s passing. Toyotomi Hideyori is mentioned as a signifier of local allegiances to an anti-Tokugawa sentiment. Naniwa, the original name for Osaka, proudly locates the western city as the stronghold of this ideology.

\textbf{Conclusion}

Oral traditions in Japan were foundational in the construction of chirographical forms, but they were never fixed in either mode: \textit{kôdan} and its descendants, \textit{kaki-kôdan} and \textit{sokkibon}, are testament to this process. This was especially true for Buddhists, whose interest in the arts as a skilful means of promulgating the faith helped to create new literary forms that relied on methodologies from oral tradition. However, in doing so, Buddhist doctrine in Japan underwent an act of ‘refinement’ to suit the needs of its military elite.

Tamada II, creator of the Tatsukawa bunko, was part of this living tradition. The \textit{kôdanshi} drew on the established practices of \textit{wagei} for his contemporary work, the manner of which encapsulated perfectly all that was good about \textit{kôdan}, that is, it was culturally, linguistically, scholastically, and financially accessible to all. He achieved this, not by copying what had gone before, but by drawing on his own experience as a performer in the \textit{yose}. In essence, his stories used all the ‘standardized oral forms’ found in classical \textit{kôdan}.

\textsuperscript{108}Ibid., 40:231.
As we shall see in the following chapter, the Tatsukawa bunko owed as much to Chinese classical literature as it did to Japanese oral traditions. The evolution of gunkimono provided an indigenous platform for later works of popular historical fiction in the vernacular, namely yomihon, which emphasised the syncretic formula of Neo-Confucian, Taoist, and Buddhist ethics. This evolution in the formulae of kôdan would have a profound effect on the creation and reception of Sarutobi ‘monkey-jump’ Sasuke, one of the most iconic figures in the sokkibon series.
CHAPTER 4
CHAPTER 4

‘HYPER-MASCULINITY’ IN SARUTOBI-SASUKE

The Effects of Transcultural Literature on Kôdan & Homosocial Relations Amongst the Braves

Thus, the monkey and the special status people have always been assigned the role of keeping the Japanese people pure; they did so as mediators by bringing in the pure and creative power of the deities, and they did so as scapegoats by shouldering the impurity of the dominant Japanese. Mediators and scapegoats therefore perform a similar function except in reverse.609

— Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney

“Disciples,” said Tripitaka, “They have something called the ginseng fruit in this temple, which looks like a newborn infant. Which one of you stole and ate it?” “Honestly,” said Pa-chieh [the Idiot pig demon], “I don’t know anything about it, and I haven’t seen it.” “It’s the one who is laughing! It’s the one who is laughing!” said Clear Breeze [one of the monk’s from the temple]. “I was born with a laughing face!” snapped the Pilgrim.610

— The Journey to the West

INTRODUCTION

In the last chapter we saw how the epic poetry of kôdan contributed to Japan’s ‘vocal literature’. We also examined some of the writing habits of Tamada II. This chapter will demonstrate how the process of adoption and indigenisation of Chinese fiction helped form the ethical foundations for Sarutobi ‘monkey-jump’ Sasuke, who, as an ‘original’ creation, reflected the unspoken views not only of his creator(s), but the regional and national sensibilities of Bunmeidô’s audience during the politically turbulent first few decades of the twentieth century.

From the very beginning of his career in publishing, Tamada II produced a number of epic narratives based on the Sanada legend. The commercial viability of any story attached to the Toyotomi general was obvious to everyone in Osaka working with kōdan. Before joining Bunmeidō, the kōdanshi had published several volumes on the Toyotomi general Sanada Yukimura; so had many of his colleagues. Nonetheless, there was something different about the Sanada legend as depicted in the fortieth edition of the Tatsukawa bunko (published 20 Jan, 1914). The title Sanada yūshir san'yūshi ninjutsu meijin sarutobi sasuke (Monkey-jump Sasuke: Three Renowned Ninja Heroes of Sanada Yukimura), hereafter Sarutobi-sasuke, was revealing. Working together, Tamada II and the Yamadas had made Yukimura’s recalcitrant servant Sasuke a leading player. The decision was a bold one. The Sekka Sanjin Collective (Tamada II, Yamada Otetsu, Yamada Tadao, and Ikeda Ranko) had tapped into something powerful that went beyond the melancholic didacticism of kōdan. I will argue that Sasuke represented a new form of heroism that was more inclusive of the average citizen than the élite heroes normally associated with the classical genre of kōdan.

In the opening foreword to an abridged version of the tales of Sarutobi-Sasuke (dated 12 July, 1999) by Wada Kiyomi, President Ayano of the Lions Club International argued that the general population had forgotten what kind of character Sasuke was. To address the issue, the local chapter in Imabari had brought together a number of scholars and fans of the Tatsukawa bunko in an attempt to preserve and pass on the narratives to modern audiences.

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611 Sekka, Sarutobi-sasuke.
President Ayano was at pains to acknowledge the event’s official sponsors: the Educational Office at Imabari and Ehime Prefectural Board of Education Offices, the Ehime Educational Committee Board Members, and the Ochigun Board of Education. Last on the list was the Omogomura Board of Education.

President Ayano then gave a succinct history of Sasuke, describing him as a young ninja from the Iga faction, who had magical control over fire, could vanish at will, and who was part of a band of heroes in the service of the regional daimyō [lord] Sanada Yukimura (1567-1615). He then turned his attention to the moral character of the Bunmeidō creation. The president stated that he admired Sasuke for his courage, fortitude, and dedication to social justice:

Knowing he would lose, Sasuke fought against the likes of the future shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu in tales of battle. Sasuke and the Brave Ten would go on to travel all the districts of the land bringing the villains of this world to justice.\footnote{\textit{Ayano in Wada, ‘Yamada otestu to sanutobi sasuke’}, sec. Yōron.}

have each stated that they enjoyed reading about Sasuke’s adventures in the *Tatsukawa bunko* when they were young.\footnote{Adachi, *Tatsukawa bunko no eiyūtachi*, 12–13; Miyoshi, ‘Tatsukawa bunko no hitotachi (1)’, sec. 1.}

As a protagonist, Sasuke reduced the national dimensions of *kōdan*, as it was normally perceived, to something more intimate. He was dynamic, able to criticise leading political figures of the Sengoku era, primarily Tokugawa Ieyasu, in a manner that would have been considered outrageous before the Meiji Restoration. In doing so, Sasuke came to represent a contemporary notion of vassalage, where individuals were recognised for their abilities, not their birth. It was a psychological setting in which readers could envisage themselves.

Where had this new dynamism come from? Nakano Yoshio (1903–1985),\footnote{中野好夫 (1903–1985).} a leading academic in American Literature at the University of Tokyo and Winner of the Osaragi Jirō Prize (1974), gives us a clue:

> If you mentioned the world of the *Hakkenden*, which were romantic Chinese classics adapted into colloquial Japanese during the Edo era, you would be forced to comment on the *Tatsukawa bunko* too.\footnote{Nakano Yoshio in Adachi, *Tatsukawa bunko no eiyūtachi*, 13.}

Indigenised though it was, I believe this transcontinental influence from China is deeply connected with the ethical outlook of Yukimura’s most trusted servant.

During the 1770s, *yomihon* (reading books)\footnote{First official use of the term ‘yomihon’ as a literary category appears in 1891 in a work by Sekine Masano (1860-1923) titled *Shōsetsu shiko* (*The History of the Novel*). Yokoyama, *Yomihon no sekai*, 3.} based on Chinese historical fiction and tales of the supernatural, emerged in the Kamigata region of Osaka and Kyoto. The popular literary genre was a
development of vernacular fiction imported via Nagasaki from China.\(^{624}\) For the next decade *yomihon* flourished in the southwest of Japan, but it remained remarkably faithful to its Sino origins. Later professional writers in Edo took over the production of *yomihon*. The Bunka (1804-1818) and Bunsei eras (1818-1830) saw writers such as Santō Kyôden (1761-1816)\(^{625}\) and Kyokutei Bakin (1767-1848)\(^{626}\) (hereafter, Santô and Bakin respectively) establish the custom of writing popular fiction in the Japanese vernacular.\(^{627}\)

The adoption of *yomihon* reinforces the often-ignored importance of Japan’s transcultural exchange with the continent. Peter Kornicki argues that the significance of China’s influence on Japan was obscured during the nineteenth century, when the Fukko and Mitô schools of the Edo period deliberately gave primacy to local Japanese traditions obscuring the significance of Buddhist, Confucian, and Taoist materials, thereby leaving a false impression of Japan’s literary genealogy.\(^{628}\)

Kornicki’s criticism of Japanese scholars is, perhaps, unduly severe, but his frustration with the marginalisation of transcultural sources is understandable. The military class had for many years felt an empathy with the more secular qualities of the philosophical writings on government contained in the Confucian writings collectively known as the ‘Four Books’ — the *Analects*, *Mencius*, the *Great Learning*, and the


\(^{625}\) 山東京伝 (1761-1816).

\(^{626}\) 曲亭馬琴 (1767-1848).


\(^{628}\) Ultimately, Kornicki believed that the main causative factor affecting scholarship was the historical process of glossing texts into Japanese, which, over time, led to the erroneous belief that the that the influence of China was negligible, or worse, that the texts were only ever in Japanese. Kornicki, *The Book in Japan*, 2; For Kornicki’s earlier argument see Peter F. Kornicki, ‘The Survival of Tokugawa Fiction in The Meiji Period’, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 41, no. 2 (December 1981): 29-30.
Doctrine of the Mean. This was especially true after the fall of the Heike clan. Moreover, Chinese military sagas remained popular in Japan well into the twentieth century. As we shall see, this tradition thrived in places like Edo and Nagasaki, but it was especially strong in the Kamigata region where Tamada II was working.

The literary critic and author Ozaki Hotsuki argued that jidaiemono (period drama) had the closest of cultural ties with Japanese audiences because historical narrative drew on indigenous orally informed tropes from the oral arts (wagei): jôruri, kôdan, rakugo, and the like, whereas, other more ‘modern’ works, such as katei shôsetsu (domestic novels), jidô shôsetsu (children’s novels), and tantei shôsetsu (detective novels) were ‘foreign’ derivatives. Ozaki’s deference to oral tradition lends further credence to what ought to be a broader discussion on the role of the spoken word in chirographical (handwritten) culture, and vice versa.

As a cultural acquisition, yomihon bequeathed much to the genre of historical romance in Japan. This obviously affects any reading of the Tatsukawa bunko. Therefore, in support of Kornicki, this chapter will attempt to redress the balance by highlighting the interplay of Chinese

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629 Title: 論語, 孟子, 大學, and the 中庸.
630 Kornicki, The Book in Japan, 295; The introduction of contemporary Korean renditions of neo-Confucian doctrinal transcripts further promoted the Chinese ideology with Japan’s influential military families. Fujiwara Seika (藤原惺窩, 1561-1619) who initially examined the imported texts on behalf of Toyotomi Hideyoshi (c.1536-1598) renounced Buddhism and took up the new ‘faith’ as he termed it, as did rest of Fujiwara clan. Richard Bowring contends that Fujiwara’s renunciation of Buddhism was not total. In essence, Seika produced a synthesised reading of Confucianism from a number of commentaries on the classics – mainly work by the Chinese scholars Zhu Xi (朱熹, 1130-1200) and Wang Yangming (王陽明, 1472-1528) – that better reflected Bakufu sensibilities of moral discipline (修身, Ch. shûshin) Moreover, Seika’s readings were infused with his own sense of Zen Buddhism, which was already theologically predisposed towards Chinese tastes than it was Indian. Richard Bowring, ‘Fujiwara Seikai and the Great Learning’, Monumenta Nipponica 61, no. 4 (Winter 2006): 437-57.
631 See Chapter 5: Fictional Reflections of Industrial Urbanism, 211-236.
632 Term: 時代物.
and Japanese vernaculars, its affects on intellectual life in Japan, and the production of popular fiction in the provinces.

**COLLAPSING THE DIVISIONS BETWEEN YOMIHON & KÔDAN**

The term *fûryû yomihon* (‘tasteful books for reading’) first appeared in the book lists of the Hiyoshiya bookstore in Edo during the Shôtoku Era (1711-16) under the subset of *e-iri-nebon* (illustrated *kabuki* scripts). Amongst the new titles were the collected works by Ôta Nanpô (1749-1823), a low-ranking Tokugawa bureaucrat with an alleged personal connection to the celebrated *ukiyo-e* painter Kitagawa Utamarô (c.1753-1806). Ôta specialised in *kyôka* (comic verse created using thirty-one syllables). The men may have met through their associations with private poetry clubs that catered to the local literati. These small but influential institutions helped further artistic collaboration by ignoring Edo social conventions, which commonly prohibited fraternisation between the classes. Ôta’s use of the pseudonym ‘Shaku Sanjin’ (‘Buddha Hermit’) illustrates the importance of discretion in these relations.

*Yomihon* evolved in stages: first, were the original Chinese manuscripts brought back from the Toyotomi military campaigns on the Korean peninsula during the Bunroku (1592-95) and Keichô (1596-98) campaigns. In essence, these were romantic stories produced in

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634 Term: 風流読本.
635 Term: 絵入り根本.
636 大田南畝 (1749-1823).
637 喜多川歌麿 (c.1753-1806).
638 Term: 狂歌.
639 釈⼭⼈・The title ‘Sekka Sanjin’ (‘Snowflake Hermit’) used by Tamada II and the Yamadas reveals a similar sensitivity regarding the social customs of *yomihon* authors.
640 Yokoyama, *Yomihon no sekai*, 1.
641 Zolbrod, *Yomihon*, 488.
colloquial Chinese during the T’ang Dynasty (618-907). Baihua fiction, 642 adaptations of Chinese argot texts such as the Suikoden (Heroes of the Marsh), Sankokushi (Romance of the Three Kingdoms), and Saiyûki (Journey to the West) 643 were familiar to Japanese audiences by the late 1600s. However, they had not yet been fully adapted into the Japanese vernacular. 644

Yokoyama Kuniharu 645 states that ‘nascent yomihon’ first began to appear during the Kansei era (1781-89). 646 Writers from Osaka played a crucial role in this development. The port city was a key point of contact with the continent. Inspired by Chinese works of fiction, Japanese writers began to allow the language of folklore to permeate their works. In doing so, they indigenised some of the narrative content found in the original Chinese manuscripts used for their indigenous adaptations.

Tsuga Teishô (1718-1794) 647 began this trend in 1749 with his first novel Kokon kidan hanabusa sôshi (Strange Tales Old and New: A Wreath of Heroes). 648 Kawachiya Hachibe (b.1718), a Confucian scholar from Osaka, acted as publisher. Tsuga also worked as a professional writer, doctor, and engraver; practices he would return to in later life. Tsuga’s ability to school other writers was as significant as his literary

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642 Term: 白話.
643 Title: 水滸傳, 三國演義, and 西遊記.
644 The original titles in simplified Chinese are Shuihu zhuan, Sanguozhi pinghua, and Hsi yu chi respectively.
645 横山邦治.
646 Yokoyama, Yomihon no sekai, 3.
647 都賀庭鐘 (1718-1794).
648 Title: 英草紙古今奇談.
contributions to Japanese fiction. Having achieved some literary success in his hometown, Tsuga left Osaka for the capital Kyoto.

During his sojourn in the imperial heartland Tsuga became tutor to the noted waka poet and novelist Ueda Akinari (1734-1809), hereafter Akinari. A fellow native of Osaka, Akinari was most famous for his tales of the supernatural; the best of which is Ugetsu monogatari (Tales of Moonlight and Rain, 1776). Akinari is considered by many to be one of the greatest fictional writers Japan has ever produced. His work evoked the beauty of colloquial Chinese literature, but in a manner that was distinctly Japanese.

The creative momentum of these authors spurred the public’s interest in hakuwa shôsetsu (novels produced in colloquial Japanese), especially kaidan (ghost stories). The greater portion of writers who followed this new development in yomihon often fell into mannerisms that could tax even the most ardent fans of the genre. This may explain, why having established the reputation of writers from Osaka in the capital, Tsuga returned home to the relative anonymity of his hometown to work as a doctor.

During the nineteenth century, yomihon intersected with other contemporary local traditions, in particular kôdan. Having somewhat fallen into disrepute and relegated to field of adauchi (revenge stories), kôdan in the form of gishiden (samurai biographies) was on the ascendancy. From the mid 1750s onwards, publishing houses, such as Izumiya located in Nihonbashi (Edo), began publishing authentic

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650 上田秋成 (1734-1809).
651 Term: 白話小説.
652 Term: 怪談.
653 Yokoyama, Yomihon no sekai, 5 & 8.
654 Term: 義士伝.
accounts of historical battles, meaning kôdan. The anonymous version of Sanada sandaiki (1898) discussed in the previous chapter perfectly encapsulates this development.

Societal factors eventually played a greater hand in fusing the local oral tradition of kôdan with foreign chirographical forms. During the Bunsei era (1818-1830) a further intermingling of religious texts purporting to be from the Chinese province of Wujiang and ninjôbon (‘books on human emotion’) helped soften the austere content of kôdan by returning it to its simpler origins in kôshaku (exegesis). Significantly, these new works elevated the long-forgotten role of commoners in the tradition.

A new breed of anti-hero appeared in the world of popular Japanese literature, one that could satisfy the public’s demand for classical historiography and masculine virtue. Yakuza (gangsters), bakuchi-uchi (gamblers), and rônin (often unemployed samurai) began to etch their way into printed narratives. Different to the vassals of yore, these individuals living on the fringes of polite Edo society challenged the classical interpretation of heroism espoused in kôdan, for they were not great or noble in any traditional sense. Many worked as contractors for the Tokugawa Bakufu. Some were porters and palanquin bearers working between way stations along the Gokaidô (‘Five Highways’) that radiated outwards from Edo. Often they were under the direct

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655 Yokoyama, Yomihon no sekai, 5.
656 Term: 人情本.
657 Term: ヤクザ. The word comes from a Japanese card game similar to Baccarat called Oicho-kabu (8-9), usually played with a deck of hanaudâ (花札, ‘flower cards’). It is based on a reading of the losing hand, which is eight (ya), plus nine (ku), plus three (za).
658 Term: 博打打ち.
659 Term: 五街道.
employ of the *daikan* (prefecture magistrates)*661* serving as constables or *hatamoto yakko* (banner men).*662* Most commonly, however, they were on the run from the authorities.*663*

The introduction of Tokugawa laws in 1817 (Bunsei 10) prohibiting gambling amongst the lower orders was not popular. Many *bakuchi-uchi* fled the eight boroughs around the Shogunal capital of Edo (Sagami, Musashi, Awa, Kagusa, Shimōsa, Hitachi, Kōzuke, and Shimotsuke) and sought refuge in quieter climes. Once entrenched in regional communities, it was common for such men to become intimate with the locals. Recognising the danger to rural communities, the Tokugawa Bakufu of the Enkyō era (1744-48) required all commoners to register with village or town officials if travelling to a new location. On occasion men using aliases had acted as a force for good, helping to pay off unfair taxes levelled at villagers, and by keeping order. This unsettled the shogunate, precipitating the *Tenpō kaikaku* (*Tenpō Reforms, 1842-47).*664*

*Sewamono* (stories about commoners)*665* found in popular *kabuki* and newer forms of *kôdan*, helped glamorise these individuals, regardless of their legitimacy. As protagonists, they exuded a personal confidence that contrasted with the dour heroes of the medieval epic poems of the Muromachi era (c.1333-1573). More importantly, these figures were accessible, people knew them, and could aspire to be like them, faults and all.

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*661* Term: 代官.
*662* Term: 旗本奴.
*663* Tamura, *Yakuza no seikatsu*, 4:52.
*664* Term: 天保の改革. Ibid., 4:54-55.
*665* Term: 世話物.
The breaking down of austerity in literature was most evident in *ninjōbon*, which developed as a melodramatic sub-genre of *sharebon* (‘books of wit and fashion’) aimed at educated female readers. Titles such as *Akegarasu nochi no masayume* (After the Morning Crow, a True Dream) by Ryūtei Rijō (1777-1841) and *Seidan mine no hatsuhana* (The First Blossoms of Seidan Peak) by Jippensha Ikku (1765-1831) exist as early examples of the genre. The fashion for *ninjōbon* reached its zenith in the 1830s, due in large part to the skilful writings of Tamenaga Shunsui (1790-1844), author of *Shunshoku umegoyomi* (Colours of Spring, The Plum Calendar, 1832-1833). However, the Tokugawa Bakufu deemed patronage of the commercial arts, a threat to civic morality.

Paradoxically, popular vernacular fiction from Chinese proved most popular with the intelligentsia; the developments of which were to have a profound affect on ethics and literature in Japan. Annotated texts such as *Ch’ien teng hsin hua chü-chieh* (New Night-time Tales) brought back from the continent for the purposes of classical education triggered an interest amongst intellectuals in their own forms of learning. Leon Zolbrod states:

> Scholars in the seventeenth century paid increasing notice to these texts, and during the Kyōhō era (1716-36) there arose several Chinese study groups [such as the Setchû Gakuha (Eclectic School)] that stressed the colloquial language rather than literary texts…These groups infused new life into Chinese studies and participated in a

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666 滝亭鯉丈 (1777-1841).
667 ⼗返舎⼀九 (1765-1831).
669 為永春水 (1790-1844).
670 Title: *色梅兎譽美*.
671 Title: *剪燈新話*. 

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movement that led not only to the expansions of foreign learning but also to revived interests in national history, language, and literature.\textsuperscript{672}

The Setchû School resulted from local arguments amongst Japanese literati favourable to the Neo-Confucian scholars of the Sung and Ming schools. Leading intellectual figures such as Inoue Kinga (1732-1784)\textsuperscript{673} and Yamamoto Hokuzan (1752-1812)\textsuperscript{674} helped formulate nativist studies, later expressed as ‘ kokugaku ’ (‘ national learning ’), of which Japan’s literary giant Bakin was a student. Explorations of Neo-Confucian philosophy by the Setchû School laid the foundations for nationalists such as Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801)\textsuperscript{675} of the Fukko School, who rejected the non-Japanese aspects of Neo-Confucian philosophy in favour of a Shintô-inspired view of the world.\textsuperscript{676} These ideas would later become a source of inspiration to leaders within the Monbushô (Ministry of Education) who used imperial mythology for the purposes of creating a state ethos.

Somewhat distant from the obvious social controls of Edo, writers from the regions proved most successful in the layering of continental and local vernaculars. Okajima Kanzan (1674-1728),\textsuperscript{677} one of the early influential scholars interested in the study of argot fiction from the continent, began his career as an interpreter for the Tokugawa Bakufu in Nagasaki. He later moved to Edo in search of a suitable environment in which to continue his academic interest in Chinese fiction, but settled in Kyoto.\textsuperscript{678} From 1757 to 1790, Okajima produced a seminal

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{672} Zolbrod, ‘Yomihon’, 488-90. 
\textsuperscript{673} 井上金峨 (1732-1784). 
\textsuperscript{674} 山本北山 (1752-1812). 
\textsuperscript{675} 本居宣長 (1730-1801). 
\textsuperscript{676} Zolbrod, ‘Yomihon’, 489-90. 
\textsuperscript{677} 岡島冠⼭ (1674-1728). 
translation of the *Suikoden*. The story, attributed to Shi Nai’an (c 1296-1372), concerns the adventures of the 108 Heroes of Liangshan Marsh. Like many of the characters found in the *Tatsukawa bunko*, the 108 heroes are horrifically violent, but loyal to their group, kind to the poor, and unswerving in their support for the failing Northern Song State (960-1127). Okajima’s version of the military saga stood as canon for decades, that is, until Bakin reinterpreted the narrative.

As Nakano stated, it is impossible to speak of the *Tatsukawa bunko* in relation to transcultural literature without some knowledge of the Edo era’s most popular author. Bakin was a former samurai from Edo, who married into wealthy merchant society after a series of family misfortunes left him destitute — a situation not unlike that of the Yamadas. The author reputedly took the pen name ‘Kyokutei’ after the Edo bookseller Tsutataya Jūsaburō (1750-1797) invited him create a new piece of fiction based on successful Chinese works. Bakin took up the offer whilst working as ghost writer for the great Santo Kyôden (1761-1816), but his own half-finished novel *Takao senjimon* (*The Ciphers of Takao*) published in 1795 had little success: it sold only 300 copies in Edo. Even worse, half of the 150 copies that went to Osaka were returned to Tsutaya leaving the bookseller out of pocket. Dejected, the budding writer went on a pilgrimage to the Kamigata to learn the secret of the region’s success in producing commercially successful literature. No one knows what happened to Bakin during his

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679 施耐庵 (c 1296-1372).


682 萩屋重三郎 (1750-1797).

683 岩瀬醒 (1761-1816).
visit to the region, but his next novel *Geppyô kien* (*Love is Made in Heaven, 1803*) produced in Osaka was an enormous success, selling 1,200 sets.\(^{684}\)

After Bakin returned to Tokyo, the author composed his most enduring work, *Nansô satomi hakkenden* (*The Chronicles of Nansô Satomi and the Eight Dog Warriors*).\(^{685}\) Serialised from 1814 to the time of his death in 1848, the series came to epitomise the best of high romance fiction. The *Hakkenden*, as it is more commonly known, is a tale of factional revenge featuring eight supernatural brothers born from the spiritual union of an outcast princess and a wild dog. The *kenshi* (dog warriors)\(^{686}\) are destined to take revenge on their enemies and restore the fortunes of the Sawami clan. Critics consider Bakin’s masterpiece to be a precursor in style to Bunmeidô’s *Sarutobi-sasuke*.

Leon Zolbrod observes:

> Much of his nearly fifty remaining years as a writer he devoted to the *yomihon*, which were steeped in fantasy and the supernatural, in some ways like the gothic novels in England. Indeed, Bakin in Japan, like Sir Walter Scott in Great Britain, helped to establish the popularity of the historical novel. Although Bakin’s *yomihon* and Sir Walter Scott’s novels were historical romances, Bakin may have been more conscious than Scott of his role as a teacher of national history and of his technique as one designed to lull the reader into unconscious acceptance of the moral values he extolled.\(^{688}\)

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\(^{684}\) Zolbrod, ‘Yomihon’, 490.


\(^{686}\) Term: 犬士.

\(^{687}\) Emiko Okayama, ‘Introducing Bakin: Japanese Literary Giant’ (Harold White Fellowship Presentation, National Library of Australia, 13 August 2014), n. During her presentation given to the National Library of Australia, Bakin scholar Okayama Emiko responded in the affirmative to my suggestion that the Tatuskawa bunko was just one of many later literary works that owed a significant proportion of its inheritance to the *Hakkenden*, https://www.nla.gov.au/event/7104.

Like the poet Bashô before him, Bakin openly asserted that morality and skilful composition were the only essentials needed for good writing. Bakin stated that without ‘penetrating feeling and successful plot, a novel is hardly worth reading’. Morality, he argued, required edification, whereas skilful composition was dependent on understanding human emotions.

In stripping away the more grandiose structures of Chinese fiction, Bakin gave his indigenised characters more dimensions, making the archetype of the samurai more intimate and appealing for local readers. Following in the footsteps of established novelists like Takebe Ayatari (1719-1774), Akinari, and Santô, Bakin preserved the formal structures inherent in yomihon, but did not slavishly adhere to Chinese modes of exposition. Freed from the natural limitations of a foreign tongue, other Japanese authors began to express narratives that reflected local interests saturating their stories with violent heroes that figuratively embodied kanzen chôaku (‘rewarding good, punishing evil’).

The change in the culture of narrative would feed directly into more accessible representations of Japan’s military élite. From the 1880s onwards, as publishers and performers sought to attract larger audiences, E-hon (picture books) catering to audiences with lower literacy levels featuring violent swordsman expanded the book market. E-hon denpô suikoden (The Illustrated Tempô Water Margin) published in 1884 by Kodama Yashichi (dates unknown) is a particularly good

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689 Zolbrod, ‘Yomihon’, 487.
690 建部綾⾜ (1719-1774).
691 Term: 勧善懲悪. The characters are sometimes given their Japanese pronunciation – ‘zen o susumeru’ and ‘aku o korasu’ – sometimes the four characters are abbreviated to two, ‘kanchô’ (勧懲 translated here as ‘encouragement and chastisement’). Walley, ‘Gender and Virtue in Nansô Satomi Hakkenden’, 340.
692 児⽟弥七 (dates unknown).
example of this phenomenon. Kodama’s version of the Chinese novel in particular is colourful and short (only several pages long). It was part of a series of ten, that included works equally associated with *kabuki* and *kôdan*: Miyamoto Musashi (c.1584-1645) (Vol.3), and a biography of the ‘Forty-seven’ loyal retainers titled *Akô gishi* (Vol.8).

These works drew inspiration from popular military biographies, many of which were produced just after the Azuchi-Momoyama period (1573-1615). Titles such as the *Taikôki*, based on the life of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, written by the Confucian scholar Oze Hoan (1564-1640), and an account of the Tokugawa commander Sakai Tadatsugu (1527-1596) listed as *Chûshinden* (Legends of Loyalty). Two versions of *Sanada sandaiki* (Three Generations of the Sanada: A Chronicle), a picture book (1882) and a kaki-*kôdan* (written *kôdan*) version (1898), also appear around this time. The trend blurred the lines between oral and chirographical genres in order to feed the public’s appetite for the historical stories set during the Sengoku era.

A coda must be added here: towards the end of his life Bakin went blind, so he dictated the final sections of the *Hakkenden* to his daughter. It is a poignant reminder that even the most literary men in Japan were comfortable with oration. Therefore, it is no surprise that there was a blending between the rich textual arras of oral tradition and Sinic text, especially in modern literature coming out of Osaka, which was historically a distinctive part of the Kamigata region with direct access to the continent.

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694 Miyamoto Musashi, c.1584-1645
695 Title: 太閤記.
696 小瀬甫庵 (1564-1640).
697 酒井忠次 (1527-1596).
The works of Edo novelists marked a departure from the earlier self-imposed restrictions of form associated with adaptations from Osaka. These latter texts still contained structural traces from previous Chinese works, but the plot and thematic content was comparatively richer from a Japanese point of view. Edo writers substituted references to Chinese locations and history for Japanese ones. Narratives were extensively longer and plots made more convoluted. As we shall see, the violent ethical worldview of this latter expression would yield great dividends for publishers, many of whom were nationalists working in education, and the Japanese government alike. Most importantly, it would eventually affect authors like Tamada II working with popular kôdan.

As indicated in the introduction to this thesis, transcultural elements derived from Chinese argot fiction played an obvious role in the creation of the Bunmeidô figure of Sasuke. In his work Tatsukawa no tanjô (Birth Of The Tatsukawa), Adachi Ken’ichi correctly identified the literary model for Sasuke in the classical Chinese fable Hsi yu chi (Journey to the West).699 The exuberant exploits of the monkey king, known as Sun Wu-k’ung in China and Songokû in Japan, are known throughout Asia.

Sun Wu-k’ung’s journey is one of reformation. The Tathagata Buddha forces the violent and undisciplined ape deity into religious servitude after the demon fails to win a bet. Having offended much of Heaven, Sun Wu-k’ung boasts that he can reach the end of the known universe on his magic cloud. After travelling many thousands of leagues, Sun Wu-k’ung finds what he believes to be five sacred mountains marking

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699 Adachi, ‘Tatsukawa bunko no tanjyô’, 37; See also Sekka, Tatsukawa bunko ke’ sakusen, 1:619-20.
the boundary of the cosmos. Having written his name on the precipitous pillars as proof of his endeavour, Sun Wu-k’ung returns to see the Buddha and boast of his triumph. In fact, he has failed to leave the compass of the Buddha’s hand. The Buddha chastises the unruly Sun Wu-k’ung and locks him under a magic seal at the base of a mountain. Sun Wu-k’ung’s act of penitence is to accompany the T’ang imperial missionary Hsüan-tsang (596-644) and three other errant deities, who have been transmogrified into demonic forms for a number of past sins, to the Indian subcontinent. Their mission is to collect a number of sacred scrolls that will liberate the population from damnation caused by the age of Mappô (Latter Days of the Law).

Adachi briefly explored the notion of Yukimura as a reconfiguration of the monk Hsüan-tsang. As the central locus of power in the Tatsukawa Bunko series, Yukimura is portrayed as messianic. Aware of the greater political game afoot, his powers of perception are unfltering. For his vassals, his word is law. In contrast, the fictionalised Hsüan-tsang is all too human. His mortality makes him vulnerable, hence his need for the celestial bodyguards, who keep him from harm, find him nourishment, and remind him of his purpose. Where Yukimura’s power fails, the frailty of Hsüan-tsang wins out: the monk attains enlightenment; Yukimura’s fate is a much darker one.

Whatever Sasuke’s origins, be they historical or otherwise, his revamped appearance in the Tatsukawa bunko was evidently an attempt on the part of Tamada II and the Sekka Sanjin Collective to engage with a broader working demographic. Yukimura had a strong historical

700 Recalling Jung’s interpretation of the I-Ching, we can take the Mountain of Five Phases as a representation of the self, in this case Sun Wu-k’ung’s ego. Wu, The Journey to the West, 1:178.
701 Hsüan (596-644).
702 Wu, The Journey to the West, 1:171.
relationship with Osaka as a proxy for the Toyotomi clan, but he was largely inaccessible. Listening to the formulaic chants of classical kôdan, it would have been impossible for anyone not acquainted with the ancient protocols of the tradition to imagine what Yukimura was really like, let alone relate to him. But everyone could think of someone they knew who was like Sasuke or one of the Braves. Freed from fact, Sasuke was able to embody the meritocratic ethos of the city in a way that the high-ranking general never could by embodying everyday qualities that could be observed in the average person. In this way, Sasuke and his cohort provided readers of the Bunmeidô series with a psychological bridge to the military class.

In order to demonstrate my meaning, I have translated the following selections from the original 1914 issue of Sanada yukimura san yûshi ninjutsu meijin sarutobi sasuke (Monkey-jump Sasuke: Three Renowned Ninja Heroes of Sanada Yukimura) referred to hereafter as Sarutobi-sasuke. For the very keen, an abridged translation of the entire novel can be found in the appendices (app. D).  

**Homosocial Relations in the Cultivation of Character**

Sanada Yukimura has at his command a number of powerful ninja (mercenaries), who are ‘unmatched under heaven’. These men are of ‘exceptional courage and bravery with good moral character’. The Braves aid Sasuke in his mission to preserve order.

Each Brave represents a differing male archetype, constructed from the cardinal values found in kôdan and yomihon: hôganbî’iki (‘sympathy for a fêted hero’) and chûshin (loyalty). In combination they define an

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703 See Appendix D: Sarutobi-sasuke, 331.
ethos Erin Smith describes as ‘hyper-masculine’. As we shall see, ritual brutalisation underpins meritocracy, reputation negates the need for capital, and loyalty leads to ideological extremism, here defined as kanzen chôaku.

After a lengthy exposition of the contemporary feudal hierarchy, the opening narration to Sarutobi-sasuke directs us towards Sasuke’s lineage. Sasuke’s father Satayûfu, a former samurai, lives on a small and peaceful property at the foot of a mountain pass near Kawanakajima (near present day Nagano). The rural warrior has two children: the eldest is a girl called Sayo, who is ‘kind, charming, and very beautiful’. The other is a boy, Sasuke. This younger child possesses none of the charms attributed to his sibling. Nonetheless, Sasuke does possess some positive qualities; he was ‘born ready for battle’. This martial designation by Tamada II will inform Sasuke’s belligerent outlook on life and shape his identity as a man. However, the narration also states that Sasuke is a ‘rude young man’ in need of further cultivation. As the opening admonition to Episode 2 infers, to make Sasuke useful to society, he must first be educated:

Without education, a person knows nothing. Unless you polish a gem, it will not shine.

Sasuke’s journey into adulthood begins in a manner common to all epics; he meets a teacher, who sends him on a quest. One day, Sasuke is practicing his fencing skills at home. Using a wooden post as a target, the boy complains bitterly to himself. Whilst Sasuke bemoans

705 佐田裕福.
706 サヨ.
707 Sekka, Sarutobi-sasuke, 40:10.
708 Ibid., 40:9.
709 Ibid., 40:19.
his station in life, an old man mysteriously appears in a cloud of
smoke. The elderly man has white hair swept up in a topknot, the
mark of a samurai. The stranger watches Sasuke intently. Sasuke
becomes aware of this other presence:

Sasuke: Old fella, what are you laughing at? Are you some kind of
weirdo?

Old man: (Chuckling) Hmmm. Well, well, well.

Sasuke: What made you laugh? Answer me!

Old man: Ha, ha, ha! So, you’re Sasuke! It matters not how much you
train hitting inanimate objects, they are only good if your aim is to
defend against dead enemies. You’ll not improve like that.710

The old man’s advice strikes Sasuke as sound; accordingly, he softens
his tone. The unknown warrior tests Sasuke by asking him to try to
strike him with the practice sword. Sasuke is unable to do so. After
several more failed challenges, the boy is exhausted. Subsequently, the
old man promises to help Sasuke achieve his goal of becoming a great
swordsman, but warns him that it will take persistence and hard work.
Sasuke attempts to catch him off guard with a quick strike but the
elderly man evaporates into thin air leaving the child alone and
bewildered.711

As Carl Jung (1875-1961) notes, the spirit of the old man in fairy tales is
commonly a projected representation of the hero’s mind, a
manifestation of the subconscious formed as an archetype. He
represents both wisdom and morality. Thus, the figure of the sage
forces the protagonist to undertake a journey he understands as crucial

710 Ibid., 40:12.
711 Ibid., 40:13-14.
to his development, but from which there is no return.\textsuperscript{712} The start of a hero’s quest often involves the climbing of a sacred peak. Taking inspiration from the \textit{I-Ching (The Book of Changes)},\textsuperscript{713} Jung sees the mountain as representing the self.\textsuperscript{714} Sasuke begins his journey in much the same way.

Atop a nearby mountain, Sasuke learns to control his limbs in response to extreme forces, and gains a rudimentary command of magic (enough to manipulate the elements). Sasuke’s indenture is typically long and arduous, during which the young boy’s recalcitrance towards his teacher is tempered. Having been beaten by his disciple in a surprise contest, the old man finally reveals his name (Tozawa Haku’unsai)\textsuperscript{715} and former station as a vassal of the House of Sanada. He gives Sasuke a scroll containing the remainder of his teaching and 	extit{tessen} (war fan)\textsuperscript{716} imbued with magic properties that can return to its owner on command. Thus, in attaining discipline over the self, Sasuke gains the means to effect change in his world. Before departing on a magic cloud, Tozawa fulfils his role in the story by ushering Sasuke onto the path that will inevitably lead him to Yukimura.

From their first meeting, Yukimura admires Sasuke. Through his prodigious intellect the young noble correctly discerns the potential of the rogue for military service:

\begin{quote}
Yukimura: Well, well, well! You’re the son of a local samurai, are you?
You have nerve, a natural ability to learn, and you remember your
\end{quote}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[713] Title: 易.
\item[715] 戸澤白雲齊.
\item[716] Term: 鉄扇.
\end{footnotes}
Sasuke and Yukimura’s shared youth (fifteen and sixteen respectively) creates a natural bond between the two. However, the distinct nature and characters of the lord and his vassal add another dimension. Sasuke is the antithesis of Yukimura, who is calm, good-natured, and an intellectual, whereas, Sasuke is the embodiment of energy and zeal, his natural proclivity for action over words suggestive of a man with the physical capacity to win a war against the Tokugawa. Nonetheless, the seasoned lord must test his protégé before formally admitting him to the clan.

The Sanada heir decides to stop near the mountain pass at Kawanakajima in the Province of Shinano (now north Nagano), which delights Sasuke because it is his homeland. In this regard, Sasuke is a young provincial looking to exchange the confinement of rural life for adventure and betterment elsewhere.

The announcement unsettles the elder Seikai brother Miyoshi, one of Yukimura’s chief vassals. As well as referencing Pa-Chieh, Miyoshi has elements of Lu Da, another monastic hero from the Chinese romance Suikoden (Ch. Shuihu zhuan), woven into his character. Like his counterpart, Miyoshi is a fearsome warrior with a quick temper. Both Lu Da and Miyoshi love to drink, which often results each character getting into a fight. Miyoshi often uses his great strength, rather than

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718 A similar parallel exists between Sun Wu-kung and his master, the monk Hsüan-tsang (596-664), though the pilgrims are all different to one another, karma links them together. Francisca Cho Bantly, ‘Buddhist Allegory in the Journey to the West’, *The Journal of Asian Studies* 48, no. 3 (1989): 518.
719 Upon their first meeting Miyoshi attempts to uproot the tree in which Sasuke perches, an action like that of Lu Da, the ‘tattooed monk’ from the *The Water Margin*. After drinking wine and eating meat, Lu Da pulls down a willow tree in an attempt to dislodge some crows that have disturbed him and his party. The monk is obviously drunk. The parallel with Miyoshi is obvious in the Bunmeidō series. Shi, *The Water Margin*, 60-61.
his wits, as a means of problem solving. This frequently brings him into conflict with Sasuke, who tends to be more cunning in his approach to danger. Friction between the two men over status is evident from very early on in the novel.

Before allying itself to the Toyotomi, the House of Sanada fought for the Takeda clan during the Sengoku era (1467-1603). Many enemies remain in the area. Buffeted by gusts of cold wind that blister through the retinue, Miyoshi the buzô (military monk) warns Sasuke that he should pay attention to Yukimura’s instructions on brotherhood: they are all parts of the same body in service to the one lord, each warrior functioning as a limb subordinate to the head: in this case Yukimura. Precociously, Sasuke retorts that his brothers might have age, but he is the one with skill. Undoubtedly, the young rustic does not believe that his superiors are as competent as he is. Miyoshi quickly brings the young man back into line:

Miyoshi: Oi! Still vomiting forth such cheek! Huh! The six of us each have skills, you’ll see. What does my young master think?

Yukimura: That sounds interesting; Sasuke is not afraid to confront each-and-every-one of you. His manner is not that of a coward. As such, there is no need [for us] to behave like gentlemen with him.\(^{720}\)

For the first time the group respond in chorus, it is another sign of orality reminiscent of jôruri (choral verse) that accompanies traditional Bunraku puppet theatre:

The Six [Braves]: Understood!\(^{721}\)

The Braves dismount and prepare for a contest. All understand that Sasuke must prove his worth through a martial initiation. This event

\(^{720}\) Sekka, Sanutobi-sasuke, 40:32.

\(^{721}\) Ibid.
reinforces the notion of Sasuke as a vessel of destruction; his value to Yukimura is as a weapon.

Though Sasuke possesses the enchanted *tessen* from his former mentor Tozawa, he elects not to use it. Whilst the men strap on armour, Sasuke pulls down a branch of oak with which to defend himself. The action demonstrates his hubris because it implies that the Braves are not worthy of a real blade. This proves to be the case. With a mixture of guile and magic, Sasuke defeats each opponent with ease. Having broken the established cohort of Braves’ egos, but not their bones, Sasuke turns to his new master for approval. Yukimura is satisfied. The young noble then formally adopts Sasuke as his personal page. He praises Sasuke for his restraint in not killing his examiners, and rewards him with a new name ‘Yukiyoshi’ (幸吉). It is a portmanteau of Yukimura’s own signature (幸村). On subsequent formal occasions, Sasuke uses this alias to establish his status as an agent of the house. Sasuke often extends his official title to include geographical information about the Sanada fortress of Ueda Castle.\(^{722}\)

The sudden appearance of Sasuke’s father Satayûfu further endorses the beneficial view of the young warrior’s new status as a military ward:

\(^{722}\) Anyone familiar with the Tatsukawa Bunko novel would recognise much in Kurosawa Akira’s (黒澤明, 1910-1998) interpretation of the lone samurai in the black comedies *Yôjimbô* (*The Bodyguard*, 1961) and *Sanjurô* (1962). With typical panache, Kurosawa diminished the traditional importance of personal names in his loose adaptation of *Red Harvest* by Dashiell Hammet (1894-1961) published in 1929. The main protagonist, played by the actor Mifune Toshirô (三船敏郎, 1920-1997), is a wandering samurai. The unnamed rônin avoids any personal disclosure by adopting monikers; usually one that reflects his age combined with the first thing from nature that gives him inspiration, e.g., Kuwabatake Sanjurô (桑畑三⼗郎 Mulberry-Field Thirty), a play on the Chinese proverb ‘桑田滄海’ (‘As the blue sea becomes a mulberry field’), meaning the world is a scene of constant changes. In the film *Sanjurô* produced a year later, the rônin adopts the title *Tsubaki Sanjurô* (椿三⼗郎 Camellia Thirty). A replication of the character appeared in the ‘spaghetti westerns’ featuring Clint Eastwood as the ‘man with no name’ in *For a Fistful of Dollars* (1964), *For a Few Dollars More* (1965), and most famously *The Good, the Bad and the Ugly* (1966). Stuart Galbraith, *The Emperor and the Wolf: The Lives and Films of Akira Kurosawa and Toshiro Mifune* (New York: Faber and Faber, 2002), chap. 17; For Kurosawa’s own account of his life in film see Kazuko Kurosawa, *Kaisô kurosawa akira [回想黒澤明]* (Tokyo: Chûô Kōron Shinsha, 2004).
Satayûfu: What’s going on? Sasuke! Ah, bravo! I see this young lord is giving you a serious lesson in devotion and loyalty. You are now under the care of your master. You must deal with him from a respectful distance. You should look up to him. These are not your mother’s, nor my relations. As a child under our care, you have had pleasure and pain, but you have left us.\textsuperscript{723}

Overjoyed, Sasuke begins to cry. He thanks his father for having supported him thus far. Sasuke then informs Satayûfu that he is in the presence of Yukimura, and that he shall pass on his father’s kind words to his lord, whose lessons he promises to accept gracefully. Acknowledging the transference of familial ties, Satayûfu beseeches the noble to transform Sasuke into a gentleman; he then departs without further word. Having amalgamated Sasuke into its ranks, the hunting party sets off for Ueda Castle to the beat of Taiko drums.\textsuperscript{724}

The process of brutalisation used by Yukimura in confirming Sasuke’s allegiance to the Sanada clan is highly significant. The provincial sacrifices his natural family and independence for a martial life with the establishment. It is an act commensurate with the social habits of anyone undertaking an apprenticeship. It reminds us that Sasuke is human and, therefore, dependent on others for his progress in the world. This adoption ceremony must have resonated with readers, many of whom underwent similar rituals of exchanging blood ties for commercial ones when ushered into their trades.

The issue of station greatly complicates any notion of Sasuke as a man of the people. As a page, Sasuke is part of a political faction of \textit{élites} pitted against one another. Yukimura is a high-ranking noble, the

\textsuperscript{723} Sekka, \textit{Sarutobi-sasuke}, 40:34.
\textsuperscript{724} Ibid., 40:34-35.
second son and heir to the [Prince] Sanada Awa no Kami Masayuki. Renowned as the former ‘Protector of the House of Takeda’ and ‘Lord of the Sixty Regions’, Masayuki is a regional governor in the service of Toyotomi Hideyoshi. Both men are involved in a covert war against Tokugawa Ieyasu, the delegated villain of the Bummeidô series. Equally, the majority of Braves are either relatives of a similar status or eminent daimyô (regional lords) in their own right. For example, the burly-looking Seikai brothers Miyoshi and Isa are high-ranking buzô (warrior-monks) attached to the Sanada clan; Uno Rokurô and Anayama Iwachiyo — known later in the series as Anayama Kosuke — are two of the clan’s chief advisors; Nezu Jinpachi, Kakei Jyûzô, and Mochizuki Rokurô are all Yukimura’s personal bodyguards. Members of Sasuke’s personal entourage rank higher still: Yuri Kamanosuke is a fallen lord; and Kirigakure Saizô is an exiled noble. Thus, the greater complexities of class and military rank impinge upon the homosocial relations between Yukimura and his favourite vassal. They do not exist in a political or social vacuum.

Sasuke’s duality of status is exposed upon his arrival at the Ueda Castle, when he is officially introduced to Yukimura’s father, the noble Masayuki. Sasuke recounts the circumstances leading to his appointment with the clan leader. Masayuki is happy with his son’s decision:

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725 真田安房守昌幸.
726 Term: 大名.
727 三好清海入道 and 三好伊三入道.
728 海野六郎.
729 安山岩千代 / 安山小介.
730 桝津甚八.
731 角千藏.
732 望月六郎.
733 Sekka, Sarutobi-sasuke, 40.23, 74–75, 125.
Masayuki: I see you've found yourself a good servant! To do such a thing is hard in time of the country at war.\textsuperscript{734}

Governor Masayuki celebrates Sasuke’s new station by drinking saké with him. The ritual bonds all of the samurai in friendship. The custom occurs whenever Sasuke converts a warrior to the Sanada cause. Other than food, poetry, and martial tournament, alcohol is the only indulgence the men afford themselves. Women feature in conversation, but only as pleasures to be consumed when not fighting. The senior lord continues:

\begin{quote}
Masayuki: [Sasuke] Doubtless with age, you’ll become a great hero. In the future, you must not forget to aid my son Yukimura.\textsuperscript{735}
\end{quote}

Ultimately, Sasuke’s rank gives him certain privileges and freedoms within his new fraternity, but he must strictly adhere within the ethical boundaries of a framed autonomy. Yukimura describes their relationship succinctly:

\begin{quote}
Yukimura: In this case, “A” and “B” exist as one-and-the-same thing. I need you to understand this.\textsuperscript{736}
\end{quote}

Nothing must separate either lord or vassal in thought, words, or deed. Here Tamada II makes an intertextual reference to advice given by Fusehime in Bakin’s \textit{Hakkenden}, she states:

\begin{quote}
A lord’s words are like sweat, it is said: they cannot be retracted. Again, holy writ says that even a team of four horses cannot keep pace with a single word from a prince – or so it is quoted in books I have read.\textsuperscript{737}
\end{quote}

This Neo-Confucian inspired literary dictum allows Sasuke to make decisions, but only within parameters set by his master: these include

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{734} Ibid., 40:37. \\
\textsuperscript{735} Ibid. \textsuperscript{736} Ibid., 40:41. \\
\textsuperscript{737} Bakin translated in Walley, ‘Gender and Virtue in Nansô Satomi Hakkenden’, 355.
\end{flushright}
but are not limited to spying, assassination, verbal acts of violence, and *tenkō* (political conversion). Rarely, if ever, does the Bunmeidō hero do anything for the good of strangers.

Sasuke’s elite status is never more evident than when he confronts members of the peasantry. Farmers, maids, innkeepers, and townsfolk appear infrequently, mostly as auxiliary characters that serve only to move the plot along. For instance, Sasuke and Miyoshi meet a local farmer. We learn from this rustic that the regional lord Yuri Kamanosuke (later Sasuke’s convert) is renowned for his skill with a spear. This ‘thief’ hopes to revive the fortunes of the allied House of Asakura.

Yuri has been using force to collect money for more troops. This has led to a series of increasingly violent disputes, local people are leaving the area in droves, gossip tells of many missing samurai. No one is safe. Because of the troubles, the farmer has been unable to produce any saleable goods. The narration states that Sasuke and Miyoshi are usually moved by such problems. Even so, Sasuke fails to identify with the peasant before him. Instead, he maintains his position as a soldier, as does Miyoshi. Both vassals decide that the solution to the problem is to mete out justice in the form of more violence:

> Miyoshi: I’d be happy to help, just tell us where this thief lives, we’ll go and visit him and I’ll cut off his head. Sasuke?

> Sasuke: I don’t know much about farming. I was trained for combat.

The three part company with the farmer wondering what will become of the two warriors. In fact, the two men disregard the farmer’s plea completely and adopt Yuri because of his value to the war effort.

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739 Ibid., 40:127.
OSAKA AS JAPAN’S POLITICAL CENTRE

The historical setting of the Sanada series in the Tatsukawa bunko reflects an on-going struggle for power between Osaka and its enemies. Osaka has always occupied a distinct position within the imagination of the Japanese people. For over a thousand years, the port city has defined itself, and been defined, through its geographical and historical relationships with the nation’s other imperial capitals Nara, Kyôto, and Tôkyô. These tangential relationships earned the merchant's capital a number of chronological epithets: ‘the city of water’, ‘the nation’s kitchen’, and after its industrial transformation during the Meiji period ‘the city of smoke’. Consequently, Osaka has always been a significant destination.

Considering the highly charged political nature of Japan during the first quarter of the twentieth century, it is understandable that the entrepreneurial sprit of Osaka should assert itself, culturally, economically, and spiritually at a moment in history when its importance as a centre of industrial production and its physical proximity to the Asian continent made the city invaluable to the nation’s future prosperity.

As outlined in Chapter 3, the great civil wars to unite Japan precipitated the destruction of the city in 1615. Before its fall, however, the port city shone brilliantly as the political and military heartland of pre-Tokugawa Japan. The assassination of Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582) by his subordinate Akechi Mitsuhide caused power to fall to Toyotomi Hideyoshi. Having joined forces with Nobunaga’s other general

741 織田信長 (1534-1582).
Tokugawa Ieyasu, Hideyoshi rallied against his master’s surviving enemies, bringing to fruition Nobunaga’s plan to politically unify Japan. Having achieved a national peace, Hideyoshi laid the social foundations for modern day Osaka by establishing his base of operations in the city.

During his remaining years, Hideyoshi encouraged migrants to the region with tax incentives. He also erected Osaka’s monumental keep, the largest of its kind, from which to survey his lands. As the anointed regent of Japan, Hideyoshi allowed religious leaders to return to the city, which, in turn brought pilgrims from as far away as Kyoto. Many were pious nobles interested in salvation, but the majority probably took the opportunity to also make time for pleasure and profit. This influx of the faithful reignited regional commerce. By 1592, two thousand homes were crowded within the walls of the castle complex, the outlying boundary of the city also swelled to a twelve-kilometre radius.742

The historical setting of the Sanada series of sokkibon (stenographical) novels in the Tatsukawa bunko are set firmly in the context of the contest between Osaka and its enemies, with the Sanada clan (based at Ueda Castle in, then Kyūdo Mountain) acting as deputies for the Toyotomi in the region. Though Hideyoshi appears only fleetingly throughout the series, Japan’s second unifier is celebrated as a harbinger of peace:

From peace to extreme chaos and then to peace again, Hideyoshi’s plans came to fruition, and his name rose in renown as with the rising sun.743

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743 Sekka, Sarutobi-sasuke, 40:112.
The tranquillity of unification was not to last. After Hideyoshi’s death, Ieyasu became one of the guardians of his young son Toyotomi Hideyori. Leading military players began to scheme against each other, factional violence ensued. Ishida Mitsunari formed the Western Alliance against Ieyasu. However, at the Battle of Sekigahara (1600), Mitsunari fell. In 1603, the reigning emperor Go-Yôzei (r.1585-1617) awarded Ieyasu the historic title of sei-i tai-shôgun (customarily translated as ‘barbarian subduing generalissimo’), confirming him as the de facto ruler of Japan, and raising him to a rank previously held only by Nobunaga. The imperial promotion signified that Japan was ostensibly under Ieyasu’s political control.

There remained the problem of Hideyoshi’s heir. The promotion had placed Ieyasu above Hideyori (Minister to the Left). Parties still loyal to the Toyotomi fought against the decision, hastening a full-scale civil war. Ieyasu attacked the disinherited Hideyori and trapped him in the Toyotomi fortress at Osaka, resulting in two protracted sieges, now known as the ‘Winter Campaign’ of 1614 and ‘Summer War’ of 1615. It is here that Sanada Yukimura came to prominence as a leading general charged with the defence of the city. The appointment of the regional daimyô was a wise decision. Yukimura had successfully fended off a similar attack by the Tokugawa in 1600 at Ueda Castle, home to the Sanada clan. His fortifications at Osaka made the keep virtually impregnable.

Unable to neutralise Yukimura’s defensive earthworks, Ieyasu feigned peaceful intentions. Against all advice, Hideyori ordered the partial

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744 後陽成天皇 (r.1585-1617).
745 Office: 征夷大将軍.
removal of Yukimura’s fortifications. Subsequently, Osaka Castle’s moats were filled. With the citadel’s water defences down, Ieyasu reneged on his promise to parlay. The Summer War of 1615 ended with Hideyori committing ritual suicide whilst the keep burned down around him. Ieyasu’s forces then laid waste to city and its inhabitants. Once the carnage was over, Ieyasu abandoned the city and returned to his base of operations in Edo, where he consolidated his power.

The legacy of Ieyasu’s attack would come to shape historiographical thinking in Osaka. Tamada II in collaboration with the Sekka Sanjin Collective would later depict the Sanada as proxies for the Toyotomi clan in an on-going political intrigue against Tokugawa Ieyasu — crudely configured as a binary between the morally righteous West (Osaka) and the spiritually bankrupt East (Edo).

The following précises from the first novel to feature Yuri as a protagonist gives a flavour of the stories in the Sanada series, and shows how deeply the narratives are linked to their regional setting.

**REPUTATION OVER WEALTH**

‘Doing your best’, is a common theme in juvenile literature, but it seems most apt that it should also find its way into working-class fiction at a time of Osaka’s cultural reawakening. In *Sarutobi-sasuke*, the city is a testing ground, where you can make your fortune, if you are game enough. The following passage illustrates some of the prospecting attitudes that drew people in the modern age to the mercantile city.

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After a long and deep conversation with the Toyotomi general Testugyû Ojyô (1567-1615), another fallen hero from the Summer War of 1615, Sasuke, Miyoshi Sekai, and the robber baron Yuri Kamanosuke continue their reconnaissance mission to seek out enemies of the Sanada clan. After a journey of some distance, they finally arrive in Osaka, which is the stronghold of their overlord Toyotomi Hideyoshi.

Before the Council of the Toyotomi assemble there is to be a military display: a spear instructor is giving a demonstration in the Kamei (Turtle in the Well) style of spear fighting in the Southern Hall. Quietly Sasuke prompts Yuri to enter:

Sasuke: Oi, Yuri. That bastard is famous with a lance; he seems the best here. [You should] represent us. Get in there, do us proud, and don’t lose! What do you reckon?

Yuri: Gotcha.749

After the usual preliminaries that occur before a fight, Yuri and the spear instructor (a formidable looking warrior named Shinjûrô) attack each other with force. Realising that Yuri is a difficult match, Shinjûrô’s attacks become more frenzied. Yuri is also aware that his reputation is at stake, but he decides to play carefully and keeps calm. As the duellists clash spears, sparks fly from their weapons. Yuri manages to use a stamping attack which surprises Shinjûrô, who gives repost with a special attack of his own devising. They parry one another’s blows high and low. Using advanced techniques Yuri successfully feints, causing Shinjûrô to defend out of counter. The mistake allows the Sanada vassal to disarm his adversary.750

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748 Testugyû Ojyô is better known as Ban Dan’emon.
749 Sekka, Sanutobi-sasuke, 40:154.
750 Ibid., 40:155.
Shouts and applause erupt from the stands where the Toyotomi clan’s most senior military officers sit watching. Both fighters are praised for their efforts and are invited to share a cup of saké with their overlord, the noble Toyotomi Hideyoshi. However, a senior lord from the House of Kuroda casts doubt over Yuri’s ability to win against a serious opposition. He calls for another contest and nominates Lord Gotô Matabei (1570-1615), a known expert with the spear. Not wishing to offend anyone, Yuri refuses. Pointedly, the narration explains that Yuri’s decision is based on humility, not a lack of confidence. The nominating lord begins to imply that Yuri is hesitant to fight such a distinguished figure because he is afraid. Miyoshi the monk steps in:

Miyoshi: Oi! Yuri what are you saying? Having never lost to anyone, he is the most famous [spearman] under Heaven. There’s no shame if you lose, and if you win, you gain praise.

Yuri accepts the challenge. Toyotomi Hideyoshi signals the match to begin. Gotô is ‘not one to fear bigger opponents, nor does he underestimate smaller ones’. Accordingly, the match will be hard. Not wishing to cause any permanent injury to a senior officer, Yuri exchanges his weapon for a practise staff. His opponent does not. Having seen Yuri’s previous fight Gotô is undeterred when the bandit warlord attempts his signature move. Blows are exchanged, the crowd cheers. Frustrated, the senior lord becomes more emphatic in his attacks. Correspondingly, Yuri changes his style and loosens his grip on the weapon in his hand. Gotô throws himself at Yuri whose

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751 Ibid., 40:156.
752 後藤又兵衛 (1570-1615).
754 Ibid., 40:158.
measured response helps him avoid a near fatal blow.\textsuperscript{755} Contact has been made, however. Blood seeps out from under Yuri’s \textit{hachimaki} (headband)\textsuperscript{756} causing him to back away from his challenger. In a surprise twist, Gotô apologises to Yuri for having stuck him. Likewise, Yuri gracefully excuses his opponent. Hideyoshi praises both men and remarks that, although Gotô was ranked higher, Yuri’s efforts were ‘splendid’ and ‘commendable’. The errant \textit{daimyô} has proven himself a hero. Toyotomi Hideyoshi personally rewards Yuri with a small pillbox.\textsuperscript{757} Having defended their honour, the Sanada delegation retreats to a nearby lodge.

A senior councillor for the Toyotomi called Ótanigyô Bushiyôyû Yoshitaka (a fictional rendering of Ôtani Yoshitsugu, 1558-1600)\textsuperscript{758} arrives with an offer of patronage for Yuri plus a stipend of 300 \textit{koku}, a vast sum by any standard. However, having already promised himself to the Sanada, Yuri declines the offer. Sasuke and Miyoshi praise their comrade.\textsuperscript{759} Money means nothing to these men. Reputation, however, is everything.

Yuri’s refusal signifies much more than a simple disinclination for money, it tells us something important about the author(s) of the \textit{Tatsukawa bunko}. In the imagination of Tamada II and his cohort, the military class, represented by Sasuke and the Braves, is still at liberty to make choices of a personal nature. Sasuke, also uninhibited by material concerns, confirms this view when admonishing another low-ranking samurai:

\textsuperscript{755}Ibid., 40:159.
\textsuperscript{756}Term: \textit{鉢巻}.
\textsuperscript{758}大谷吉継 (1558-1600).
\textsuperscript{759}Sekka, \textit{Sarutobi-sasuke}, 40:160.
Sasuke: It is [my own] simple logic that Heaven will not tolerate such behaviour. [It] is not good. Holding two swords and asking for money will ruin [your] name for future generations…you should be more self-effacing when asking for a favour, or else you’ll not get a farthing.  

**Sasuke as a Political Mediator**

Sasuke revels in challenging the great. No doubt, his belligerence towards historical leaders such as Ieyasu warmed the hearts of working audiences with little or no personal agency. However, this too is an oversimplification because Sasuke is not a commoner. He is, in fact, a privileged spy, intimate with those in power. Rather than upset the hegemony of the Toyotomi, he seeks to preserve it.

Conscious that military intelligence is vital to their survival, Sanada Yukimura sends Sasuke, his most trusted agent, on a three-year mission to root out corruption in the western regions of the Kamigata. However, in the following commentary Yukimura reveals to Sasuke his true purpose, which is to serve as an unlisted officer for Toyotomi Hideyoshi:

Yukimura: I haven’t had the chance to tell you, at the memorial [for Oda Nobunaga], Toyotomi Hideyoshi allowed me into his confidence. He has informed me that it is inevitable that Shibata, an elder statesman of the House of Ota [Oda], and a number of junior lords, such as Takigawa, will plot against him. So, he is gathering [his] allies. I need you to search this place thoroughly [for enemies] and report to me.  

Delighted to be entrusted with the task, Sasuke flies about the inn. He returns in an instant. Sasuke gives several names — here functioning in the traditional form of panegyrics — of potential plotters and allies. In this case, Maeda ‘Ichimatsu’ Gen’i (1539-1602), Hasegawa Tango-no-Kami, and Gamô Katahide (1534-1584). There are also people from

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760 Ibid., 40:167.
761 Ibid., 40:104.
within Toyotomi’s court such as Katō ‘Toranosuke’ Kiyomasa (1561-1611), and Fukushima Masanori (1561-1624), Shibata Katsu’ie (1522-1583), and others: all are powerful men capable of swaying the course of a war.

The famed men are discussing the pros and cons of an alliance with the prince (Awa-no-kami Masa-Yukimura), and whether his son is a man of great ability or not. Maeda and Shibata are in favour of Prince Awanokami-Masa-Yukimura but seven others, especially Katō and Fukushima, are both undecided about promoting Yukimura — whom they refer to as Yosaburō — at such a relatively young age (twenty-two or three).762

Yukimura finds the conversation about his personal strength amusing. He gives Sasuke notice that he will go against the gathered lords if need be. Therefore, Sasuke must gather the other Braves for counsel. He tells Sasuke to inform anyone else that asks for him, that he is ‘ill’ and does not wish meet with anyone.

Despite doubting Yukimura’s abilities, Toranosuke (in the company of Ichimatsu and a number of bodyguards) hopes to solicit the House of Sanada against the Tokugawa. However, Sasuke guards the entrance to Yukimura’s lodgings. As commanded, the Brave tells the incoming battle commander and minister of finance that his master is ill, and, therefore, cannot attend any meetings that day:

Sasuke: And what might your [lordships] business be?

Toranosuke: Various matters: we wish to confer [only] with the Lord Sanada Yukimura.

762 This is account is based on a famous meeting of the clans after the assignation of Nobunaga to decide who would take over. Hideyoshi went against the nominated candidates from the Oda clan to favour Nobunaga’s two-year-old son Nobuhide. This put Toyotomi in opposition to Oda minister Shibata and Nobunaga’s brother Nobutaka. Ibid., 40:104.
Sasuke: Ah! You are famous under all of heaven, of course. However, and it makes me feel terrible to say this, my lord is unwell. Being so, he is unable to attend any meetings. Is there anything you would like me, Sarutobi Sasuke Yukiyoshi, to convey to him?

Ichimatsu: Enough! Sarutobi or Inutobi (He plays on Sasuke’s name calling him ‘Jumping-Dog’). Which it is I know not. The Lord Toyotomi Hideyoshi sends us here. If Lord Yukimura is ill, get him a pillow and make sure he eats food his stomach can tolerate!

The irritated lord runs towards the entrance and stamps his foot at Sasuke in anger. Sasuke does not flinch.

Sasuke: Well, if you’d like to make an orderly line, and wait a while. We cannot have the Lord Toyotomi being upset now can we. However, I don’t think it is possible for you to enter.

Sasuke politely argues with the lords by offering a proverb about the T’ang dynasty in which a certain lord Liu Bei (161-233) was forced to visit a noble three times before gaining access to the Confucian thinker and military tactician Zhuge Liang (181-234). Sasuke reminds the group that Yukimura attended the funeral rights for Oda Nobunaga with due attention and respect. Therefore, his master is not being rude. Having explained his position, Sasuke then implies that the visiting lords are being disrespectful by making a fuss so soon after the memorial ceremony. If the lords wish to speak with Yukimura, they must show courtesy, and no matter who sent them they will have to wait. The news is not well received.

Sasuke reveals that he knows of their plans (and of their opinion of his master Yukimura). Ichimatsu says that he will silence Sasuke and rushes at him. Sasuke evades the attack. Just in the nick of time, the

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763 劉備 (161-233).
764 諸葛亮 (181-234).
765 Sekka, Sarutobi-sasuke, 40:106.
Braves arrive and each member pares off with an opponent for a duel. Sasuke takes on Ichimatsu.\textsuperscript{766}

Because all the participants in the fight are equally matched, the skirmish lasts for some time. The commotion rouses Yukimura, and he joins the fray.

A lone rider on a warhorse arrives. The man smiles at the entangled warriors. He commands them all to stop fighting. The rider is a messenger from Toyotomi Hideyoshi. He praises Yukimura and his ‘so-called Braves’ noting that they are moving up in the world. He tells Toranosuke, for whom the fight has not been going well, to feign from ‘putting on airs’. Sasuke who has until now been locked in combat with Ichimatsu unexpectedly puffs up his chest and calls out:\textsuperscript{767}

\begin{quote}
Sasuke: Oi! You lawless fellow! I don’t know the meaning of the word restraint. Right, let’s give you something of a surprise.\textsuperscript{768}
\end{quote}

Sasuke calls on his reserves of power to appear beside the messenger and stepping up into the air unseats him from his horse. The messenger is outraged; he is the Lord of Ibaraki Castle Nakagawa Kiyohide (1542-1583),\textsuperscript{769} another reputed warrior loyal to the Toyotomi. To prevent any further mischief Yukimura intervenes. Although Nakagawa is flustered he recovers his composure, as the countenance of Yukimura ‘only twenty-three years of age’ affects his mood. The rider apologises, ‘I am only following orders’.\textsuperscript{770} The commotion rouses Yukimura; appraising the situation he chides his vassal for having taken matters into his own hands:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Ibid., 40:107.}
\textit{Ibid., 40:108.}
\textit{Ibid., 40:108-9.}
\textit{中川清秀 (1542-1583).}
\textit{Sekka, Sarutobi-sasuke, 40:109.}
\end{quote}
Yukimura: Sasuke enough! The Lord Nakagawa has come especially [to see us].

However, Sasuke is cordial when the situation demands it. Such is the case when he and Kirigakure Saizô meet the head of the Ukita clan, Prince Hide’ie (1573-1655). Prostrating themselves on the floor before the lord and his advisor they make their case for one of the Braves to be released from prison:

Shingorô: There are two [samurai] here – full of fear – who wish to be of service to your Lordship.

Prince Hide’ie: Very well, let them approach.

Sasuke: I am your servant Sarutobi Sasuke; I am most humbly delighted to be admitted to your presence.

After it has been revealed that the prince has been deceived by one of his own vassals, Hide’ie in halting language asks for forgiveness:

Hide’ie: Well, I too am complicit…the fault of a vassal is also the fault of the lord. Please excuse me on this occasion.

The lord bowed his head. Convinced [of the prince’s sincerity] Sasuke made a reply.

Sasuke: Well, there is no need for a formal apology or to say anything [more]; [the release of our companion] is enough.

Thus, we see there is more to Sasuke than the role of violent assassin; he is always attentive to Yukimura, and at times, a tactful diplomat on his behalf.

771 Ibid., 40:110.
772 Ibid., 40:197.
773 Ibid., 40:203.
Conclusion

In keeping with Kornicki’s statements about the lack of recognition given by Japanese scholars to Chinese writing, this chapter has argued that the collapsing divide between chirographical forms of kôdan and the transcultural influence of yomihon from China eventuated in a new stylistic course in Japanese fiction. Here, the grandiloquence of the nobility usually associated with the ‘national literature’ of Japan’s classics, was renegotiated through a series of vernacular interchanges familiar to all of society acquainted with Japan’s vibrant street culture.

This development was significant because the Confucian value of chûshin found in yomihon greatly amplified the underlying value of hôganbi’iki found in classical kôdan. Once absorbed into the local vernacular by writers from the Kamigata (Santô, Akinari, etc.), the ability to create indigenous works infused with the linguistic dynamism of Chinese literature attracted writers from Edo (like Bakin). In turn, this helped establish a collective network of ethical ideas centred on the lives of common folk that could be shared at a national level by members of the public and the élite.

Sasuke, as a reworking of Sun Wu-k’ung, is clearly a product of this union. The accessibility of this new mixture was more reflective of Taishô society in which the citizen could prosper. Nevertheless, like the monkey king, Sasuke’s journey is ultimately one of self-attainment. Through martial education, he moves from the unruliness of childhood to a state of mature control. Nevertheless, violence defines Sasuke’s view worldview. You are either for or against him.

As a vassal of Yukimura, Sasuke is loyal and obedient. This sets him slightly apart from his Chinese counterpart, who often struggles with his master Hsüan-tsang. Sasuke’s only real desire is to fulfil his duty
towards to Yukimura. The filial relationship between master and servant is all that matters to him. It is the ‘holy writ’ spoken of by the lady Fusehime in the Hakkenden. It is where all parts of the body serve a greater social union, where ‘A’ and ‘B’ are ‘one and the same’. This is understandable given that all of the Braves (including Sasuke) are from the military caste. They do not identify themselves in any other way. Consequently, Sasuke shows little compassion for the peasantry; as such, he does not fight for the poor. This separates him from the vast majority of kyōkaku found in other texts. It also undermines some of the claims made by Mr Ayano on behalf of the Lions Club that Sasuke is a ‘figure of justice’.

In order to further address this issue, the following companion chapter will show how the syncretic mix of kōdan and yomihon, melded together into the form of popular ethics found in the Bunmeidō series, and how it may have been received in Japanese society during the 1920s. The hypothesis is that readers of the Tatsukawa bunko conflated the ‘hyper-masculinity’ of the Bunmeidō novels with the lived realities of their own lives, thus alleviating some of the psychological distress of the late industrial era and its differential economy.
CHAPTER 5

FICTIONAL REFLECTIONS OF INDUSTRIAL URBANISM

HYPER-MASCU LINITY & SOCIAL VIOLENCE DURING THE TAISHÔ ERA

The larger than life figure of Sasuke was always a friend to the weak or those in need. Because we were in the same situation, it was natural that we should come to identify with him.774

— Ichikawa Kôzô

INTRODUCTION

Culture, popular or otherwise, is — amongst other things — the expression of social relationships between dominant and subordinate peoples. Summarising the work of Mikhail Bakhtin (1895-1975),775 Carlo Ginzburg expressed this relationship as ‘circular’, stating that the manufacture of culture is reciprocal, travelling from ‘low to high as well as from high to low’.776 Ginzburg and others have demonstrated that reading has meant very different things to specific groups within certain communities. With this caution in mind, we may state that in an era of perceived injustice, the swashbuckling figure of Sasuke gained widespread credibility as an image of hope with (male) members of Japan’s regional working class. Whether this was for good or ill, is another matter entirely.

The opening quotation from Ichikawa Kôzô is but one example of how authors associated with popular fiction perceived the Bunmeidô hero Sarutobi ‘monkey jump’ Sasuke. Due to the paucity of data on the Tatsukawa bunko it is impossible to create a fully developed picture of

774 Ichikawa Kôsô in Adachi, Tatsukawa bunko no eiyûtachi, 59.
how Sasuke was received by the public, but it does not prevent us from trying sketch out a picture of what might have been connecting factors. Accordingly, this chapter aims to frame these (and other similar) claims about Sasuke by elucidating the political circumstances of the Taishô era, during which the sokkibon (stenographical books) of the Tatsukawa bunko were produced. We shall begin by examining one of the cultural features of the age pertinent to interpretations of ‘orality’ by members of the working-class, that is, the pedagogical system of ondoku (reading aloud).

**READING ALoud AS A CULTURAL PRACTICE**

Maeda Ai’s assessment of traditional education during the Meiji period explains, in part, why oral tradition was still so vibrant during the early Taishô era. The practice of ondoku was an essential part of everyday life in the terakoya (temple schools), which existed as the most elementary level of education available to the poor. The author states:

Language instruction was carried out through calligraphic practice using oraimono (instructional readers) and jitsugokyo (a type of Buddhist text), [students] were able to read texts aloud and be moved by their rhythms.  

Ondoku fell into two distinct categories: (1) rôdoku used to help pupils comprehend the meaning of a lesson; and (2) rôshô, where the primary focus was on conveying the rhythms of the text through sonorous readings. Both terms can be translated as ‘recitation’ in English, but each possesses a different quality in Japanese. Kôdan

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777 The majority of examples drawn from Maeda’s study were from Japan’s emergent middle class: former samurai, intellectuals, and young ambitious students who congregated in the juku (specialist schools) of Tokyo. Ai Maeda, Text and the City: Essays on Japanese Modernity, trans. James A. Fujii (Durham, N.C: Duke University Press, 2004), 230-32.

778 Ibid., 229.

779 Term: 朗読.

780 Term: 朗詠.
belongs to the first category making it suitable in form for communal reading and education.

Social factors amplified the effects of pedagogy dependent on *ondoku*, ensuring that its effects were felt beyond the limits of the local classroom. The absence of privacy in the Japanese household, uneven literacy, and a surviving tradition of literature rooted in the popular performing arts meant that reading aloud was a common practice in most homes. A book, therefore, was not considered a personal item; it was something to be shared. *Gesaku* (popular literature) from the late Edo period is a good example of this. Åkesson’s work tells us that reading aloud in one form or another was also common in Europe (chapbooks, printed songs, and the like), but there is something about the widespread popularity of *sokkibon* during the modern age of the Taishô era that appears to be relatively unique to Japan.

Questions remain as to why the practice of *ondoku* was so important during the early Taishô era, and why did it command such a position of authority in Osaka. By the end of the Meiji period, Japanese society had achieved a state of near universal literacy. However, Richard Rubinger reminds us that the issues surrounding illiteracy in Japan’s newly industrialised cities were complicated. Regional discrepancies in educational standards caused by the *terakoya* system carried over into the first quarter of the twentieth century. Cities to the north of Tokyo performed well. For instance, in 1899, a national survey of educational attainment amongst conscripts revealed that the provincial city of Sendai (Miyagi prefecture) was the best performing regional centre.

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782 The term *gesaku* (戯作) covers a broad range of genres: *sokkibon* (stenographcial novels), *sharebon* (novels from the gay quarters), *kokkeibon* (humorous book), *dangibon* (humorous sermons), *ninjôbon* (sentimental fiction), *yomihon* (historical romance; literally translated in Japanese as ‘reading books’), *kusazoshi* (illustrated story books), and so on.
with an illiteracy rate of seven per cent. Conversely, the same survey found opposite extremes that were shocking. In the newly acquired island prefecture of Okinawa 76.3 per cent of recruits were deemed by the Meiji Government to have no reading or writing abilities whatsoever.\footnote{Rubinger, ‘Who Can’t Read and Write? Illiteracy in Meiji Japan’, 179.} We must be cautious when interpreting such data, however. To whom the Meiji Government’s new educational criteria was applied, and how, would certainly have affected these figures: as would the individual attitudes of the examiners charged with carrying out the survey. In the case of the local inhabitants of the Ryûkyûs (and Hokkaidô), there would likely have been some form of cultural resistance to an imposed assessment of any kind by an authority administered from outside the local area. Nevertheless, Noma’s description of his time as a school administrator in Okinawa during this period suggests that the process for both parties could be a benign one, if approached with enough sensitivity.\footnote{See Chapter 2: Human Networks, 101-106.}

Driven by a sense of national aspiration, bureaucrats in the Meiji Government were deeply suspicious of the population’s ability to thrive without its strong leadership. However, hoping to find modern solutions to longstanding and emerging social problems, officials frequently misinterpreted and misapplied foreign concepts and theories in the name of progress. The general pattern of state education prescribed by the Monbushô (Ministry of Education, est. 1878) is explored more fully in the following chapter, but some general points that pertain directly to the issue of literacy and schooling in Japan are worth introducing here.
Less than five years into its administration, the educational and military interests of the Meiji Government were brought into alignment under the auspices of the Dajôkan (Chief Executive Office). The Gakusei (Education System Order, 1872) and the Chôheirei (Conscription Order, 1873) were complementary pieces of legislation designed to create a modern fighting force capable of defending the Meiji nation state. Illiteracy was an obstacle to this end. In 1905, in collaboration with the Imperial Japanese Army, the Monbushô sought reliable data on the efficacy of Japan’s modernised teaching system. Although gunshigaku (county inspectors) could already investigate such matters under the revised Shôgakurei (Elementary School Order, 1900), the Monbushô raised their profile in an attempt to combat the problems of non-attendance hampering state development.

The introduction of stringent assessment measures for illiteracy helped the government implement effective reforms, but the survey revealed that the overall standard of literacy in the west of Japan remained inadequate. Again, there were exceptions. Shiga had relatively good attainment levels in schooling. Its municipal council was progressive in promoting education for women, and offered free tuition and textbooks to those without sufficient income. Nonetheless, the financial disadvantages of having children out of work, especially in rural settings where communities relied heavily on one another during times of harvest, did little to persuade impoverished families that the risk of education was worthwhile. Many wondered what practical use

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785 Office: 太政官.
786 Title: 学制(1872).
787 Title: 徵兵令(1973).
788 Office: 群視学.
789 Title: 小学校令(1900).
formal schooling could be to a child in a society that was obviously class-ridden.  

Intersecting with the issue of mandatory education in rural areas was the advent of the industrial revolution. Factories littered across the western regions served as the crucible for modern Japan, transforming the largely agrarian nation into one of the world’s top producers of cheap textiles. Aiming to secure its goal of development, and believing that opportunities for employment would counteract the growing social ills associated with rapid urbanisation, the Meiji Government ceded vast tracts of land to developers in and around the industrial cities of Kobe, Nagoya, and Osaka. In Osaka, the largest commercial city of the three, the newly constructed factories eroded the spaces normally occupied by local communities. Little provision was made for those that remained.

By 1891, nine of Japan’s largest textile companies were based in the city. Their output accounted for more than forty per cent of Japan’s total textile production. Cotton was Japan’s biggest export driving national growth at that time. With the feudal laws regarding civilian movement rescinded, the population were free to explore other regions in search of work. Consequently, Osaka became particularly vulnerable to overcrowding and social friction.

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791 Ibid., 179.
793 Torrance, ‘Literacy and Literature In Osaka, 1890-1940.’, 32.
795 Figures gathered by demography experts in 1913 show that Osaka had a population density of 3,113 persons per square mile; Tokyo the capital had a similar figure of 3,706 persons per square mile. Mark Jefferson, ‘The Distribution of People in Japan in 1913’, Geographical Review 2, no. 5 (1 November 1916): 371.
Exacerbated by the large influx of people seeking work from the surrounding areas, many local children struggled to obtain a proper schooling. Later efforts by the Naimushô (Ministry of the Interior) during the Taishô era to address social inequity were equally lacklustre. Poor infrastructure, such as the city’s outmoded methods of sanitation and a general lack of adequate housing, created a nexus of social ills that ensured Osaka’s boroughs remained scholastically disadvantaged well into the twentieth century. Paradoxically, this challenging environment was the perfect ground for a series of novels that drew on the region’s rich history of oral tradition. Consequently, I believe that many people from poorer socio-economic backgrounds were especially sensitive to ‘orality’ found in the heady mix of sokkibon, which combined aspects of classical kōdan with yomihon. I shall now illustrate why this was important in terms of region, and how it relates to Sasuke.

**Reading Popular Literature as Political Allegory**

Ikeda Ranko suggested that only someone from Osaka could have produced the *Tatsukawa bunko*. What she meant was, if you wanted to understand the novels, you had to have suffered as the people of Osaka had done. Primarily she was talking about the poverty of her childhood, but she also indicated that this sense related to the city as a living entity.

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796 The human influx of workers into the industrial centres brought with them problems for factory employers who tended to take a paternalistic view of workers and their rights. Dissatisfaction with tough working conditions led to friction. This caused the Meiji Government to invoke new labour controls, such as the ‘factory law’ issued in 1911. The legislation called upon industry owners to reduce working hours to no more than twelve hours per day, improve safety, and permit certain social freedoms—such as allowing young female factory employees out at night to socialise. Mataji Miyamoto, Yōtarō Sakudō, and Yasuichi Yasuba, ‘Economic Development in Preindustrial Japan, 1859–1894’, *The Journal of Economic History* 25, no. 4 (December 1965): 542 & 549.


798 See Chapter 2: Transitional Literature.
The literature’s fixation with the West of Japan as the source of moral fortitude and spiritual purity indicates an openly hostile attitude towards the bureaucratic East. It seems, therefore, that a consciousness of region further complicates our understanding of how Sasuke might have been received by a contemporary audience of the Taishō era.

Ichikawa and others have interpreted Sasuke as a ‘friend to the weak or those in need’ and as a ‘figure of justice’ (see comments made by Ayano in the previous chapter); the implication being that Sasuke was a man of the people. If we examine Sasuke’s actions, this is problematic. However, when viewed through a regional lens, the popular view of Sasuke as a representation of the ‘common person’ struggling to make their way in the world has merit. This is where an appreciation of ‘orality’ in society becomes critical.

James Havelock states that in pre-textual societies the rhythmic nature of poetry assisted in the survival of fundamental knowledge. Transliterated poetry, he observes, served as a vessel for social and customary conventions. Framed within the cultural mores of the time of composition, poetry continued to convey something more than facts. As you will recall, hôganbi’iki (‘sympathy for a fêted hero’), which served as the ethical scaffold for kôdan, had originally been the preserve of the buzô (military clerics) based in Kyoto. Over the course of generations, practitioners associated with the wagei (oral art) had evolved into a professional discipline within the yose (vaudeville theatre). The subsequent transliteration of narratives produced in the yose eventuated in sokkibon. Embedded in this chirographical

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799 Havelock, The Muse Learns to Write, 41.
800 Ibid.
(handwritten) genre was the ‘orality’ of the original spoken discipline. *Sokkibon*, therefore, was much more than a book, for though the content of a *sokkibon* was mediated through text, it could be read aloud in the manner of a play. Obviously, the same can be said of all forms of literature, but not to the same extent as fiction created from classical poetry that has a history of moving between spoken and written registers. In this way, the reintroduction of the human voice brought forth the ethical content of *sokkibon* in a manner that prose could not.

Drawing from the philosophy of Cornelius Castoriadis (1922-1997, Mark Chou has argued that European notions of tragedy evolved from the Dithyramb (Dionysian chorus), a religious form of agonist narrative, which in its developed form allowed members of the *polis* (‘city state’) to meaningfully vent their psycho-spiritual frustrations, whilst scrutinising and enlarging the limits of the new democratic body.801 Statements made about Sasuke indicate that Japanese people interpreted their own theatrical traditions in a similarly cathartic manner.

Comic elements, extracted from *rakugo* (comic narratives) and *manzai* (‘overflowing with talent’) that infuse the daily conversations of the Braves serve as another reminder of the ‘orality’ of the *Bunmeidô* series. These gentler moments punctuate the ferocious action sequences that dominate much of the work. The overall effect leaves us with a bittersweet sense of the men’s futility, for each is destined to succumb to the tragic narrative arc provided by the popular

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801 Mark Chou argues that the realisation of democracy depends on chaos. Solon (630 c. 560 BCE) sought to rectify endemic corruption and legal inequalities in Athenian society. However, ‘democracy’ in its nascent form was an imperfect system that continued the historical marginalisation of women, slaves, and foreigners; it also fostered beliefs that promoted aggressive expansion into the other nearby city-states. For the Athenians, democracy was not a process of order, but an acknowledgement of ‘Being as Chaos’. Mark Chou, *Greek Tragedy and Contemporary Democracy* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012), 25 & 44.
historiography of late kôdan. This appears to have given many readers from the more vulnerable quarters of society the impression that Sasuke and the Braves were underdogs.

Combined with the transcultural layering of yomihon, which humanised the paragons of military virtue found in kôdan, leading figures from sokkibon became powerful totems for a number of disenfranchised individuals. Tamura Eitarô (1893-1969) gives the case of an apprentice who became the head of the local crime syndicate in the Asakusa district of Tokyo. Born in 1900, Mr Shibayama (first name withheld) left school at fifteen to join a local firm of glass sellers called Yamakiyo. Shibayama recalled that, ‘life as a shop boy was incredibly hard, hours were long and people looked down on you’. He continued, ‘looking back I can see that I wanted to get revenge on those in positions higher [than myself], so at twenty I left the small firm and set up a stall’. Realising that there was profit and power in gangsterism, Shibayama became a criminal. He also liked to read military biographies. He was particularly interested in the life of Toyotomi Hideyoshi as represented in kôdan:

Popular novels didn’t touch me. Honestly, I thought they were ridiculous. Having said that, I loved to read the Taikôki [by the Neo-Confucian scholar Oze Hôan] because it was good [for] research on military tactics. It was as if the Taikôki was about gangster life, no matter what, you always had to protect yourself.

Shibayama went on to state that kôdanbon (‘kôdan books’) were equally interesting because, through the authors working in the genre, you could get a better insight into the lives of great men. Given the nature

802 田村栄太郎 (1893-1969).
803 柴⼭.
804 Tamura, Yakuza no seisatsu, vol. 4, sec. Asakusa no teki'ya no o yabun hōmon.
of work produced by Tamada II, which featured narrative arcs based on the Toyotomi legacy, it is possible that Shibayama would have known of the Bunmeidō series. It is merely conjecture, but he may even have read one or two. What we do know, however, is this: Shibayama was reading for educational purposes as well as entertainment. In which case it is certain he would have dedicated a reasonable amount of time to this activity. If he had read the *Tatsukawa bunko* what might he have learned?

As a body of literature, the *Tatsukawa bunko* was highly nationalistic and militaristic. Most of the titles were published under the rubric *Bushidō no seika* (*The Flowers of Bushidō*). Mainly they were military biographies of great men from the Sengoku era. This fits with Shibayama’s reading list of preferred material. No doubt their selection also reflected the tastes of both the publisher (Tatsukawa) and the series author (Tamada II).

We know that Tatsukawa was patriot. He had spent a lifetime capitalising on the outcomes of popular wartime sentiment: first, by selling patriotic songs, mostly *naniwabushi* (‘Osaka elegies’), during the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5). He also produced independent and state educational texts that were conservative in nature; one of his early works features in the final chapter of this work. When he died his estate was divided amongst his sons, the business going to the eldest child Sutezō. However, a donation of 300 yen — a considerable sum at the time — was made at Tatsukawa’s behest to the construction of a war memorial.806

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806Tatsukawa died 9 January 1932. His body was buried in initially at the family plot at Katahara, later it was moved to Waden temple in Imabari (Ehime prefecture). Himeji Bungakukan, Taishō no bunko, 71.
Tamada II seems to have held similar views to Shibayama: his work for the *Tatsukawa bunko* does little to challenge the notion that violence is wrong. If anything, by introducing *kanzen chôaku* (‘punishing evil, rewarding good’) into the ethical framework of *kôdan*, his narratives promote the righteousness of military power as a means of creating social good. However, the image of Sasuke in the minds of his admirers remains un tarnished.

The statements by Ichikawa and Shibayama quoted above suggest that Sasuke was seen as someone from a non-elite background able to use skill to control his surroundings. Yet as illustrated in the previous chapter, recognition from Yukimura (and his overlord Hideyoshi) is enough to placate Sasuke and the Braves’ ‘hyper-masculine’ needs. In this regard, Sasuke is a willing participant in an attempt to maintain the hegemony of the Toyotomi clan based in the West.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Japan’s increasingly differential economy amplified rivalries between ‘those with’ and ‘those without’ power. This political and socio-economic dichotomy was played out in the regions, particularly in urban spaces like Osaka. As we shall see, issues surrounding poverty, the concentration of migrants, and subsequent industrial actions by workers in the city intersected with problems of literacy, making possible the positive allegorical readings of Sasuke as a regional icon.

**Osaka’s Renaissance**

Historians are familiar with the difficulties associated with periodization. The flow of time is continuous; we impose segmentation upon it. This process is never arbitrary; it is political. Nonetheless, certain figures seem to exemplify the epochs in which they lived. The reign of the Meiji Tennô (r.1868-1912) was coeval with Japan’s industrial
transformation. Within the relatively short span of five decades, the new nation state redefined itself, moving from an agrarian system with limited international trade to an industrial powerhouse with penetrating global connections. During this process, the emperor served as the spiritual axis on which Japan’s emergent modernity turned.

The term ‘renaissance’ carries with it a multitude of images that are difficult to express succinctly without prejudice: cultural change inspired by a revival of classical values is one broad definition, the restoration of imperial power another. Both explanations apply to the Meiji period. 807 Deeming the process of westernisation unavoidable, Meiji bureaucrats reconfigured Japan from without and within. Tokyo became the imperial centre of Japan, but the regional cities would also profit from the political regime change. Foreign technology such as the telegraph and steam engine underpinned Japan’s national communication network, effectively bringing each region into the realm of a shared social and political consciousness. 808

Working with industrialists, bureaucrats networked the provinces’ second tier cities by strengthening the arteries of the old road system,

807 A parallel between the twentieth-century Osaka and fourteenth-century Florence is possible. Boccaccio (1313-75), the illegitimate son of a local merchant reinterpreted the tales of antiquity accenting the spoken word in his Decameron (1348-51). As an educated man, the Florentine author was fluent in the official language of Latin, but Boccaccio eschewed this increasingly rigid form in favour of something more expressive of the time: dialect. Boccaccio’s choice of vernacular as a medium for narrative was a reflection of his time. During the fourteenth-century, a flourishing urban economy brought patriciate families (the Cerchi, Donati, and Medici) into political, religious, and economic conflict with the growing number of mercantile gente nova (new gentry). The patriciate had inherited parcels of land giving them certain inalienable privileges. Marriage within these three families augmented this power creating a hereditary class. The patriciate considered usury an anathema, but the handling of money became a necessity. The rise of a wealthy and independent merchant-class brought with it new forms of commerce, which required labour. This shattered the traditional bonds between nobles and peasantry: individuals could now choose their trade. Subsequently, attitudes towards the gente nova amongst the old nobility changed. Aristocrats began to patronise the emergent commercial institutions forming new powerful unions set on capturing international trade. This, in turn, helped to secure the fate of the merchant class. For more see Vincenzo Cioffari, ‘The Function of Fortune in Dante, Boccaccio and Machiavelli’, Italica, American Association of Teachers of Italian, 24, no. 1 (March 1947): 1-13.

808 Yoshimi, Media jidai no bunka shakai gaku, sec. Introduction.
integrating them with Tokyo via infrastructure capable of unprecedented speed. By 1882, 172 miles of rail track had been laid, 5,527 post offices delivered on average a staggering number of 99,000,000 parcels each year, a further 2,979,000 telegrams flitted like birds across the nation. The Railway Nationalisation Law (1906) laid the groundwork for unprecedented co-ordination and expansion of Japan’s inland transport system by increasing the state’s share of laid track from thirty to ninety per cent, which in turn enhanced the arteries of the old road system, integrating the provincial cities with Tokyo. Together, the new rail and communications network augmented Japan’s other trade arteries, reinvigorating the seaports of Kobe, Nagasaki, Osaka, and Yokohama, locations that connected the Japanese archipelago with the rest of the world.

The expansion of international trade after the Meiji Restoration meant that Osaka became a magnet for those seeking work. Richard Torrance explains what drew migrants to the area:

809 Miyamoto, Sakudô, and Yasuba, ‘Preindustrial Japan’, 549.
810 Hanes, The City as Subject, 57.
811 Louise Young’s work is worthy of special mention because she accounts for Japan’s ‘second tier’ cities: Kanazawa, Kobe, Nagoya, Sapporo, and Sendai. Though economic and urban development came later to these regional capitals, their advance greatly shaped modernity for the vast majority of Japanese people located outside of the established metropolitan areas of Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto. Her detailed analysis of local cultural and bureaucratic practices in dealing with the Meiji industrial programme is a refreshing and welcome addition to the discussion on regionalism. Louise Young, Beyond the Metropolis: Second Cities and Modern Life in Interwar Japan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), sec. Introduction.
812 From the early seventeenth century onwards, the Tokugawa Bakufu restricted access to and from Japan. However, the internal distribution of goods helped to maintain the vitality of the country’s regional ports. Moreover, Japanese authorities continued to trade with the Dutch East India Company at the artificial port of Dejima near Nagasaki. Nonetheless, this was not the only form of international trade. As Tashiro and Videen note, the Bafuku maintained a number of formal and informal relations within the Pacific region. Whenever a new shogun was named, the Yi Dynasty from Korea dispatched a special envoy to exchange credentials with the new government. The Tokugawa administration nominated the Sô clan of Tsushima to act as intermediaries on their behalf. Similar relations were maintained with Ryûkyû after the island kingdom was militarily subdued, and then incorporated into the Satsuma domain. The authors note, ‘in the case of the Ryûkyûs, a strongly vertical relationship was established’. As a consequence, the Chûzan king was forced to address the shogun as his superior—a similar of tribute for the Ryûkyûs prevailed with China, this was entirely separate from any dealings the king had with Japan. In the case of Japan, Hideyoshi’s vainglorious attempts to invade China ended the sovereign-vassal relations between the two states. Tashiro Kazui and Susan Downing Videen, ‘Foreign Relations During the Edo Period: Sakoku Reexamined’, Journal of Japanese Studies 8, no. 2 (Summer 1982): 288-99.
Supported by Shibusawa Eiichi’s capital investment, the Osaka Spinning Mill (Osaka Boseki Kaisha, later to become Boseki Co., Ltd.), established at Sangenya-mura in 1882, began Japan’s industrial revolution. Scouring the countryside to recruit the cheap labor of young women, running shifts late into the night, and utilizing electric lights to make night work possible, this company introduced managerial innovations that earned enormous profits. By 1891, the nine largest textile-manufacturing companies in Osaka accounted for more than 40 per cent of Japan’s total textile production, and textiles were Japan’s most important export.813

With the massive expansion of industry (chemicals, dyeing, weaving, metalworking, shipbuilding, and tool manufacture), the city swelled in size from a population of 323,425 (1895)814 to 2,175,200 (1913), almost equivalent to that of Tokyo (2,809,600).815 By the early 1920s, Osaka’s population would eclipse that of the capital, making the city a serious rival of the imperial centre. It is also worth noting that that the expansion of the city during this period was linked to Japan’s economic and military expansion overseas, as Osaka has much better and more direct shipping links to continental Asia than Tokyo does.

The fluidity of Osaka during the industrial period contributed much to its sense of identity. Most people living and working in the city during the early 1900s were not, in any straightforward sense, local. It meant the merchant’s capital was a city of adventure, a place where one could find fame and fortune. The Yamada family, responsible for bringing Sasuke into the modern era, were swept up in the trials and tribulations of this new Japan. Circa 1897, hoping to make their way in the world, the family left behind the stigma of their past lives in

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813 As Richard Torrance notes: ‘Osaka became attractive to thousands of enterprises, including shipbuilding, chemical production, and financial and insurance services. The city grew at the expense of the prefecture. Osaka’s first expansion in 1897 increased its size almost four-fold. The second expansion in 1925 left Osaka the largest city in Japan, a distinction it retained until 1932 when Tokyo underwent its’ own expansion.’ Torrance, ‘Literacy and Literature In Osaka, 1890-1940.’, 32.

814 Hanes, The City as Subject, 195.

Imabari and sought refuge in the nearby metropolis. Despite further hardships, these economic (and social) refugees quickly identified with their adopted home: the same can be said for their publisher Tatsukawa, who had fled a life of rural poverty in Himeji to seek out his fortune in Japan’s industrial heartland around 1900.\textsuperscript{816}

After Japan opened to foreign trade, Osaka quadrupled in size to become Japan’s largest city. As such, it regularly witnessed ad-hoc industrial action. From the late 1880s to the time of the first Sino-Japanese War (1894-5) strikes occurred almost annually at five of the ten major textile factories housed in the city: Tenma Mill (1889), Osaka Mill (1890), Osaka Wool Mill (1891), Tenma Mill (again) and Senshû Mill (1894).\textsuperscript{817}

The strike at Tenma is significant because it was one of the first of its kind in Japan, and because it was initiated by women. On the 30 September 1889, 400 female workers left their posts at the Tenma Mill and began a strike. Congregating outside of the factory gates the women called for an end to the sixteen-hour shifts, equal pay, and fair accounting for overtime. The Tenma board of directors responded in a typical fashion by calling for an immediate dismissal of the protesters. Military police attempted to intervene, but were forced to change their tactics after the women were joined by an equal number of disgruntled male employees. Undeterred by the possibility of violent police suppression the 800-strong crowd held out, forcing management back into negotiations. Further meetings saw the workers demands met, but

\textsuperscript{816} See Chapter 2: Human Geography.  
\textsuperscript{817} Koyama, \textit{Ôsaka-fu no hyakunen}, 84-94.
at a cost; the female instigators of the strike were all dismissed from their positions.\textsuperscript{818}

As the twentieth century progressed it became increasingly clear that the population was not willing to accept sacrifices in the name of progress forever without some form of political representation. The seeds of this social discontent had been sown during the early industrial era with the formation of Japan as a nation state. After the creation of the Meiji Constitution in 1890, the Meiji Government instituted voting for commoners, but participation in the democratic process required considerable amounts of capital. Up until the introduction of universal (male) suffrage in 1925, only property owners who paid taxes could vote. The expansion of the electorate in 1902 from one per cent to two and a half per cent indicates a grudging acceptance on the part of the Meiji Government of the need for greater participation in politics, but it meant only a fraction the population were politically enfranchised. Nonetheless, those who were not wealthy enough to have the vote could legally petition the government about issues that they felt strongly about. This ameliorated some of the exclusionary effects of the Meiji constitution, but did little to create an inclusive sense of democracy. Nor could it allay the public’s concerns about common welfare during an extended period of economic downturn.\textsuperscript{819}

By 1903 newspaper reports in Britain were hinting at a recession in the Japanese cotton industry. One article, which likened Osaka to its English equivalent Manchester, predicted an economic crisis that same year. From 1901 to 1903, the price of imported raw material rose from

\textsuperscript{818} Ibid.

£1,482,581 to £2,000,000. In 1903, the figure increased again to £2,114,863 to meet home demand; however, mills in China began to erode Japan’s profits in Asia by producing cheaper alternatives. As a result, the Osaka markets lost £5,500 in exports. Profits began to haemorrhage with the introduction of low-grade materials from the British markets in India.820

The Japanese textile industry was buoyed once again by the start of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5). However, in terms of human life, the conflict with Russia was costly. Fujitani Takashi summarises this position eloquently:

In the two major enthronement festivals following the Sino-Japanese War, 12,877 souls were deified...However, this figure pales in significance to the 85,500 national heroes laid to rest at Yasukuni in the three major enshrinement festivals that followed the Russo-Japanese War.821

For those who had lost family in the war, the conclusion of the Portsmouth Treaty (1905) with Russia was considered by many to be a betrayal of the people. Prime Minister Katsura Tarô (1848-1913)822 had sent Foreign Minister Komura Jûtarô (1855-1911)823 and Minister to the United States Takahira Kogorô (1854-1926)824 as plenipotentiaries to negotiate on behalf of Japan. President Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919) of the United States oversaw the protracted negotiation process. Under the watchful gaze of the other international powers, Russia was reticent to yield as a loser to an Asian state. Nevertheless, the Japanese delegation succeeded in regaining half of Sakhalin (transferred to

820'The Manchester of Japan', Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners' Advocate, 3 October 1903.
822桂太郎 (1848-1913).
823小村寿太郎 (1855-1911).
824高平小五郎 (1854-1926).
Russia under an exchange treaty in 1875) and a promise of Russian non-interference in the so-called ‘neutral territories’ of Korea and Manchuria. Arrangements for an alliance with Great Britain were also reconfirmed. Back in Japan the press singled out Komura for personal criticism. The terse nature of the media coverage contributed to more feelings of discontent amongst the working population, which eventuated in another bout of civil disturbances.

The Osaka arsenal and naval dockworkers disputes of 1906, and the full-scale riots at the Ashio (Tochigi prefecture) and Besshi copper mines in 1907 (Ehime prefecture) demonstrate that workers in Japan had a collective sense of agency and were unafraid to take political matters into their own hands. However, when industrial action occurred it was usually conducted in a thoughtful manner. This was the case on 25 April 1912, when seamen from the Osaka Shosen Company in tandem with workers from the Tokyo Kisen Company left their positions to strike. Nonetheless, this campaign had real power at the grass roots level because it affected shipping services to China (Shanghai), Europe, and the Americas (Valparaiso and Seattle).

Profits from the Great War (1914-18) caused fresh divisions in Japanese society. Demand for cheap cloth in Europe meant that industrialists involved in the major textile and shipping industries in towns like Osaka became instant millionaires. The press quickly label them ‘narikin’, meaning nouveau rich. Their wealth further highlighted the


\[\text{826 For a detailed account see Kazuo Nimura, The Ashio Riot of 1907: A Social History of Mining in Japan (Durham, N.C: Duke University Press, 1997), 10.} \]

\[\text{827 ‘Japanese Seamen Strike’, The Sydney Morning Herald, 27 April 1912.} \]

\[\text{828 Term: 成⾦.} \]

\[\text{829 Michael Lewis, Rioters and Citizens: Mass Protest in Imperial Japan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 1.} \]
growing divisions between rich and poor in the city. Despite the marked increase in international trade, the average Japanese citizen saw a reduction in personal disposable income. This reduced standard of living affected not only those at the margins of society but included low ranking civil servants, teachers, fire fighters, and the police. It was this lower middle-class bracket that responded most vehemently to economic pressure caused by a rapid increase in consumables; mainly rice, the staple diet in Japan.

Political indecision in 1913 by Saionji Kinmochi (1849-1940), then Prime Minister, to appoint a cabinet minister from the army and secure his power led another bout of civil unrest. Japan’s leaders summoned the Imperial Japanese Army to quell the anxious population. In 1914, the military was again dispatched in Nagoya to curb rioting by outraged citizens, who had overturned streetcars in opposition to a steep rise in commuting fees. Things got worse when the Taishô Government, led by Count Terauchi Masatake (1852-1919), failed to intervene in a timely fashion to halt the rising cost of rice. That year there were forty-nine disputes involving 5,763 people. By the end of the war this number had increased to 417 incidents nationwide over forty-seven regions with 66,457 participants.

Japan’s recently established political parties were unsure of what appropriate action could countermand the growing trend in civil disobedience. Unfortunately, the genrō (elder statesmen) of the Terauchi Cabinet shared the same background with the younger generation of politicians elected to the Japanese congress. Indeed, it

830 西園寺公望 (1849-1940).
831 寺内正毅 (1852-1919).
832 Lewis, Rioters and Citizens, 3.
833 Office: 元老.
was Hara Takashi (1856-1921), first elected prime minister of Japan (and a commoner), who ordered 100,000 troops out against the citizenry when it looked as if the riots might take hold elsewhere; which they did.

On the 11 August 1918, leading participants from the Osaka Shinmin Taikai (Osaka Citizen’s Rally) cancelled a protest march against the effects of inflation on food prices. However, many people, outraged at the continuing hike in grain prices, still attended the event. An informal meeting was held, but the more raucous elements of the group took over and a riot ensued involving over a thousand people. The total number of protestors is unknown; the consensus amongst academics is that roughly a million (of the fifty-six million inhabitants of Japan) took part in the uprising. However, more precise available to us through police records held by the Shinshōshō (Ministry of Justice): over 20,000 with 8,165 convictions. The core of protestors arrested came from unskilled labourers or ‘craftsmen’ in their mid-to-late twenties with little or no formal education. As discussed, this working demographic is associated with the initial success of the Tatsukawa bunko.

The following table gives the education and income levels of those prosecuted from July to September 1918 in Osaka and Tokyo:

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834 原敬 (1856-1921).
835 Lewis, Rioters and Citizens, 5.
836 Office:大阪臣民大会.
837 Lewis, Rioters and Citizens, 9-11.
838 Office: 司法省.
839 Lewis, Rioters and Citizens, 16-23.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CITY</th>
<th>INCIDENTS</th>
<th>PROSECUTIONS</th>
<th>AVERAGE AGE</th>
<th>EDUCATION</th>
<th>INCOME</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OSAKA</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>521</td>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>High school; 0</td>
<td>Safe income; 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Middle school; 2</td>
<td>Prosperous; 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Primary school; 74</td>
<td>No Surplus; 205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Semi-literate; 185</td>
<td>Financial difficulty; 142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No education; 128</td>
<td>Extremely needy; 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOKYO</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>High school; 3</td>
<td>Safe income; 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Middle school; 24</td>
<td>Prosperous; 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Primary school; 211</td>
<td>No Surplus; 236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Semi-literate; 47</td>
<td>Financial difficulty; 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No education; 14 ⁸⁴⁰</td>
<td>Needy; ⁸⁴¹</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What is evident from these figures is that education and social welfare are closely connected. As we can see, the number of incidents and prosecutions for Osaka was significantly higher than that of Tokyo. Osaka was a bigger city than the imperial capital and specialised in industrial manufacture, which partially explains the difference between the two sets of figures. Equally, a lack of income would naturally predispose people living on the socio-economic margins to take action. In this regard, Osaka with its overcrowding, lack of social provision for the poor, and sub-standard level of educational attainment amongst its residents, was perhaps more susceptible to civil disturbances than its cultural rival Tokyo. However, contrary to expectations, the majority of demonstrators involved in the disturbances were responsible citizens with strong state affiliations, youth leaders, minor school officials, and young militiamen. The revelation shocked those in politics.⁸⁴²

⁸⁴⁰ Table 3. PEOPLE PROSECUTED FOR RIOTING (AS OF DECEMBER 1918): EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND. Figures from the Ministry of Justice (Japan). Cited in ibid., 19.

⁸⁴¹ Table 4. PEOPLE PROSECUTED FOR RIOTING (AS OF DECEMBER 1918): GENERAL INCOME LEVEL. Figures from the Ministry of Justice (Japan). Cited in ibid., 21.

⁸⁴² Over two million people were supposedly involved in the mass action but the figure for persons successfully prosecuted by the state was 2,819. Ibid., 19, 20, 24, 116, 139, & 152.
After the national riots Osaka remained politically volatile. On 28 May 1924, an agent from Reuters reported in *The Brisbane Courier* that the city had once again been crippled by industrial action:

> Recently many labour troubles have been experienced here [in Osaka]. A strike of over 300 gas workers seriously interfered with the supply of fuel to households and works. More than 100 conductors and motormen on suburban tramways struck, and the operatives of a large spinning mill have also ceased work. Other strikes include over 1,000 workers at the Osaka iron works, and 1,500 workers at the Miike coal mine. These strikes are regarded as a counter offensive by labour against the possible reduction of wages and other unfavourable [conditions].

On the 7 July, the local transport authorities affected by the conductor’s strike called in the police and had the strike leaders arrested.

Just before the renewed troubles, the journal *Kaizō (Restructure)* published an article by the Christian Socialist Abe Isō (1865-1949) titled ‘*Bōryoku ni tai suru kokumin no futetteiteki taido*’ (‘People’s Unpreparedness to Violence Groups’). Abe theorised that fervent patriotism led to a lack of critical thinking in politics. Referring to police brutality and the use of right-wing gangs to break up union movements following the Great Kantō earthquake of 1923, Abe went on to suggest that the eulogized exploits of Japan’s feudal and literary heroes inspired a culture of violence. Abe was not alone; Kikuchi Kan (1888-1948) published a similar work in *Chūō kōron (Central Review)*.

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844 Title: 改逆.
845 安部磯雄 (1865-1949).
846 Title: 「暴力に対する国民の不徹底的態度」.
847 菊池寛 (1888-1948).
848 Title: 中央公論.
questioning the negative social effects of violent nationalism endorsed by the state.849

Unbeknownst to Abe, many of the strike-breakers were nationalists who, according to Eiko Siniawer, had been unofficially sponsored by the then Home Minister Tokonami Takejiro (1867-1935)850 to act on the government’s behalf. The worst violence occurred in Osaka, where orality thrived thanks to low literacy. Many participants in the violence considered themselves kyôkaku, a term they took directly from yomihon and late kôdan. This self-adopted epithet was synonymous with the idiosyncratic heroes of the late Edo era, individuals who lived at the fringes of Tokugawa society, often in the employ of the government serving as baggage handlers or enforcers.851 The parallel between the men hired in secret by the Naimushô and the kyôkaku is clear: both parties acted in an external capacity as peacekeepers for the state. Interestingly, Henry Smith II alleges that Koga Renzô (1858-1942),852 Police Chief at the Naimushô (Ministry of the Interior, attempted to utilise naniwabushi (‘Osaka elegies’), a musical derivative of jôruri (choral verse) related to kôdan, as a form of alternative education for young criminals.853 If true, it appears as if the tactic may have had some effect.

It must be said that the protestors, including those involved in violent demonstrations, did not aim to destroy the political system. As Michael Lewis notes, the events of the Minshû sôjoki (‘Era of Popular Violence’)
indicate that Japanese society was still in the process of developing as a modern nation state.\textsuperscript{854} Scholars such as Koyama Hitoshi\textsuperscript{855} agree:

> The rice riots themselves were not an economic struggle based on a fixed and clear class relationships, capitalist against labor, landlord against tenant farmer. Sharply higher rice prices directly worsened living conditions, suddenly causing spontaneous explosion of discontent by the masses living in cities, farm villages, and fishing hamlets. From start to finish the overall incident was unplanned and unorganized.\textsuperscript{856}

The socialist movement had not yet revived enough from previous state persecution after the ‘High Treason Incident’ (1910-11), which saw Kôtoku Shûsui (1841-1911),\textsuperscript{857} Japan’s best-known socialist, and twenty-five former associates connected to a plot to assassinate the Meiji Tennô. Richard H. Mitchell argues that the hanging of Kôtoku and eleven of those charged had a ‘lasting impact upon Japanese history’, the immediate effect of which was a temporary collapse of the socialist movement.\textsuperscript{858}

\textsuperscript{854} Lewis, \textit{Rioters and Citizens}, xvii.
\textsuperscript{855} 小山仁示.
\textsuperscript{856} Koyama Hitoshi in Lewis, \textit{Rioters and Citizens}, xxii.
\textsuperscript{857} 幸徳秋水 (1841-1911).
\textsuperscript{858} Mitchell argues that the practice of \textit{tenkô} (moral conversion) was self-sustaining with many civic-minded individuals actively denouncing other members of the public rather than the state seeking them out. Such was the fate of Morito Tatsuo (1888-1984) working at the Imperial University. Morito was fired from the institution after publishing ‘Kurupopotokin no shakai shisô no kenkyû’ (‘Research on the Social Thought of Kropotkin’), which was published in the first issue of \textit{Keizaigaku kenkyû} (January 1920). In the article, Morito summarised the work of the Russian philosopher Pëtor Kropotkin (1842-1921, who argued that – in an ideal society – political and economic autonomy were important elements in ensuring its success. Morito went on to critique certain aspects of capitalism and nationalism, but he was careful to state that violence was not an effective political strategy. Though the article was balanced, it drew the ire of fellow professor Uesugi Shinkichi (1878-1929). Uesugi, backed by members of the rightist student-group Kôkoku Dosôshikai (Association Devoted to the Advancement of the State), called on the President of Tokyo Imperial University Yamakawa Kenjirô (1854-9131) and the Vice-Minister of Education Minami Hiroshi (1869-1946) in person demanding they take action. As a consequence, dissenting academics fell prey to other scholars wishing to ingratiate themselves with the state. Intellectual witch hunts helped to stimulate nationalist sentiments in the broader political arena. Richard H. Mitchell, ‘Japan’s Peace Preservation Law of 1925: Its Origins and Significance’, \textit{Monumenta Nipponica} Vol. 28, no. No. 3 (Autumn 1973): 319, 325, & 335.
Immediately after the assignation plot was uncovered, Suzuki Kisaburô (1867-1940), a senior bureaucrat in the Home Ministry, strengthened the Public Police Law (originally drafted in 1900) in order to better facilitate the investigation and prosecution of crimes against the state. As Peter Duus and Irwin Scheiner have noted, the law had already done much to stymy socialism in Japan by inhibiting recruitment. ‘No schoolteacher, Shinto or Buddhist priest, woman, nonadult male, or student could join a [political] party.’ Suzuki’s revision to the original mandate created an atmosphere of mistrust, where the law courts could interpret any form of critique aimed at government as sedition.

Abe’s criticism (quoted above) suggests that certain readers of contemporary forms of argot literature were actively creating their own political and ethical interpretations of heroism using ‘hyper-masculine’ kyōkaku as a foundation to help give a veneer of legitimacy to their actions. Given the dynamic nature of yomihon and its effect on late kōdan, his assumption makes sense.

**Conclusion**

It is evident that the practice of ondoku and the social proficiencies that developed around it did not fade with the coming of the industrial age. Uneven literacy, a result of Japan’s increasingly differential economy, meant that reading aloud in a group setting remained an essential practice for many. This was especially true of Osaka.

Newly industrialised, Osaka exemplified much of what was wrong with Japan’s modernity. Crowded with new arrivals and hard working conditions, the growing division between rich and poor was obvious to everyone. However, there were some good things too. People in the

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859 鈴木喜三郎 (1867-1940).

city strove for better working conditions. No one could have predicted the violence that would follow, but the initial strike at the Tenma cotton mill marked a new era in Japanese industrial relations. Long after the national riots of 1918 were over, walkouts continued to occur in the city (and elsewhere) in a respectful and well-organised manner.

In this regard, Tamada II (and the Sekka Sanjin Collective) had ‘an emotional response to the city’. Osaka had spirit. For many readers, the Tatsukawa bunko conjured up images of historical dissatisfaction with the state at a time when Osaka led the way in securing Japan’s economic future. In this regard, the ‘imagined past’ of the city was a critical factor in shaping contemporary views of Sasuke — his boldness distinguishing him as a local. This had a profound effect on how certain individuals interpreted their own place in social politics, especially cultural polyglots with lower levels of education like Shibayama, who saw the heroes of kōdan and their struggles for survival as a reflection of their own lived realities.

These opinions were not developed in isolation, however. The state also played a significant part in determining social ethics using classical material. The following chapter will investigate how compulsory education provided by the Monbushô utilised kōdan and the efficiency of oral tradition (and the efficacy of ondoku) in an attempt to create model citizens.

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CHAPTER 6
Chapter 6

State Ideology, Bunmeidō, & Oral Tradition

Popular Culture & Imperial Ethics

Nationalism and Europeanism caused controversy and commentary leading to major collisions [in society]. This is why the Emperor Meiji provided [us] with the timely Kyōiku chokugo (Imperial Rescript on Education). Gradually, Japanese language and education was noted and given [its due] merit. In an instant, the whole country was turned [on its head]. As if we were at the Nō play, the Imperial Household gave us patronage, and interest in foreign culture was corrected.862

— Yamamoto Ryōkichi (1871-1942)

The Tatsukawa bunko first got me interested in adult fiction. I used to hide them under my schoolbooks. Afraid my father would find out, I read them in the dark, gazing intently at the small print; which is why I’m now myopic…Now you see small children greedily reading Superman-style books, but with their shoddy paper and the imposition of blurred type, they’re not interesting like the Tatsukawa novels. We – my classmates and I – found the Tatsukawa bunko more compelling than our textbooks; it felt like they brought history to life.863

— Matsumoto Seichô (1909-1992): Extracts from the Black Notebook

Introduction

Thus far, we have seen that sokkibon (stenographical books) produced by the Bunmeidō Publishing Company in Osaka during the Taishō era (1912-26) featuring Sarutobi ‘monkey-jump’ Sasuke allowed for both liberal and conservative interpretations of the fictional Sanada vassal that resonated within Taishō society. Contemporary audiences and critics have tended to favour a progressive view of Sasuke, often

862 Yamamoto Ryōkichi (山本良吉, 1871-1942) was an independent Zen scholar working in the field of women’s education. An erstwhile friend of Suzuki Daisetsu (鈴木大拙, 1870-1966), Yamamoto was sincerely believed in the idea of the Japanese state free from foreign influence. A quick glance at the contents of Yamamoto’s Joshi shūshin sho (The Book of Moral Discipline for Taishō Girls, 1918) reveals a strong focus on moral propriety, nationalism, and the Meiji Tennō. Ryōkichi Yamamoto, Taishō joshi shūshin sho (大正女子修身書), Fourth Edition (Tokyo: Kōdōkan, 1918), 1-2.

positing him as an irreverent and free-spirited figure, one that was emblematic of the age. In this chapter, I shall and demonstrate how closely the ethos of the novels mirrored values put forward in government textbooks of the day. In order to appreciate the comparison, however, we must begin with a description of the historical, social, and political mechanisms that led to the creation of Japan’s national curriculum.

**Creating Imperial Ideology**

Under the guidance of the imperial tutor Motoda Eifu (1819-1881), the sixteen-year-old heir to the Japanese throne Crown Prince Sachi no Miya (b.1852) received the title Emperor Mutsuhito (referred to in this thesis by his posthumous title of Meiji Tennô). The sacraments of the Sokuirei (‘Enthronement’) and the Daijōsai (‘Grand Thanksgiving’) preformed by the monarch were, in fact, ornamented reconstructions witnessed only by a privileged few.

It was decided that the mortal form of the Japanese sovereign needed to be seen to remind everyone of the restored power of the emperor. To imprint the presence of the monarch in the public’s imagination, the young ruler travelled across the country in a palanquin. The imperial progress took two months as the living-god traversed from west to east, providing a semblance of the imperial institution as incarnate for those on route.

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864 元田永孚 (1819-1881).
865 茶地宮 (b.1852).
866 睦仁.
867 明治天皇.
868 Term: 即位の礼.
869 Term: 大嘗祭.
870 Fujitani, Splendid Monarchy, 54-55.
The new religious and political status of the future emperor formally ended the binary relationship between the imperial capital in Kyoto and the seat of shogunal power Edo. In honour of the move, the latter city was promoted to capital status, hence the name Tōkyō ("Eastern Capital").\textsuperscript{871} It is here that the omniscience of the emperor took on its enduring form in the kinds of visual domination — use of mise-en-scène, mnemonic works, and pageantry — described so brilliantly by Fujitani Takashi.\textsuperscript{872} These ceremonies set the scene for visions of the emperor that would be central to education in the later Meiji, Taishô, and Shôwa eras.

The use of reconstructed Shinto rites at the Meiji Tennô’s accession ceremony and the crossing of Japan indicate how novel the concept of a political sovereign was for most people. In order to resolve any lingering doubts, state pedagogy, under the influence of scholars steeped in kokugaku ("national learning"),\textsuperscript{873} saw a conspicuous revival of old customs, and the implementation of new practices fashioned as ancient. Altogether, the process was seemingly at odds with the intellectual and industrial demands of modernity.\textsuperscript{874}

At the turn of the twentieth century, struggling to implement a national programme of state education, the Monbushô (Ministry of Education, est. 1872) gave preference to native educational content, essentially a mixture of folktales and imperial historiography.\textsuperscript{875} In doing so, the Meiji Government also appropriated ethical content from

\textsuperscript{871} Term: 東京.
\textsuperscript{872} Fujitani, Splendid Monarchy, 54–55.
\textsuperscript{873} Term: 国学/国学.
\textsuperscript{874} Fujitani, Splendid Monarchy, 8.
kōdan (classical narratives), incorporating its militaristic values directly into the modern state curriculum.876

Imperial prosopography encoded in the Kojiki (Record of Ancient Matters) and the Nihon shoki (Chronicles of Japan) helped kokugaku scholars to relocate the sun goddess Amaterasu Ôkami as the historical ancestor to Prince Mutsuhito, thereby highlighting his divinity.877 These ancient texts also celebrated the mythological Jinmu Tennô (r.600-585 BCE) as the founder of the Yamato nation. Included in this grand genealogical narrative was the Sujin Tennô (r.97-30 BCE),880 one of the few emperors to have successfully fought off a military challenge to the imperial throne. The figures of Amaterasu and Jinmu would come to feature prominently in Monbushô texts (ills. 4),881 emphasising the political, moral, and socially restorative powers of the ancient imperial paradigm, lost but not forgotten under the Tokugawa Bakufu, and now embodied in the physical being of the Meiji Tennô.

A significant number of kokugakusha (scholars of ‘national learning’)882 served as teachers and administrators at the Daigaku (Institute of Great Learning) in Kyoto, when it reopened as Tôkyô Kaisei Gakkô (now the University of Tokyo, est. 1877). Their guidance would shape the majority of students entering the new university matriculating as civil servants, making the deeply conservative influence of the kokugaku

876 Ibid.
877 天照大神.
879 神武天皇 (r.600-585 BCE).
880 崇神天皇 (r.97-30 BCE).
881 See Illustration 4, 302.
882 Term: 国学者.
scholars self-sustaining. Working within the heart of government, bureaucrats were able to disseminate their belief in the principles of national learning and the centrality of the imperial institution via mandatory education. Michael Wachutka states:

Despite the fact that large numbers of national-learning scholars were involved in the central government for only a few years, their conception of the imperial system as a unity of worship and rule, saisei-itchi (祭政一本), remained the framework of the imperial state until 1945.\(^{883}\)

But the course of this ideological re-construction did not run smoothly. Contemporary arguments amongst intellectuals, bureaucrats, and civic leaders involved in the production of knowledge during the foundational years of Japanese state education illustrate how complicated the discourse on shūshin (moral education) was during the first few decades of the Meiji period.

As argued in previous chapters, the very existence of a society predisposed to orality enhanced and supported oral traditions that fed into — and from — Japan’s ‘vocal literature’. The value of this large body of artistic work to nation building must have been obvious to many, particularly to kokugaku scholars working at the Monbushō. Supporting this theory was the indigenous educational cum social practice of ondoku (reading aloud), which was historically common to all of Japanese society before the twentieth century.

It would be wrong, however, to imagine that the former Togukawa education system lacked sophistication. Many schools were highly organised and effective.\(^{884}\) Each establishment within the Tokugawa


\(^{884}\) Marleen Kassel gives the extraordinary example of Hirose Tansō (広瀬淡窓, 1782-1856); founder the largest private academy of the Edo era (1603-1868) known as the Kangien (咸宜園 translated here as ‘Reverencing Heaven’). At its height, the institute in Kyushu hosted 3,000 students gathered from all over Japan. (Enrolment records list attendees from
education system had its own rules and regulations. Nonetheless, all traditionally availed forms of education shared a common theosophical root in Tokugawa Confucianism. In 1790, Head of the Council of Tokugawa Elders Mastudaira Sadanobu (1759-1829) promulgated the Kansei igaku no kin (Kansei edict), which forbade the teaching of heterodoxies outside of the Confucian canon. The edict set the tone for formal (and informal) education during the late Edo era. Yet, Meiji reformers, such as Fukuzawa Yukichi, saw the Tokugawa decree as an impediment to national progress, one that engendered a parochial form of state-centred institutionalism.

Less than three years after the Meiji Restoration, Fukuzawa began publishing his seminal work Gakumon no susume (An Encouragement of Learning, 1871-76). The series of public admonitions set in motion a series of complex intellectual arguments that implicitly questioned the customs of Japanese society at every level. Fukuzawa argued that Japan needed to embrace western scientific culture if it was to thrive as a nation state in the modern age. In particular, Fukuzawa criticised the syncretic nature of Neo-Confucian thought, suggesting that in clinging to antiquated customs Japan had hampered its own ability to keep pace with the industrial world. He argued that such thinking had left the country vulnerable to occupation by foreign powers. Therefore, a

sixty-four of the sixty-eight domains.) Importantly, Hirose's academy was open to anyone that could afford it; the children of samurai studied alongside those of merchants, gentrified farmers, and monastics (which included two female nuns). Fees were high, but so was the quality of education. Though he was a strict Confucian, Tansô believed that books were not the only form of learning. He acknowledged that people had varying abilities and considered the cultivation of any one kind of student foolish. Students were taught to their level of intellect, the brightest taking on positions of bureaucratic responsibility within the academy. Students of lesser or differing abilities were not discriminated against. Instead, Tansô encouraged them to find purpose in other duties, such as manning the school sentry posts or finding useful employment in the kitchen. Marleen Kassel, Tokugawa Confucian Education: The Kangien Academy of Hirose Tansô (1782-1856) (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), 1-6.

885 松平定信 (1759-1829).
886 Term: 寛政異学の禁.
887 Kassel, Tokugawa Confucian Education, 24.
888 Title: 学問ノスメ.
reformation of local ideology was necessary for the future development, prosperity, and safety of Japan.

Attributing the success of the occident to the Enlightenment, Fukuzawa noted how the separation of religious and intellectual life freed science from its inhibitions. Fukuzawa believed that similar kinds of social reforms were needed locally. However, such radical change he argued could only be achieved through a programme of self-development supported by formal education.  

Pressed by the need for rapid state reconstruction, the Meiji Government chose to abandon the Tokugawa system in favour of a new pedagogical model. On 2 September 1872, at the inaugural meeting of the Meiji cabinet, the elder statesmen Itô Hirobumi (1841-1909) commissioned the Monbushô to administer the first official state education programme. Mori Arinori (1847-1899), a friend and confidant of Itô, co-founder of the Meirokusha (Meiji Six Society), and part of the original Meiji oligarchy that had ushered the imperial institution back into a position of centrality within the world of Japanese politics was the head of the ministry. Nonetheless, he was an independent thinker.

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890 伊藤博文 (1841-1909).
891 森有礼 (1847-1899).
892 Born in Kagoshima (Kyushu), Mori had received a traditional fief-education in the Satsuma domain. After graduation, he enrolled in the Kaiseijo (Institute for Development) established by the Tokugawa Bakufu for the analysis of ‘Western’ knowledge. Mori’s experiences in Britain, Russia, and the United States as part of the Iwakura delegation had impressed upon him the benefits (and hazards) of modernity. Nonetheless, the scholar was deeply aware that if Japan were to attain similar outcomes, its leaders would have to develop laws and systems that reflected the needs of the local population first. Mori’s time at the University of London, under the patronage of the British diplomat Lawrence Oliphant (1829-1888), left him with a positive impression of Christianity that would eventually become part of his own worldview. The moral fortitude and sense of charity found in societies with a Christian faith impressed him. However, in Russia Mori had seen how religion could also engender ignorance, especially if it were directed towards serving an all-powerful monarch. Consequently, Mori believed that secularism should take precedence in the classroom. He sincerely believed that the freedom to think, to debate, and to question freely, was the best way to bring about the technological changes needed to ensure Japan’s
Mori faced two distinct problems: one was financial, and the other was community opposition. Neither issue was well resolved. Constrained by the need to pay for industrial infrastructure, the Meiji Government made an increase of ten per cent to the property tax to help with subsistence payments for new school buildings. This placed an undue fiscal burden on the growing urban middle-class, causing resentment amongst the one group that could pay for private education. 893 Likewise, poorer rural communities saw little benefit in the new government scheme. Many tenant farmers needed their children to help with labour during times of harvest, but children in school meant a loss of income. Moreover, villagers in remote areas feared that, once educated, children would become dissatisfied with their lot and leave for the cities, further draining pastoral areas of its human resources. This eventually proved to be the case.

Under Mori’s leadership, the Monbushō established new middle and upper level preparatory schools to act as feeder institutions for the Imperial University, the unofficial stronghold of many kokugaku scholars. It was hoped that the availability of further education would aid students with potential to achieve the level of education needed to modernise the country. To this end, terakoya schools (the shrine and temple schools, private academies, medical colleges, military institutions, and workshops considered part of the old Tokugawa system) had their status changed and were adopted into the new national system of state-funded public education. 894 This would eventually have a profound affect on the nature and tenor of schooling in Japan.

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Education became the right of all; however, earlier attempts by Meiji bureaucrats to institute education reforms had met with strong resistance. In 1870, angry protesters across the country had burned down two thousand newly built schools in order to show their displeasure with state interference. The Meiji Government had failed to take account of life in rural areas where children were an essential part of the economy, especially at harvest time. In this way, compulsory schooling adversely affected the livelihoods of many tenant farmers. Moreover, the idea that all children required the same level of literacy was also questioned. What use was formal learning to a farmer? What if education encouraged young people to abandon the life in the village for a career in the city? Poor townsfolk working in factories had similar objections. Could schooling really change the class system? Aware of these concerns, Mori proceeded with caution.

Believing that local education ought to retain some autonomy, the Monbushô also allowed independent scholars to contribute materials (see below). Thus, the onerous task of pedagogical reform was left to Japan’s traditional educational institutions, the terakoya. Things did not go well. Without any guidance on how to implement the state’s new syllabus, attempts by schoolmasters to integrate unfamiliar forms of learning (mainly French and German philosophy, augmented by English and American teaching theory) ended in chaos.

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895 Coeducational schooling did not occur in Japan until the twentieth century. Nonetheless, the Monbushô was aware of the educational rights and needs of young women. On December 14, 1891, provisions for the schooling of girls appeared in a revision of the 1886 Chûgakko-rei (Middle School Order). Article 14 recognised institutions for girls as being comparable to the boys’ ordinary middle schools. The provision included a single clause, which stated, ‘Girls’ high schools may furnish arts and crafts courses necessary for girls’. Four years later, the Monbushô issued the 1895 Kôtô jyogakko-rei (Girls’ High School Regulations). This second document was more detailed. The course for girls’ high schools was set at six years, with options to extend or shorten the course according to the circumstances of the area. Further provisions allowed for adjustments to the length of the course according to the ability of the students. Monbushô, ‘The Issuance of the 1895 Girls’ High School Regulations’, sec. a, accessed 30 May 2016, http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317330.htm.

Via reports submitted by the likes of Nishimura Shigeki (1828-1902) and Kuki Ryûchi (1852-1931), the Monbushô had learned that teacher training was necessary. In the spring of 1872, the Monbushô implemented a revised education programme. The *Gakkôsei (Fundamental Code of Education)* introduced standardisation across the country. A limited set of teaching methodologies was also prescribed in an accompanying teacher’s manual. Tutors were required to be familiar with a wide array of subjects: the fundamentals of calculation; calligraphy; grammar, including the correct use of lexical items; letter writing; reading; physical education for students (mostly military drill for boys); science; and singing. For the first time, history as a subject was also included.

**Intellectual Unease with the Imperial Rescript on Education**

Mori’s progressive ideals would eventually cost him his life. On 11 Feb 1889, a right-wing nationalist assassinated him after a supposed show of disrespect on his visit to the imperial shrine at Ise. Allegedly, Mori had failed to remove his hat or bow upon entering the inner complex. The Monbushô began its licencing of *shûshin* textbooks to independent publishers that same year.

Prompted by the growing antipathy amongst Japanese intellectuals towards non-indigenous styles of moral education, Prime Minister

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897 西村茂樹 (1828-1902).
898 九鬼隆一 (1852-1931).
899 Title: 学制.
901 Tsukuba Daigaku Kindai Bungaku Kenkyûkai, *Meiji kara taishô e: media to bungaku* [明治から大正へメディアと文学] (Tsukuba: Satô Insatsu Kabushiki Kaisha Tsukuba Eigyôsho, 2001), 34.
Yamagata Aritomo (1838–1922) made a presentation to the members of the Diet. Out of this process came the *Kyôiku chokugo* (*The Imperial Rescript on Education*). The imperial edict had its origins in a series of proverbs derived from classical Confucian thought. The document extolled the virtue of *chûshin* (defined here as loyalty to the emperor, one’s parents, teachers, and brothers in the service of the state).

Officially announced on 13 October 1890, the succinct proclamation marked the culmination of a number of political and intellectual designs that would allow the imperial state to directly intervene in the morality of its citizens. Directly issued by the offices of the Meiji Tennô, the *Kyôiku chokugo* could not easily be countermanded. Its true architect, however, was Motoda Eifu, the *kokugaku* scholar responsible for re-creating the enthronement ceremonies of 1868. Ostensibly, the imperial edict reoriented the pedagogic focus of the Monbushô, limiting all acceptable interpretations of *chûshin* to an imperial singularity. A full transcription of the *Kyôiku chokugo* is included here for later reference:

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**Know ye, Our subjects**

Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein also lies the source of Our education. Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and

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903 山縣有朋 (1838-1922).
904 Title: 教育勅語.
905 Gluck, *Japan’s Modern Myths*, 5.
moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers. The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, Our subjects, that we may thus attain to the same virtue.  

As argued by Erica Benner, the older paradigm of loyalty to the country or to a feudal lord had to be restructured to encompass a greater sense of nationhood: now part of the international stage, Japanese citizens had to identify with each other as much as their government, whilst distinguishing themselves from other peoples as a nation. The Kyōiku chokugo helped to reconcile these two opposing tensions unifying the Japanese people in a ‘conscious awareness’ of sharing something broader than simple patriotism. Lacquer-like, the moral solution of the Kyōiku chokugo allowed the Meiji Government to paint over the obvious cracks in society caused by an increasingly differential economy at a time when the possibility of Japanese expansion overseas was about to be realised.

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907 Theodore de Bary, Keene, and Tsunoda, Sources of Japanese Tradition, 646–47.
908 Erica Benner in Shimazu, ‘Nationalisms in Japan’, 11–12, 13, 26–27. Erica Benner maintains that democratic and authoritarian systems can both support national doctrine. Benner traces this shift back to medieval Europe when a series of wars brought forth the sense of particularization amongst the competing countries of England, France, and Spain. However, war only provided a temporal means of unification. Expansion during the sixteenth century onwards precipitated a camping of nation building on the part of the smaller countries on the continent, which lead to the concept of the modern nation state. Significantly, Benner argues that democratic and authoritarian systems can support national doctrine. Benner judges the influence of German thinking connected to Japanese nationalism an inconsistency, due to the fact that much of the thinking concerning the significance of the monarchy originated in Britain, as a response to the French Revolution and the resistance of the United States during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.
Paradoxically, the vision of nation embodied in the imperial rescript drew much of its strength from the work of the German philosopher Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803). Herder’s work had appeal in Japan amongst the élite for a number of reasons: firstly, like Japan, Germany had recently unified and become a nation state; similarly, its scholars were trying to define a new national identity. Herder’s concept of the ‘volk’ (German for ‘folk’) placed greater emphasis on collective ontology by stressing the unique characteristics of each race. The philosopher identified literature, poetry, and art as key exhibits of German (Gothic) culture, through which the people expressed their ‘moral best’. Herder did not favour military accounts of history, however. He considered epics too focused on the lives of the elite, and therefore incapable of revealing much about the people.\footnote{Michael Forster, ‘Johann Gottfried von Herder’, The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (The Metaphysics Research Lab, Spring 2009), sec. 8, http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2009/entries/herder/}

Makihara Norio\footnote{牧原憲夫} argues that the term ‘volk’ (translated into Japanese as ‘minzoku’)\footnote{Term: 民族} suppressed diversity to create a personal sense of nation. In the context of Japan, minzoku implied a strong sense of ethno-cultural unity. However, Makihara makes it clear that the notion of minzoku, though galvanising, did not form the basis for the personalised doctrine of monarchy.\footnote{Our modern sense of the appellation describes the domain of political society. Makihara connects the all three verbal instances (nasci, ethos, and volk) to a contemporary understanding of the Middle-English term ‘citizen,’ designating a person with rights and obligations to the state. Ultimately, the terms ‘nation’ and ‘state’ are different concepts defined by a variety of customs and manners. This further problematises our understanding of the language behind nationalism making. Having explained the etymology of term, Makihara discusses their application in society as Japan transitioned from an agrarian economy into an industrial one. He explores issues of oppressive nationalism and exclusionary ‘folkism’ showing that government legislation from the 1930s onwards fostered a sense of ultra-nationalism in which, terms like nation, state, and folk were ambiguous and used in no discernable order to motivate the people. Makihara, Kyakubun to kokumin no aida, 10–11.} Despite its complexities, the philosophy of nativism had an obvious appeal for a Japanese state
trying to overcome the legacies of feudalism. There was resistance, however.

Despite various setbacks, new child-centred theories on schooling from the Americas and Europe continued to filter through and affect policy makers working within the Monbushô. The pioneering work of the American philosopher John Dewey (1859-1952) was particularly influential. During the late 1890s, Dewey conducted a number of official research tours of Asia, including Japan. Dewey’s training was in the German system of thought, based on the metaphysical works of Georg Wilhelm Friederich Hegel (1770-1831); both scholars perceived learning in a teleological manner, the purpose of education was to make useful citizens. Dewey’s ideas on the need for unity of theory and practice in the classroom excited state and independent educators alike.913

Abe Isoo, intellectual, socialist, and Christian educator (spoken of in Chapter 3) deemed the Kyôiku chokugo vague and its aims too ephemeral to be of any real efficacy. The edict’s emphasis on filial piety and strict social hierarchy did not sit well with Abe’s vision of progressive education. Inspired by Dewey, Abe thought the didactic praxis of state education limited students’ potential to grow spiritually and did nothing to foster the individual’s own ethical senses. Inspired by the need for effective teaching, the Monbushô did make

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913 John Dewey (1859-1952) contended that in order to be useful philosophical thought harnessed to practical applications could achieve positive outcomes in, and for, society. Dewey acknowledged that education was fundamental in shaping, and ultimately securing the national goals of the state. The benefits of Dewey’s ideologically driven practice would have been obvious to Monbushô officials who set the parameters for the national education system. Liberals worldwide also saw child centred learning as serving the individual within the national interest also embraced Dewey’s work. Robert Westbrook sees this later interpretation of Dewey’s work as an over simplification, however. Westbrook stresses that Dewey was never in favour of abolishing structure, he hoped rather that the instinctive impulses shared by all humans to communicate, question, construct, and express meaning in all of its ‘finer forms’ should be allowed to operate within the setting of a classroom. Robert B. Westbrook, ‘John Dewey (1859-1952)’, Prospects: The Quarterly Review of Comparative Education (Paris, UNESCO: International Bureau of Education) XXIII, no. 1/2 (1999): 277–91.
improvements to teacher training. However, Abe, and others like him such as Sawayanagi Masatarô (1865-1937), would only ever implement the most advanced methodologies within private institutions, away from direct government interference.

The most overt forms of resistance to the Kyôiku chokugo appeared in the press. Having founded Keiô Gijuku Daigaku (Keio University) originally a samurai school for Rangaku (Dutch Learning) in 1858, Fukuzawa Yukichi was now one of Japan’s most powerful independent educators. He praised the goal of social unification implicit in Kyôiku chokugo, but was cautious of its overarching sense of the Meiji Tennô as a cypher for individual meaning in an article titled ‘Shûshin yôryô’ (‘The Point of Ethics’). The critique was syndicated nationally: first, in Fukuzawa’s newspaper Jijishimpô on the 8 December 1900, hence the attribution to Fukuzawa. It also appeared in the Ôsaka asahi shinbun. The article attracted a great deal of criticism from conservatives who felt that its sentiment contradicted the central position of the Meiji Tennô as the moral referent for Japanese society.

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914 泽柳政太郎 (1865-1937). Tetsuya Kobayashi, ‘Masataro Sawayanagi (1865-1937) and the Revised Elementary School Code of 1900’, Biography 13, no. 1 (Winter 1990): op. Sawayanagi Masatarô was influenced by Western theories of education like Pestalozzi and Herbart, both of whom he translated. Early publications, such as Jyûzen taii: bukkyô dôtoku [⼗善大意ー仏教道徳] (1890) and Rinrigaku [倫理学] (1891) further reflect his deep interest in religion. The influence of Buddhism in particular would become a feature of Sawayanagi’s heuristic approach to education. With regard to Japanese pedagogy, very few of Dewey’s theories were ever formally introduced. However, Sawagayani introduced the American’s thoughts on the professional requirements of teachers via the Education Codes of Conduct introduced in 1890.

915 Masako Gavin, ‘Abe Iso (1865-1949) and His Views on Education’, ePublications@bond, 2004, 5-17.

916 Title: 修身要領.

917 Fukuzawa, et al., in Akinori Nishigaki, ed., Kakugen kyôkun zensho hinsei shûyô jinkaku tanen [格言教訓全書品性修養人格鍛練] (Osaka: Ôsaka Tatsukawa Bunmeidô, 1909), 48-56 Fukuzawa is supposed to have expressed his doubts about the appropriateness of the imperial intervention. The real authors of the article were Fukuzawa’s sons Ichitarô (1863-1938) and Sutejirô (1865-1926): the two were joined by Obata Tokujirô (1842-1905), Kamata Eikichi (1863-1934), another friend called Ishikawa Mikiaki (1859-1943), and Tsuchiya Motosaku (1866-1932). All were former Keio students. The article states cautiously: ‘Citizens born in our land of Japan, regardless of [whether they be] men or women, old or young, are of one family reverentially accepted by the Imperial House. This blessing is unconditional. No one under
From 1897 onwards, the Monbushô prescribed, but did not produce, textbooks for shûshin classes. Instead, independent companies sanctioned by the ministry stepped into the breach and produced materials for schools. It is here that the devout Buddhist Tatsukawa Kumajirô made his first fortune.

Religious groups and civic associations were quick to embrace the opportunity to promote their cause. Buddhist sects in particular saw the Meiji Restoration as an opportunity to re-establish the faith as Japan’s national religion, but it was not to be. In its quest for enlightenment, the Meiji Government attacked the faith as, ‘corrupt, decadent, anti-social, parasitic, and superstitious’ and ‘inimical to scientific and technological progress’. The legal status of Buddhist institutions also changed dramatically, the Meiji Government required religious institutions to pay government taxes, reducing the incomes of temples. This, along with rapid urbanisation led to the collapse of the  

danka seidô  (parishioner system)  

that had traditionally supported monastic societies.

After 1890, however, Buddhists understood that they would have little choice but to comply with the Meiji Government’s emperor-centric vision of order and morality. Hoping to gain patronage, writers

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heaven seems in doubt of it. It is said, that in current society — amongst the men and women of today — the learning of ethics from ancient times is not [sufficiently] praised when speaking of moral education. However, the promise of change [naturally] accompanies the progress of humanity. Therefore, in the society of a new civilised Japan, [setting] oneself as the [moral] cornerstone for society is not a suitable teaching. [That is to say,] it is not an obtainable goal. Thus, a law of ethics for the modern world seems essential. Alone, the dignified figure [of His Imperial Majesty] recommends action [undertaken in the possession] of knowledge and virtue. Yet, increasingly, that brilliance — to have, and enhance — is not a solitary duty. Our magnificent men and women possess a belief in the spirit of independence; self-respect is the aim of ethical conduct. If we stray from our duty, this obligation [to improve society] cannot be fulfilled.’

918 Term: 檀家制度.
affiliated with Buddhist minkan (non-governmental) organisations allowed the state-centred language of tennôsei (emperor-centred ideology) to permeate their work. This does not mean that religious scholars forsook their ideals, far from it. Through their writings, Buddhists found ingenious ways to both appease and chastise the government.

Inoue Enryô (1858-1919), a former Buddhist priest and graduate of the University of Tokyo, rightly argued that Japanese philosophy was already highly developed by the time foreigners arrived on Japanese soil in the 1850s. As a nationalist, he advanced the idea that native epistemological modes of thought in Japan were superior to their equivalents in western civilisation. It is no coincidence that Inoue was a major influence on the philosopher Nishida Kitarô (1870-1945), one of the founders of the Kyoto school. To this end, the philosopher developed the concept kôhei mushi (impartial reasoning) making his most sustained arguments for the rationality of Buddhism in an

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920 Term: 民間.
921 Term: 天皇制.
922 In 1911, anti-Buddhist sentiment increased dramatically amongst the population after the ‘Taigyaku jiken’ (‘High Treason Incident’): police uncovered an anarchist plot to assassinate the Meiji Tennô and his family. Scholars have since argued that only a handful of the twenty-five accused of the conspiracy were actually involved in the plot. Tomoe Moriya, ‘Social Ethics of “New Buddhists” at the Turn of the Twentieth Century: A Comparative Study of Suzuki Daisetsu and Inoue Shûten’, Japanese Journal of Religious Studies 32, no. 2 (2005): 238.
923 井上円了 (1858-1919).
924 The Kyoto School was a loose collection of philosophers working at Kyôtô Daigaku (Kyoto University) during the 1930s. Nishida Kitarô (西田幾多郎, 1870-1945), Tanabe Hajime (田辺元, 1885-1962), and Nishitani Keiji (西谷啓治, 1900-1990) were amongst the group’s most prominent members. Nishida’s concept of ‘mu’ (無 roughly translated as ‘absolute nothingness’) related to the Buddhist concept of śûnyatâ (emptiness) – was a key concept in the doctrine of school. The Greeks, Nishida reasoned, apprehended reality through ‘logos’ (reason). He believed that for the Japanese the ground was ‘mu’, which could only be understood through intuition and feeling. Inspired by his early education in Zen practice, Nishida attempted to explain concepts of Asian religious thinking using European philosophical terms of logic. Nishida proposed an eloquent solution for the Cartesian ‘mind, body’ dilemma arguing that satori (enlightenment) could overcome the ego collapsing the psychological barriers between the mind as ‘subject’ and the world as ‘object’. Robert Wilkinson states that Nishida’s goal was unobtainable but that his work, which was a response to the Enlightenment, raised a number of useful questions as to how different cultures – in this case, the Occident and the Orient – perceived reality. Robert Wilkinson, Nishida and Western Philosophy (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 156-57.
925 Term: 公平無私.
address given to the Chicago Parliament of the World’s Religions titled ‘Bukkyô katsuron joron’ (‘Buddhism as a Means’) in 1893.  

Inoue contributed the foreword (and a number of poems) to a textbook titled *Kakugen kyôkun zensho: hinsei shûyô jinkaku tanren* (*Treatise of Morally Instructive Aphorisms: Forging Character, Cultivation of Character*, 1899). The book was published under exclusive license by Tatsukawa Kumajirô, the founder of Bunmeidô in 1909, just two years before the launch of the *Tatsukawa bunkô*. It is impossible to say whether the investment was a profitable venture for Tatsukawa or not, but it is the clearest indicator of his early output as an educational publisher prior to his more commercial venture with Tamada II and the Sekka Sanjin Collective.

The book is important to this study because, as well as reflecting the philosophical outlook of a major religious scholar during the late 1890s, the materiality of the book tells us something about the meticulousness of Tatsukawa as a publisher (ills. 5).  

The text is printed on quality paper and the embossed cover features an illustration of a lotus flower painted in gold. The book itself comes housed in a protective card box, which features a small decorative representation of what appears to be Shirakawago in Gifu. (The village is famous for silk production, but the surrounding areas are associated with papermaking.) The back pages of the *Kakugen kyôkun zensho* reveal that a network of individuals and businesses located in the Osaka sponsored the book.

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927 See Illustration 5, 303.
Overall, the *Kakugen kyōkun zensho* is an intriguing mix of local proverbs and religious sayings. Scanning the pages of the book one sees citations from Plato (c.428-448 BCE) alongside articles written by John Stuart Mill (1806-1873). A few page turns brings us to the last dying words of the shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu, whose moral advice is both bluntly practical and esoteric:

One must become good.
Do not permit your mind to dwell on women.
People and things are the same.
One must not [over] sleep in the morning.
Anything [that] seems average, [may not be].
You must mind your own future.
Whatever, one must not disparage sincerity.
Do not be bored by things.
The world of men is like the passing of dew in summer.
Osaka was but a dream within dream.928

This collection of maxims and moral beliefs illustrates some of the difficulties faced by Japanese philosophers on how best to integrate foreign epistemology into Japanese education during the first quarter of the Meiji period. However, all dictums are subordinate to the *Kyōiku chokugo*. Inoue states:

Essential daily examples, within the three hundred characters of the Chokugo tell us that our country's people should never – even for an instant – forget their duty to obey our Lord.929

As author, Inoue acknowledges that the didactic purpose of the book is complicated, but he asserts that the work will prove ‘an invaluable reference’ for the public:

Language, letters, and writings contain the stuff of our daily lives, which we preserve via maxims. The instances are myriad. People, having heard *kakugen kindô* (morally instructive aphorisms), claim


929 Inoue Enryō in ibid., i-xx.
that even if these things cause us harm and great anguish, for the sake of our true selves we ought to remember them.\textsuperscript{930}

The book divides the \textit{Kyōiku chokugo} into three sections. Thematically, each grouping moves steadily from the personal to the level of state:

I \hspace{1em} \textbf{FILIAL PIETY}

a. \hspace{1em} The Self
   i. \hspace{1em} Maintaining spontaneity and modesty.
   ii. \hspace{1em} Mastering learning; learning professions.
   iii. \hspace{1em} Enlightenment of the intellect; attaining moral tools.

b. \hspace{1em} On Family
   i. \hspace{1em} Filial piety toward parents.
   ii. \hspace{1em} Friendship amongst siblings.
   iii. \hspace{1em} Spouses: growing together.

II \hspace{1em} \textbf{SOCIETY}

i. \hspace{1em} Companions: mutual belief.
   ii. \hspace{1em} Exhibiting benevolence.
   iii. \hspace{1em} Promote the public’s interests; open world affairs.

III \hspace{1em} \textbf{NATION}

i. \hspace{1em} Essentializing the national constitution.
   ii. \hspace{1em} Obeying the law of the land.
   iii. \hspace{1em} Presentation of courage.

Poems composed by Inoue are deeply personal, giving us access to the innermost workings of the author’s mind. In the following extract, Inoue advocates Buddhism as a means of engaging fruitfully with the world. Whilst doing so, Inoue seizes upon the chance to surreptitiously criticize the Meiji Government for its lack of moral comprehension. Nonetheless, he is careful to exempt the Meiji Tennō from this responsibility:

\hspace{1em} The brilliance of the path of ethics is not evident when our eyes cannot see the mirror of the country!

\textsuperscript{930} Inoue Enryō in ibid., 1.
Policy should not be made under people who have learned the path of poor ethics.
Accordingly, [as] the dark of night [becomes] illuminated by the light, clouds vanish.
Look up at the brilliance of our true minds.
Regarding the Imperial Rescript, its warning [we] take, compelled to hear.
Thus, clothed in the armour of ethics we do battle, [like] dew on the Buddha: who cannot win?931

Given that all educational materials were submitted to the Monbushô for approval, the importance intellectuals placed on the sanctity of the Meiji Tennô after the issue of the Kyôiku chôkô was — perhaps — unavoidable. Nonetheless, such compliance helped to strengthen the legal religiosity or ‘corpus mysticism’ associated with the imperial line.932 In this oblique way, religious thinkers such as Inoue, and commercial publishers like Tatsukawa, contributed to the doctrine of inviolability prescribed in official textbooks that emphasised the divine nature of the imperial line through the unbroken lineage of monarchs harking back to the legendary emperors.

Official corruption within the Monbushô during the latter part of the Meiji period intensified the existing problems of pedagogical stability during the early years of state education. Unable to cope with the task of producing a raft of reforms, the Itô Cabinet had licensed various companies to oversee the production of new learning materials. However, the inclusion of commercial publishers eventually proved disastrous. Officials nationwide took bribes to ensure that publishing rights went to those with financial stakes in the textbook industry. Inferior products and shortages became commonplace. As Kajiyama

931 Inoue Enryô in ibid., 2–3.
932 Originating in early Christian law, the historical theory was that the kings and emperors of Europe had two bodies, legally differentiating the mortal and the spiritual forms of a sovereign. Sanctified the ‘body politic’ had a greater power than the ‘natural body’ because it was deemed incapable of wrongdoing. Ernst Hartwig Kantorowicz, The King’s Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), vii, viii, x, 4, 13–15.
Masafumi notes, this hampered the Monbushô’s efforts to introduce the new state system of education, which had a negative impact on children’s education generally.

On 17 December 1902 events took a new turn. Aware of corruption in the textbook industry, the Monbushô called on the police to raid a number of homes and offices across the country. Over 150 people, including governors, prefectural administrate officials, prefectural educational supervision officials, principles, and teachers of teacher’s schools, principles of junior high schools, principles of women’s schools, the chairman of a prefectural assembly, prefectural alderman, Monbushô officials, lawyers, presidents, and staff members from the associated publishing companies were sent for parliamentary trials. 116 received sentences for bribery and corruption.

The scandal forced the Monbushô to finally take control of production. Initially the education ministry had licensed the printers Nihon Shoseki Kabushiki Kaisha (The Japanese Book Corporation), formerly the Tôkyô Shoseki Kabushiki Kaisha (The Tokyo Book Corporation), to produce a variety of reading materials for them, but after 1903, the Monbushô took over the company making it a state operation. Further legal revisions to educational licensing followed from 1908 to 1911. In doing so, the Meiji Government brought the textbook industry to heel.

The transition from semi-independent texts produced under licence for the Monbushô to state materials coincided with Japanese military success overseas in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5). The ‘annexation’

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933 Masafumi Kajiya in Insatsu Hakubutsukan, Kindai kyôiku o sasaeta kyôkasho: tôsho bunko korekushon o chushin to shite [近代教育をささえた教科書—東書文庫コレクションを中心として] (Tokyo: Tokyo Shoseki, 2009), 149–150.
934 Company: Reitan, Making a Moral Society, 132.
of Korea (1910) soon followed. The result was a general increase in Japanese nationalism. To this end, the Monbushô reinterpreted the meaning of the *Kyôiku chokugo* for a new generation during the Taishô era, amplifying the general principles of *chûshin* producing a highly patriotic strain of *tennôsei*.

In redefining the articles of the *Kyôiku chokugo*, the Monbushô deliberately used its textbooks to promote *tennôsei* and the idea of the citizens as soldier. First published around the same time as the *Tatsukawa bunko*, the *Jinjô shôgaku kokugo yomihon* (*Elementary School Japanese Reader*, hereafter *JSKY*) emphasised *chûshin* as the sole criteria in Japan’s new nationalism. The content of the *JSKY* provides a basis for comparing national educational values with those conveyed (in a very different form) by the *Sarutobi-sasuke* novels.

‘The Imperial Gift of the Mandate to Soldiers’ (Volume 12, Section 27) is a commentary on the 1882 *Imperial Rescript to Soldiers and Sailors* (*Gunjin chokuyû*). The *JSKY* lesson is normally assigned to matriculating students aged twelve. The opening passage briefly outlines the role of the military, followed by the function of government. It then focuses on the responsibilities of the citizen, noting that the Meiji edict still applies to everyone:

*It is not just for the military to defend the five articles.*

The text goes on to argue that defence of the realm requires the cultivation of a shared moral fortitude, which in this instance consists of virtues assigned to the military:

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937 Title: 軍人勅諭.
Soldiers without loyalty are like lifeless dolls, incapable of possessing a spirit. If the military, on which the nation depends for its strength, consisted of such individuals, it would be nothing more than a rabble. Loyalty must be maintained. If one is to take care of the country, one must be prepared to give their life do to so.  

Here we see state education beginning to reflect Japan’s international standing after its success overseas in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95), the Boxer Rebellion (1900), and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5).  

However, thanks to mandatory education, an unprecedented ninety-seven per cent of children were matriculating from school. A further seventy-six per cent of male students were moving on to higher education (post-primary schooling). Female students were close behind at sixty per cent. Evidently, one of the main state-building objectives of the Monbushô was slowly being accomplished.  

KÔDAN AS A SOURCE OF STATE PROPAGANDA DURING THE TAISHÔ ERA  

Mori’s subordinate, Nishimura Shigeki oversaw the delivery of state textbooks. Like his predecessor, Nishimura realised that Confucian thought was outmoded: it gave citizen’s responsibilities, but no rights. Resolving the matter was no easy task. As an intellectual, he believed that the concepts of progress espoused in Utilitarianism were suitable for the middle and upper classes: possessed of sufficient intellect these two echelons could process the difficult concepts of modernity needed for state building. However, as the new head of the Monbushô,  

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939 Ibid., 12:111.  
940 Yoshio Katagiri and Hajime Kimura, Kyôiku kara miru nippon no shakai to rekishi = Education and Society in Japan from Historical Perspectives = 教育から見る日本の社会と歴史 (Tokyo: Yachio Shuppan, 2008), 115.  
941 Ibid., 115 & 117.
Nishimura considered faith necessary for the lower orders, which he reasoned had a less sophisticated understanding of the world.942

This paternalistic diagnosis of Japanese society gives an indication as to why kôdan became such an important element in the Monbushô syllabus. For centuries, the practices, and narratives behind Japan’s ‘vocal literature’ had been part of the people’s cultural makeup. Though kôdan had become secularised, it retained many of its religious qualities: its entertaining simplicity and moral didacticism made it a viable platform for mass education, one with a cultural air of authority.

As argued throughout this thesis, during the late Meiji and early Taishô reigns, the population was still profoundly influenced by ‘orality’. Oral and chirographical modes of ethical transmission did not constitute a simple binary, but a spectrum of communication in which most, if not all, Japanese citizens could operate. Critically, kôdan was still a popular discipline within the yose (vaudeville theatre). Works inspired by the oral tradition could also be found in contemporary books and magazines. It meant that, regardless of education, everyone was still familiar with the genre, and thus, could interpret its meaning. This common knowledge would continue to have great significance after the death of the Meiji Tennô.

Unlike his predecessor, the Taishô Tennô (1912-26) was comparatively absent from the public’s imagination. The imperial scion’s birth coincided with an outbreak of cholera in 1878 that swept the nation

942 Nishimura finally rejected Occidental philosophy altogether. He claimed it was too diverse to be of any use to the Japanese people, who were, in his opinion, homogenous enough not to need such a confusing array of systems for spiritual and social cohesion. Subsequently, he developed a ‘hylemorphic’ epistemology that refuted the dualism of Descartes, focusing on the nature of national identity arguing that qualitative appreciations of the national normalised Japanese levels of self-expectation. No longer was Japan backward, it was superior in its alleged homogeneity. Reitan, Making a Moral Society, 1-4.
killing an estimate 100,000 people.\textsuperscript{943} It was an ill omen, for sickness was also to touch the royal household. At some point, an unspecified malady believed to be meningitis weakened the young prince’s constitution: this infirmity would come to shape the reign of the 123\textsuperscript{rd} emperor. Education helped the imperial institution maintain its presence through what was a difficult period of transition.

Before the inauguration of the Meiji Tennô kokugaku scholars loyal to the imperial cause, such as Nakayama Tadayasu (1809-1888)\textsuperscript{944} maternal grandfather to the then young prince, Tamamatsu Misao (1810-1873),\textsuperscript{945} and Iwakura Tomomi (1825-1883),\textsuperscript{946} argued that the post-Restoration state ought to be fashioned after exemplars from the imperial line. The legendary reign of Jinmu and the historical Go-Daigo were thought to be suitable models with which to project a positive image of the monarchy.\textsuperscript{947} In keeping with this programme of imperial prosopography, the Monbushô mythologised the imperium by focusing on icons of imperial potency. It did so, by resurrecting the cardinal value of hōganbi’iki established in classical kōdan for the contemporary purpose of nation building. Violence is depicted as a legitimate part of this political process.

Classical narratives that appear in the JSKY use panegyrics in the form of nanori (spoken genealogies) to invoke the idea of the Meiji Tennô as the harbinger of progress and the rightful inheritor of power in Japan. The Taika Reforms (issued in 645)\textsuperscript{948} by the T’ang-style bureaucracy of

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{943} Takahisa Furukawa, Taishô tennô [大正天皇], Jinbotsu Sôsho (Shinsôban) 247 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan, 2007), 2.
\item \textsuperscript{944} 中山忠能 (1809-1888).
\item \textsuperscript{945} 工松操 (1810-1872).
\item \textsuperscript{946} 岩倉具視 (1825-1883).
\item \textsuperscript{947} Wachutka, \textit{Kokugaku in Meiji-Period Japan}, 11-26.
\item \textsuperscript{948} Title: \textit{文化の改革}.
\end{itemize}
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the Tenji Tennō (r.661-68) saw the enactment of far-reaching amendments to the mechanisms of state. These included the drafting of new civic laws, comprehensive taxation, and a national census. Extensive land redistribution and the development of a national infrastructure of roads also occurred. Reforms under the Meiji Tennō were equally revolutionary. Unlike his father, who exists as an omnipotent presence in the Monbushō series, the Taishō Tennō is completely absent.

One of the most powerful narratives in the JSKY concerns the emperor Tenji’s days as a young man, then known by his former title Prince Naka no Ôe (626-671). When he wrested political power away from the military in a bloody coup d'état, he was assisted by Nakatomi no Kamatari (614-669). This man was later known as Fujiwara no Kamatari, hence the title of the following extract taken from the eighth volume in the Monbushō series. Whilst extolling the virtues of loyalty, the narrative also serves as a stark warning to anyone harbouring treasonous thoughts, an important idea during a time of strikes and riots:

FUJIWARA KAMATARI

More than 1,300 years ago, in the time of the Empress Kōgyoku, the disloyal Soga clan and Ezo (Ainu) desired power. For the sake of the country Nakatomi no Kamatari kept watch over the Soga thinking to abolish them.

Kamatari honoured the Emperor more than his parents. The two became kindred spirits. Soon, Kamatari attended [the Emperor] in service.
There were two or three messages from Kan (other countries) about secret meetings with the Soga, Kamatari knew that this was an important occasion and a plan was decided upon.\footnote{Monbushô, Jinjô shôgaku kokugo yomihon (8) [尋常小學國語讀巻⼋], vol. 8 (Tokyo: Kyôkasho Kyôdô Hanbaisho, 1915), 51–52.}

The leaders of the Soga are invited to meet with the prince in the presence of the Empress Kôgyoku (r.594-661)\footnote{皇極天皇 (r.594-661).} at the Great Hall of the Imperial Palace; the trap is set. Once the Soga are assembled, Naka no Òe takes the matter of killing into his own hands:

Full of anger, as arranged, the Emperor entered the sword fight cutting [the] [leader of the] Soga across his shoulder. [Kamatari] saw this and cut [the leader of the] Soga (Iruka) across the leg, and soon his [opponent] was dead. The [emissaries from] Ezo present were also killed.\footnote{Monbushô, JSKY (8), 8:52-54.}

Following the political bloodletting, Naka no Òe and Nakatomi no Kamatari take their ‘rightful places’ within the political firmament:

Afterwards, Prince Nakano Òe became emperor; he was honoured with the title Tenji (Heavenly Wisdom). Thousands agreed [with what had been done]. Later, Kamatari honoured the Emperor by becoming his Cabinet Minister. For his service, Kamatari received the title Fujiwara. The name Fujiwara exists to this day.\footnote{Ibid., 8:54.}

Direct participation in combat by an emperor became historically rare by the medieval period (1185-1600). The predominant pattern was for the court to summon agents to do battle in its stead. Considering the realities of national conscription for the population (the separation of families, loss of autonomy, casualties, death, and ensuing bereavement), the Japanese state needed to condition its citizens for war. Kôdan provided the Monbushô with a platform that could be used as propaganda to ennable citizens in the same way the \textit{buzô} (military
clerics) had done centuries earlier. The JSKY textbooks do so by reframing self-sacrifice as an act of filial devotion, and violence done in the emperor’s name as just.

The Monbushô also played a significant part in creating a mythos around the kyôkaku (‘men of honour’) found in kôdan by introducing historical examples of the military class into modern state education. The following parable from the seventh book of the JSKY provides us with an explicit interpretation of hôganbi’iki created during the Muromachi era (1333-1573) titled The Filial Piety of Kusanoki Masatsura.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the gunkimono is part of the Taiheiki (Tale of Grand Pacification).\textsuperscript{957} We have seen how the narrative functioned in its historical context as a part of the classical canon; now let us examine how the Monbushô represented these two protagonists.

After disposing of the Kamakura Bakufu (1192-1333), the emperor Go-Daigo fell out with his allies from the House of Ashikaga. Gathering friends around him, he established an independent base of power known as the ‘Southern Court’. The Ashikaga clan created the ‘Northern Court’ with other remaining nobles. Go-Daigo lost the war, but was allowed to remain as a figurehead of the military state. The Ashikaga then founded the Muromachi Bakufu (1333-1573), ushering in an age of political domination by warrior class.\textsuperscript{958}

The Monbushô promoted the history of the Southern Court to create a sense of continuity in the minds of schoolchildren between the imperial institutions of the past and present. Accordingly, Kusunoki Masatsura has two features of hôganbi’iki that were yoked by the Monbushô for the purposes of tennôsei as defined under the kokugaku

\textsuperscript{957} See Chapter 3: The Philosophy of Song, 155.
\textsuperscript{958} Mason and Caiger, A History of Japan, 138-42.
interpretation: (1) Masatsura and his father Masashige willingly die attempting to restore the imperial family to power; (2) the story equates dying for the emperor as the ultimate fulfilment of filial duty to one’s parents. It is worth noting that, during the Pacific War (1941–45), Masatsura’s father Masashige became the patron saint of the *Tokubetsu kōgeki tai*, suicide bombers trained to crash their planes into enemy battleships, more commonly known as the ‘*Kamikaze*’ (‘Divine Wind’).  

**KUSUNOKI MASATSURA**  

Kusunoki Masatsura was the child of Masashige, who was in loyalty inferior to none. Masatsura was eleven when his father died in battle. He had been to the front with his father, when he received this admonition. “Whilst I am alive, listen to me child. [We] have only two or three days [before the] fall. My strength will fail. Thou art already ten years of age. Listen and understand me. At this battle, my enemies are legion. It is impossible to know if we will meet again. You are the last of our clan, as a dutiful soldier rise up for the sake of the Emperor and give him service. There is nothing more to love than filial piety.”

Masashige dies horrifically, pierced by a volley of arrows. After the battle, the warrior’s head is sent home as proof of his noble failure. Whilst looking on the morbid countenance, the boy grasps his father’s sword and vows to take revenge by serving the emperor:

> After the death of Masashige, the strength of his enemies grew. The Emperor moved to temporary imperial quarters at Mount Yoshino, thereafter known as at the Southern Court. For a number of years they defended the Imperial Palace, but one year a general called Kō no Moronao led 60,000 men at arms in an offensive against them.

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959 Office: 特別攻撃隊.  
960 Term: 神風.  
Masatsura now took part in the battle, in which he was to give one last roar.\textsuperscript{962}

As you will recall, most people in Japan were still highly familiar with ‘orality’ and ‘standardized oral formations’ thanks to the prevalence of \textit{ondoku} (reading aloud) used in Meiji education. The following section from the same passage shows how the oral mechanisms of \textit{kôdan} might have functioned in a pedagogical setting. Thanks to a chirographical slight of hand, the narration in \textit{Kusunoki Masatsura} is mediated through a series of rhetorical questions that make a shared performative reading possible. This allows for \textit{rôdoku} (‘recitation’), which was a traditional technique used by teachers to help pupils comprehend the meaning of a lesson.\textsuperscript{963} The sections in squared brackets are not part of the original text, removing them makes visible/audible the oral nature of the Monbushô allegory:

“I was only eleven when my father Masashige was slain on the battlefield,” [said the young warrior]. [The Emperor responded,] “You are the last remainder of your clan, gather your forces, and destroy the enemies of the court.”

Now Masatsura was a man in his prime. If he became ill or died suddenly, he would not be able to honour his father’s teaching, which would make him un-filial.

In this battle, would Masatsura take the head of Moronao and his like? Alternatively, would he and his men lose theirs? Looking westward Masatsura [entertained] only thoughts [concerning] the Imperial countenance and his authority. Having heard Masatsura’s oath, the Emperor lifted his gaze, held aloft a sword, and awarded him (Masatsura) a title.\textsuperscript{964}

Masatsura, like his father before him, is empowered, nay, compelled by the emperor Go-Daigo to take up arms in a ruinous attack that he

\textsuperscript{962} Ibid., 7:5.
\textsuperscript{963} Maeda, \textit{Text and the City}, 224-25.
\textsuperscript{964} Monbushô, \textit{JSKY (7)}, 7:6-7.
knows he will not survive. This fatalism, transposed forward in time to
the present order, is based on a reconstituted sense of *chûshin* and
*hôganbi’iki* heated in the crucible of contemporary *tennôsei*:

After that, Masatsura went forth to the field, and with his kin, died in
glorious battle; he was twenty-three. The thing loved most by
Masatsura was the way of filial piety. He was a complete warrior, and
should serve as an example for the nation.  

It is difficult to imagine that the dark obsession with self-sacrifice
evident in *JSKY* appealed to anyone, least of all the young. But as we
shall see, popular literature could play a role in imparting very similar
values in a manner that was much more palatable for a juvenile
audience.

**Sarutobi Sasuke as a Congruent Sign**

In Chapter 4, I showed how strongly the character of Sarutobi Sasuke
and the Braves in the Bunmeidô novels are used to emphasize the
theme of loyalty to the leader (in this case, Sanada Yukimura). Here
let us explore some other ways in which the novels resonate with the
values of late Meiji and early Taishô state education.

By the end of the Meiji era, despite military success, the authority of
the Japanese government and the imperial institution it created
appeared vulnerable. Reoccurring outbreaks of civil disobedience
across Japan caused many *élites* to fear for the future. China and
Russia, former monarchical states, were each in the process of ceding
to revolution. Bureaucrats believed that if political dissent amongst the
masses went unchecked, revolution would inevitably occur on home

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965 Ibid., 7.8.
966 See Chapter 4: ‘Hyper-masculinity’ in Sarutobi-Sasuke, 169-212.
soil. These fears were soon expressed in 1910 with the *Taigyujiken* (‘High Treason Incident’),\(^{968}\) which legitimated the Meiji state’s cleansing of the emergent left wing, guilty or no.\(^{969}\)

In his function as an agent of the Sanada clan, Sasuke exhibits similar features commonly found in counter-revolutionary activities. Arif Dirlik describes such movements as social institutions that seek to ‘simultaneously eradicate radicalism and convert the masses to instruments of its will’.\(^{970}\) The goal of such activities is not to emancipate the populace by extending political participation, but to convert them into ‘voluntary functionaries of a bureaucratic system’.\(^{971}\)

The presentation of violence as a legitimate means of social coercion is clearly evident in the *sokkibon* (stenographical book) with the introduction of Sasuke’s co-sign Ishikawa Goemon. The legendary folk hero works as an assassin for the House of Tokugawa. However, Sasuke’s conflict with Goemon is largely an ideological one. His response resembles a form of medieval *tenkō* (political conversion), a practice common during the Taishō, whereby members of the security services forced individuals at odds with the state to renounce their unorthodox beliefs or face harsh punishment.\(^{972}\)

Sasuke first encounters Goemon in Kyoto. Whilst out walking around the lower streets near the Eastern Temple, Sasuke’s keen senses pick out snatches of an illicit conversation floating on the wind. Thinking the information might be useful to his master Yukimura, the warrior

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968 Term: 大逆事件.
971 Ibid., 953.
972 For a detailed analysis of how tenkō was used by the Imperial Japanese State see Rikki Kersten in Ben-Ami Shillony, ‘The Emperor and the Left in Interwar Japan’, in *The Emperors of Modern Japan* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2008), 115.
decides to track down the source. The Sanada vassal straps his sword to his back, and ascends a towering tree by the Mountain Gate. Establishing a position out on a branch, he waits. Listening intently, Sasuke struggles to hear the conversation over the rising storm. The wind stirs unnaturally and a bolt of lightening suddenly strikes within twenty meters of his position. Someone is using elemental magic. Sasuke has an uneasy feeling. A *shuriken* (throwing knife) cuts across the wind. The Sanada vassal deftly catches the blade with his left hand before it buries into his neck. His eyes search out the assailant.

A figure of a man appears on the balcony of the nearby Mountain Gate, he calls out to Sasuke directly:

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Man: Remember young samurai; you are not the only one who understands the hidden arts. There are others with strength like you, and I am such a one.

Sasuke: Ha, ha, ha, ha. Well, if you want to know my name you should tell me yours first. I can't see you [properly] from here. It is immoral to be selfish, stop shielding yourself behind the Mountain Gate and let me see you.
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Using voice commands, Sasuke jumps from his perch towards the tower. Atop is a small room. There seems to be no one present at the site but Sasuke notices 'patterns' indicating this is not so. Moving into an adjoining chamber Sasuke encounters the 'mysterious' figure sitting alone veiled in shadow. The stranger mutters incantations whilst drawing intricate gammadion-shaped patterns on the floor. Sasuke has never seen anything like this, so he watches the deft hand

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974 Term: 手裏剣.
977 Ibid., 40:137.
movements of his opponent carefully. The stranger suddenly stops and introduces himself formally:

Goemon: They call me Ishikawa Goemon, he who is fearful that he will be caught in the glare of [those in the employ of] Toyotomi Hideyoshi.

Sasuke: From whom did you learn your ninjutsu?

Goemon: If you wish to know, my teacher was the Master of the Iga Faction, Momochi Sandayū. Now tell me your name.  

Conforming to the military custom of nanori, Sasuke offers up his full title ‘Sarutobi Sasuke Yukiyoshi, vassal of the House of Sanada’. He includes the name of his first teacher Tozawa Haku’unsai from the rival Koga School of ninjutsu for added gravitas.

Sasuke notes it is a pity that Ishikawa was made an outlaw after his attempt on the life of his overlord Toyotomi Hideyoshi. In repose, Ishikawa states he could work for the Toyotomi if he so chose, but boasts that they could not pay him enough. Goemon argues that he does not wish to be limited by a lord who decides what he does in life. Sasuke accepts this notion, but chastises Goemon stating that he could not live the same kind of life. He tells Goemon plainly, ‘a thief, is of course, [always] a thief’. Here we see that Sasuke’s greatest fear is freedom, epitomised by a character with a purely commercial – read as amoral – interest in the world.

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978 Momochi Sandayū (百々地三太夫, dates unkown) is the semi-legendary leader of the Koga School of ninjutsu. The Koga were historical rivals to the Iga-gumi, a faction of mercenaries led by Hattori Hanzō (服部半蔵, c.1452-1596) in the employ of Tokugawa Ieyasu. According to Kacem Zoughari, records from the Momochi family archives reveal little plausible evidence for the existence of the hero. However, the title may have been a pseudonym used by any number of the clan leaders. References to Momochi appear for the first time in the E-hon Taikōki (Records of the Grand Chancellor), a romance on the life of Toyotomi Hideyoshi published in 1797. Kacem Zoughari, *The Ninja: Ancient Shadow Warriors of Japan* (New York: Tuttle Publishing, 2013), 73; A biography on the life of Momochi Sanadayu also appears in the Bunmeidō catalogue. See Sanjin Sekka, *Momochi sandayū iga ryū ninjutsu [百々地三太夫伊賀流忍術]*, vol. 97, Tatsukawa bunko (Osaka: Tatsukawa Bunmeidō, 1915).

Adopting the moral binary of kanzen chôaku ('rewarding good, punishing evil') found first in yomihon (reading books), later integrated into kôdan, Sasuke reminds Goemon only two choices can be made during one’s lifetime, that is, ‘good’ and ‘evil’. He goes on to argue that the legacy of a persons’ name is defined by their moral self-determination, stating that this has been the way since the dawning of time:

Sasuke: What do you think Goemon? Will you make a new start, or will you rot [from the evil inside you]? I know of your powers, so I'll let you decide. But know this, next time we meet I will take your life.\footnote{Ibid., 40:142.}

Having issued the warning to his nemesis, Sasuke takes hold of the balcony rail, jumps over it, and quickly disappears.

At a nearby inn, Sasuke talks about his findings with two of his compatriots: the warrior monk Miyoshi, and the bandit warlord Yuri Kamanosuke. Miyoshi laughs loudly when Yuri says that nothing can be done for the ‘uncatchable’ Goemon, ‘who could be a great man, were he not given to sin’.\footnote{Ibid., 40:144.} Sasuke reprimands his comrade with a warning that they should not underestimate their opponent. It is clear from his statements that Sasuke is an ideologue; he deals only in binaries. As such, he is unable to consider the reality of a life apart from the state hierarchy to which he belongs. The theme of political conversion in *Sarutobi-sasuke* is often repeated as Sasuke travels about the Japan seeking out allies and conquering enemies.

Arguably, the most memorable of the Braves in the Sanada series, if not the *Tatsukawa bunko*, is Kirigakure Saizô. The author Ichikawa Kôzô has argued that Sasuke and his counterpart represent two polar
opposites. Sasuke is formidably strong, able to match the strength of fifty men, but his good nature and belief in justice during periods of chaos make him an ‘ally of the weak’. Kirigakure Saizô is posited as being ‘indifferent to the world’. The relationship between the two is actually much more complicated.

Saizô, a fallen noble, begins life in the service of the Tokugawa raising money for a military coup against the Toyotomi. He is eventually co-opted by Sasuke through a mixture of force and reason to join the Sanada cause. Saizô is similar to Goemon in that he is versed in arcane lore. However, the narration notes that at his core of being Saizô is not evil, just jaded. Nevertheless, an air of political cynicism pervades Saizô’s interactions with others making him belligerent even in the presence of the powerful.

In a series of convoluted plot twists and turns, Sasuke, now an experienced warrior, tracks Saizô to an isolated hermitage. The Sanada vassal announces that he has come to test himself against the infamous assassin. This comment draws a dry chuckle from his Iga opponent:

Saizô: He, he, he. Seeing as you are such a great and famous ninja (Sasuke), I hope I come up to expectations.

Using all of their abilities to evade and outwit one another, they fight, but Saizô is not intimidated:

Saizô: Is not a quiet life [we lead]. Using your ninja skills [you believe] the idea that justice and authority go together like a head and torso, it is a terrible thing to say, but in the end, this is not so.

Saizô’s fearless observation parodies the early admonition given to Sasuke by his master Yukimura, contradicting his image of the Braves

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982 Both men are what Ichikawa calls ‘shinshutukibō’ (神出鬼没), translated here as ‘phantoms’), able to appear at will, wherever they choose. Ichikawa, ‘Wasureta bunko ô: tatsukawa kumajirō (1)’, 87.

983 Sekka, Sarutobi-sasuke, 40.190.
and Sasuke as parts of the same political and social body unified in filial service to the head of the Sanada. Enraged, Sasuke immediately refutes this position saying that the Iga warrior is just repeating words of others. In fact, the reverse is true. The moment is revealing: Saizô, not Sasuke, is the rebel.

Sasuke subsequently argues that that Saizô and his ilk will lose because of their moral weakness. Holding nothing back in his efforts to vanquish his enemy, the Sanada vassal attacks and topples his opponent:

Sasuke: How do you like that! At last, will you reform? Or will you speak otherwise? If you do [not reform], you are asking me to kill you. If you follow the way of evil, everyone suffers, for that path is one and the same. What say you?  

In a state of dejection, Saizô explains how he fell from grace. Delivered without interruption, Saizô’s tale reads like a soliloquy or a set piece as in a play. However, the narrative could equally have been inspired by Santô or Bakin.

Briefly, Saizô was born to a member of the House of Ashina, which makes him a noble. In a desire to restore the clan to its former glory, members of the Ashinake clan turned to the dark arts. Saizô reasons that in doing so, the members of the Ashina gave way to immorality. Seeking to control the country, the Ashinake feigned an allegiance with the Toyotomi whilst the clan worked in secret to secure its own destiny. Unbeknownst to all, the House of Ashinake continued to obtain military funding for their own projects whilst waiting for a suitable time to act.

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984 Ibid.
985 Ibid., 40:192.
Despite the obvious pathos of the moment, Sasuke’s response is typically terse. He tells Saizō that the task to unite the country will not be an easy thing whilst armed forces use military strength against one another. Professing a long-held desire of the Sanada clan for peace, Sasuke asks the Iga warrior to join his cause. In a moment reminiscent of the monkey demon Sun-Wu’kung and his fellow pilgrims, Sasuke explains that Saizō will be acknowledged as an equal: he will be rewarded with the same rank as a Brave and be permitted to accompany the Sanada vassal on his travels throughout the region. Saizō is initially uncertain of how to respond to this offer of redemption from an enemy, but realising he has met his match the Iga ninja capitulates and pledges himself to the Toyotomi cause.

TRIUMPH IN DEATH, BEAUTY IN SACRIFICE

The Conscription Act of 1872, demanded that all able-bodied men aged eighteen to thirty-two be enlisted for a minimum of three years, with a further four years on reserve (two active, two on standby). Yamagata Aritomo, at this time the Minister of War, justified the edict stating that military matters had historically been under the jurisdiction of the emperors, but this right had been appropriated by the buke (military families). With the return of the imperial system, it was therefore prudent for the state to take back the right to administer lethal force. The Imperial Japanese Army was founded in accordance with this belief.

Yamagata was conscious that should war occur, the ensuing conflict might decimate the traditional household system if the heads of

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986 Ibid., 40:193.
987 Term: 武家.
families and first-born sons were conscripted. Exercising judgment based on Neo-Confucian doctrine, the Meiji Government gave special dispensation to these individuals. Those able to pay a hefty fee could also find exemption. For the poor, however, the best alternative was to flee to another country: Hawai‘i was popular with many from the rural southwest. The Conscription Act underwent several revisions (1879, 1883, 1889, and again in 1906) in order to reduce the opportunities for recruits to evade service in such a manner. The induction of young men into the military affected most citizens: many either served in the armed forces or experienced the absence of a family member.

Local perceptions amongst the populace about the Meiji State as an advanced international power came to the fore at this time. Japan had enjoyed enormous success during the Sino-Japanese War. The sense of national prestige was enhanced by military regulation of the Japanese press. State guidelines for domestic newspaper reporters (issued 30 August, 1884) left the Japanese public with a false impression of the conflict. Deliberately ambiguous reporting from journalists embedded with the Imperial (Second) Army obscured the slaughter of non-combatants at Port Arthur (also known as ‘The Lushun Massacre’). Visual propaganda using traditional art forms furthered this proposition, as Makito Saya states:

The ideal Japanese soldier was valiant and did not hesitate to lay down his life for his country. He fought for his nation, for justice, and for honor. To fear death on the battlefield was shameful; death in combat

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989 The introduction of the Conscription Act led to an increasing number of men from impoverished rural areas (Fukuoka, Hiroshima, Kumamoto, and Yamaguchi) migrating overseas to places like Hawai‘i. Lucie Cheng and Edna Bonacich, eds., Labor Immigration under Capitalism: Asian Workers in the United States before World War II (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 257-68.


991 佐谷真木人.
was glorious. And if he should die in battle, the livelihood of his surviving family was guaranteed by the state.\footnote{Makito, The Sino-Japanese War and the Birth of Japanese Nationalism, 39.}

Here, the use of tradition was both politically expedient and comforting. Numbering in the thousands, traditional woodblock images dominated war art. These artistic facsimiles of conflict managed to obscure the small number of photographic records presented to the public at this time. Faces depicted in woodblock were, as tradition decreed, a tabula rasa. Like a figure from nôh (masked theatre), the anonymous sign of the lone Japanese soldier provided the state with a perfect source of propaganda. Surveying from upon high foreign battlefields, this military silhouette allowed Japanese society to project its own image onto the broad shoulders of the interchangeable men depicted.\footnote{John W. Dower, ‘Throwing Off Asia II: Woodblock Prints of the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95)’, Academic Reference, Visualizing Cultures, (2008), sec. 1, http://visualizingcultures.mit.edu.} These illustrations allowed the families, lovers, and associates of conscripted men to forget their own suffering and imagine the heroism of the departed at a time when being a citizen meant sacrifice. It can be argued that Sasuke functions in much the same way.

As Sarutobi-sasuke nears its conclusion, the narration tells of an impending colonial war, namely the Bunroku (1592-95) and Keichô (1596-98) campaigns, when the Sanada overlord, Toyotomi Hideyoshi commanded his army to invade Chôsen (present day Korea). This has caused many of the Western Lords to be absent from their domiciles; including Yukimura. Upon their return disaster strikes:

In 1599, the third year of the Keichô era (1596.10.27-1615.7.13), during the tenth month on the eighth day the death of the noble

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\footnote{Makito, The Sino-Japanese War and the Birth of Japanese Nationalism, 39.}
Toyotomi Hideyoshi came to pass. At this time, the encamped troops withdrew their power. 994

Understanding the precarious financial and political situation of the Toyotomi heir Hideyori, Sasuke dispatches Miyoshi to the Sanada fortress of Ueda Castle with a letter:

Sasuke: The passing of Toyotomi Hideyoshi signifies terrible consequences of chaos for all. I must send message of this to the honourable Sanada Yukimura.995

A reply from Yukimura is quickly returned via a courier:

Yukimura: Though nothing has come out these past three years, this event is a dividing line under Heaven. [I feel] certain there will be a great war. As for you, stay in Osaka and watch the people carefully for any developments in the designs of the House of Ieyasu. By the way, [I hear that] Yuri Kamanosuke has become a great hero; work together in your plans. If need be, take any expedient measure [you feel is necessary].996

Yukimura’s recognition of Sasuke’s competency is a powerful fantasy for readers of the ‘hyper-masculine’. Sasuke reciprocates fully, but as a servant his personal autonomy is limited. Ultimately, the Brave must yield to his fate, which is to die by his master’s side. Thus, Sasuke’s independence ends when he is summoned home by one of the Sanada clan’s senior advisors, Anayama Iwachiyo:

Anayama: We must travel as a group from now on to Mount Kyūdo, where all the Braves will gather under Lord Sanada Yukimura.

Sasuke: What do you know of his plans?

Anayama: I don’t know much of his true thoughts.

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995 Ibid.
996 Ibid.
Anayama: I can tell you that worried by the rise of the clan, that old badger Tokugawa Ieyasu has ordered the Lords of Sanada to lower their standards and split into factions.

[Lord Yukimura’s elder brother] the Honourable Awa no kami Nobuyuki has been sent as a political hostage to live under the Tokugawa [in Edo]. There he hopes to aid his kin by making supplication on their behalf.

The rest of the clan first decamped to Mount Kōya, but there were problems with the Buddhist monks working there – [the conflict] precipitated the move to Mount Kyūdo. One hundred women have been forcibly displaced by the move and now camp at the foot of the mountain. Lord Yukimura has requested that his dear brothers rejoin him as soon as it is possible and convenient for them to do so. It is for this reason that I came, specifically to find you sons o’ bitches and accompany you back.

Upon hearing the news, the three Braves cried with regret.

Following the protocols of classical kōdan, Sasuke laments the passing of greatness. Nonetheless, he is bonded to the status quo:

Sasuke: (crying) Oh, this grief! To throw away [our] long established home of Ueda Castle and run away to [the province of] Kishū, what will become of us? If I could but alter the changes to this world, I would.997

We learn the fates of Sasuke and the Braves through exposition. In the final Summer War of 1615, Yuri Kamanosuke becomes a cavalryman and joins forces with allies from the House of Tōdō; Saizō gains fame as an explosive expert making devices for the Sanada clan; and Sasuke infiltrates the Tokugawa camp at Mount Chyāsu, at which point, the story ends. Thus, Sasuke’s story moves from chaos to order, then to death.

997 Ibid., 40:230.
CONCLUSION

All poetry is skilfully told untruth. When truth appears as falsehood, we call it literature, while falsehood in the guise of truth we call ordinary worldly wisdom. Truth in the guise of truth belongs to the realm of philosophical discourse. Rarely do we encounter falsehood appearing in the form of falsehood.  

— Bashô

As researchers, our methodologies must be robust enough to review what we consider orthodox data, yet flexible enough to allow information embedded in a variety of materials to permeate new readings of history. If, therefore, we ignore popular phenomena like the Tatsukawa bunko, we are likely to omit the very means that will allow us to understand history in its broadest sense. This is because the lives of non-elites are often poorly recorded in official archives. Considering the importance of epic poetry in all cultures, we can see that the value of oral tradition as an early form of history is recognisable right across the globe. What this study has attempted to show is that its power was not lost with the coming of the industrial age. New chirographical forms of mass media, constructed from ‘vocal literature’ — a fusion of spoken and textual forms of historiographical narrative about Japan’s medieval past — reverberated with new meanings for audiences still sensitive to the performative nature of spoken word embedded in sokkibon (stenographical books).

It ought to go without saying that this study has been constructed on the shoulders of proverbial giants. Roger Chartier’s statement that ‘popular culture’ is ‘neither culture erected for the people nor culture uprooted’ reflects the views of a number of established scholars from

998 Bashô cited in Pollack, The Fracture of Meaning, 211.
a variety of backgrounds, such as Gilles Deleuze, Carlo Ginsberg, Ozaki Hotsuki, Adachi Ken’ichi, and Maeda Ai, whose ideas feature in this work, as well as others from the English-speaking world like Stuart Hall (1932-2014) and Raymond Williams (1921-1988). Adding weight to this argument, philosophers such as Roland Barthes (1915-1980), Michel de Certeau (1925-1986), Henry Jenkins, and John Storey assert that fans of popular culture are not just passive consumers of popular art, music, and literature, they are, in fact, ‘cultural producers’. If this is the case, as I believe it is, it brings into question any and all notions of the producer or distributor of a text or visual artwork as the final author of its meaning. We should therefore re-evaluate the way in which we speak about the popular, for it can often tell us more about ourselves that we might like to acknowledge. Yet studies of early twentieth-century Japanese fiction have tended to focus on ‘high’ literature, and given little attention to the continuing impact of oral traditions on contemporary written texts.

The reasons for this omission are complex, but one apparent feature is that the place of oral tradition in Japan seems to have been partially obscured by the nation’s great literary heritage. Academics accept that prose evolved from the spoken word in one form or another. Less acknowledged is the fact that once epic poetry was transliterated into books, cultural practices like ondoku, found in both state education and the arts, continued to shape general attitudes amongst the populace towards text. In particular, the inclusion of techniques common to all forms of wagei (vocal arts) in modern mass media and state pedagogy


1001 Storey, Cultural Theory and Popular Culture, 247-49.
affected how individuals at the economic margins of Japanese society related to the technology of the book.

As I have argued, the public nature of the book that held particular sway with audiences of the Taishô period. The book was not to be read privately in silence, but was often also read aloud in a performative setting. Such interactions also complicate all notions of text as a closed cultural item. The materiality of the book is not the product of one mind, or one process. As Adrian Johns suggests, it is ‘a nexus conjoining a wide range of worlds of work’. 1002 The implication of this statement is clear: texts are fabricated by a variety of people with differing purposes. Therefore, books can serve as political tools both for the author, sponsor, and those involved in the chain of distribution. I would include the reader as a critical component in this process.

In the ‘Translator’s Foreword’ to A Thousand Plateaus, Brian Massumi argues that the ‘supermind’ of the state is also affected by those it seeks to control. 1003 This idea appeals to me because it does away with the simple binary of the citizen and the state, thereby etching a more complex series of trajectories that cannot be controlled by a single entity. This approach differs greatly from notions of the ‘aborescent model’ typically associated with the structuralism of Marxist and/or theories about capitalism. Collectively, Deleuze, Guatari, and Masumi are in favour an alternative open theoretical framework that allows for congruence, whereby plateaus of intensity bring together social-political elements. In turn, these coalescences delineate epochs.

1003 Brian Massumi in Deleuze, A Thousand Plateaus, xxii.
Accordingly, I believe that the social upheavals of the late industrial era and the popularity of the *Tatsukawa bunko* fit with this definition.

In the increasingly anonymous urban spaces of the 1910 and 20s in Japan, there was a social emptiness. Artists working in popular genres of commercial fiction were quick to notice that modernity had its ugly side. For example, the novelist Edogawa Rampo (1894-1965) was unsettled by the ‘absent minded uneasiness’ of life in Japan’s cities during the 1920s. He grasped the fact that living in isolation often caused psychological damage to city-dwellers. People were together but alone.

I believe that mass media helped many individuals to connect with like-minded others. In this sense, the book was not a fixed technological or cultural entity, but part of a larger on-going conversation between various sections of Japanese society. In this regard, the book was both a friend and an ally.

Nonetheless, during the first quarter of the twentieth century, even in a highly literate country like Japan, the ability to read was not a given. The formation of state education in 1872 saw the introduction of compulsory schooling for both boys and girls. Free access to education was a remarkable achievement, virtually eliminating illiteracy across Japan. Yet Japan’s increasingly differential economy continued to adversely affect many scholastically. Not everyone could afford to stay in state education for the full term of six years. It is certain that a significant number of children from impoverished backgrounds were forced to work before the mandatory four years of state schooling was up, as was the case with Bunmeidô’s owner Tatsukawa Kumajirô.

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1004 江戸川乱歩 (1894-1965).
As scholars like Richard Rubinger, Jeffrey Hanes, and Richard Torrance have demonstrated, in Osaka the benefits of early educational reforms were often obscured by the national desire for an industrial modernity. Factories displaced communities creating slums, making low educational attainment the norm. Nevertheless, Osaka’s residents had other skills that were highly developed, as did the nation.

During the Meiji period, the state via its proxy the Monbushô hoped to mould the perfect citizen, one that was loyal to the concept to the imperial system known as tennôsei. Here, teachers and administrators at the Tôkyô Kaisei Gakkô emboldened by the Kyôiku chokugo and Japan’s military successes on the Asian continent appropriated stories culled from the traditional repertoire of kôdan to help create the national curriculum. The Monbushô utilised narratives featuring the likes of Fujiwara no Kamatari, Kusunoki Masashige, and his son Masatsura reinterpreted by kokugaku scholars in order to reassert the moral legitimacy of the imperial line (as descended from the Sun Goddess Amaterasu).

To this end, the mutability of hôganbi’iki, which celebrated national sacrifice, embedded in the orthodox mannerisms of gunkimono, given as performed readings in the yose, grounded within a compliment of powerful oral techniques developed from kôdan, and transmitted in part via print, helped articulate the new state ethos in a highly acculturated manner. In turn, the pedagogical content found in the

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JSKY textbooks gave birth to a new generation of readers during the Taishô era schooled — paradoxically — in Japan’s ‘vocal literature’.1007

The Monbushô’s use of kôdan was most apt for building an ideology of self-sacrifice because values established in the JSKY intersected with those found in commercial narratives of the same ilk, such as the Tatsukawa bunko. Having originated from the same oral tradition, the two forms were virtually inseparable in terms of ethical content. This resonance strengthened classical representations of heroism adopted by the state. Conversely, the Monbushô gave its tacit approval to the violent ideology found in the writings of Tamada II and the Sekka Sanjin Collective, and vice versa.

It is precisely at this time that the Tatsukawa bunko had value for disenfranchised youths. Fans of the Bunmeidô series could purchase the books on a low wage. In effect, they functioned as supplementary textbooks. By reading the rubi (phonetic gloss) affixed to most of the vocabulary in the novellas, fans of Sarutobi ‘monkey-jump’ Sasuke could continue to make progress with reading. These works could also be read aloud in the manner of a play.1008

These intersections or plateaus, to use Deleuze and Guatari’s term, meant that Sasuke could be interpreted in ways that were both reactionary and radical. For those frustrated by poverty and the lack of opportunities, Sasuke could be appropriated and channelled into a variety of personal narratives that gave rise to instances of violent self-justification. Young men, in particular, were the victims here. The state required service and sacrifice, but provided little in the way of

1008 The inclusion of rubi in the Bunmeidô series was not unique, however. It was a feature common to all popular literary genres, most notably newspapers.
social welfare. However, the position of the artisan class was largely overlooked by the authorities of the day, and with it an opportunity to talk about the ways in which men were socially vulnerable during the economic upheaval of the 1910s and 20s. That is not to say that women or children fared any better, far from it. However, in identifying with a national purpose, the general fear and anxiety amongst artisans found an outlet in self-identifying with a national purpose.

Rather than perceiving the vernacular literary extension of oral tradition in the early part of the twentieth century entirely as a negative, I have striven to illustrate how important the act of reading was to the construction of identity politics in Japan. However, without more documented evidence of reception, there is very little hope of knowing anything more about the readership of the Tatsukawa bunko. This does not mean that we cannot try to sketch out possibilities. Works by scholars such as Richard Reitan (Making a Moral Society, 2010)\textsuperscript{1009} and David Ambaras (Bad Youth, 2006)\textsuperscript{1010} offer interesting alternatives that locate the voice of the individual in the creation of the modern Japanese state ethos in a concrete manner. Ambaras’ work in particular on the plight of urban youth and the interplay between Christian and state reformation programmes — designed to make productive citizens capable of serving under a state engaged in competitive trans-local imperialism — contributes much to our understanding of Japanese policy towards its working people. As such, Ambaras succeeds in illuminating the personal circumstances of young people in a number of ways that this examination cannot do without straying too far from the nature and place of ‘orality’ in Japanese literature.

\textsuperscript{1009} Reitan, Making a Moral Society.
\textsuperscript{1010} Ambaras, Bad Youth.
The most perplexing effect of ignoring the presence of orality in the modern era is the unconscious bias it has produced in how academics view regional power relations within nation states. Tokyo has proven a fascinating topic for many scholars interested in popular culture during the Taishô era. However, this study has shown that the ‘Eastern Capital’ was not the nation’s only cultural axis. Historical narratives couched in oral tradition from the Kamigata region significantly influenced contemporary artistic trends in Japan’s emerging national mass media. The strongest voices emanated from the industrial heartland of Osaka.

Historians working in the fields of biography, sociology, politics, religion, and commerce such as Koyama Hitoshi,1011 Wakita Osamu1012 and James McClain, Jeffery Hanes, Louise Young, and others are exploring further afield.1013 With time, more studies will bring to light the important contributions of Japan’s numerous regions. As Konishi Sho1014 reminds us, individuals living outside of Japan’s major cities were also at the centre of regional politics in Japan.1015 Their relationships with the Tatsukawa bunko and Sasuke may have been very different to workers in urban areas. Sadly, numerous attempts to contact Iwanami Shoten, which now holds the rights for Bunmeidô’s publications for more information, have come to nought, making any

1011 小山仁示.
1012 脇田修.
1014 小西直.
further investigation difficult. Once again, we are forced to seek out new forms of evidence in mass media.

The continuing presence of Sasuke in mass media indicates that the need for a common touchstone in Japanese society is as strong as ever. Books still have a significant part to play in this process. Dozens of novels continue to draw inspiration from the *Tatsukawa bunko*; Shibata Rensaburō (1917-1978) being the one of the most prolific and best known contemporary authors to have tackled the Sanada legend, though in an altogether darker form than anything seen in the Bunmeidô collection.

Shibata borrows liberally from *kôdan* for his introduction, but quickly abandons its classical framework to allow for graphic descriptions of violence. The first incidence is an attack on Sasuke’s mother. Exiled after her husband’s defeat on the battlefield, the noble woman travels with an aging retainer (Tozawa Haku’unsai). The lady is with child: Sasuke. The travellers are accosted by a band of rogues. The men disarm the old man, and then rape the woman. Near death, the lady begs her companion to save the child. Tozawa performs the necessary surgery, but only the dwarf-like child survives. Shibata’s account is lurid in its celebration of sexual violence. Sasuke grows to become an oddly formed human, a mutant, something worse than the ‘changeling’ described in the *Tatsukawa bunko*. His appearance unsettles all who meet him. Shibata also ‘others’ Kirigakure Saizô by suggesting through costume that he has spent time overseas (perhaps in Siam), thus transforming him into something exotic.

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1016 柴田錬三郎 (1917-1978).
1018 Shibata’s text was produced during the era of exploitation cinema; best exemplified by Misumi Kenji’s (1921-1975) screen adaptations of *Ôkami kozure* (*Lone Wolf and Cub*) and *Shurayuki hime* (*Lady Snowblood*), created by the writer
Significantly, Sasuke and the Braves have flourished most in contemporary visual forms of the book, notably *manga* (comic books). The medium operates in similar fashion to *sokkibon* (and *yomihon*); the combination of artwork, vernacular speech, and supporting text make reading accessible to all ages. Comic books are also an egalitarian format of literature in that works are both readily available and affordable. This presents us with an occasion to examine common ideologies, things formerly found in religious traditions and/or preserved in social customs, but somewhat obscured by the secular emphasis on modernity and the break with traditional forms of social networking that followed Japan’s industrial revolution. Moreover, like the *Tatsukawa bunko*, *manga* appeals to a similar demographic of young readers, giving us alternative means with which to examine and learn about contemporary identity politics in Japan.

Through *manga*, Sasuke has evolved into a number of variants that include interpretations that play with his age, gender, and sexuality (ills. 6). The broadening of Sasuke as an icon reveals the power of fictional characters to serve as icons of empowerment. As a historical person, Yukimura is the fixed compass that binds all the Braves to the classicism of *kôdan*; he remains an elite figure. Sasuke is perfectly malleable, however. Consequently, some artists choose to explore the traditional homosocial relations between the Braves by intimating that Sasuke’s loyalty to Yukimura was much more than just filial piety, that perhaps it is an unspoken familial love; this was hinted at in *Brave 10*

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Koike Kazuo (1936-present), Kojima Goseki (1928-2000) provided the illustrations for Ōkami kozure; Kamimura Kazuo (1940-1986) worked on *Shurayuki hime*. Misumi’s work directly inspired the American film auteur Quentin Tarantino to produce his own homage to the genre (*Kill Bill vol. I & II*) released internationally through Miramax and Buena Vista in 2003 and 2004.

1019 See Illustration 6, 304.
created by Shimotsuki Kairi. Famed for her eroticism, Shimotsuki has chosen to focus her visual narrative on the domestic nature of the Braves. Shimotsuki portrays Sasuke and his compatriots as modern feminine-looking beaus. The inclusion of female protagonists, such as the Russian-born Anastasia, further decentres the male hegemony usually associated with the original Bunmeidô series. Adding to the complexity is the introduction of a female Brave — Isa the buzô (military cleric) is a young girl.

At times, Sasuke has also undergone a sex change; such was the case with Sekigunjû mitsuyoshi (One-eye Mitsuyoshi, 2004). In the hyper-sexualised world of Ueyama Testurô, Sasuke appears as a female character. The image of Ueyama’s Sasuke invokes a number of traits that directly allude to the monkey demon Sun-Wu’kung: a steel headband surrounds her brow, she’s overtly fond of bananas, and has sharp teeth. Itô Sei similarly accentuates Sasuke’s bestial nature, his body a mutation repressed by will into the semblance of a man.

For a generation of earlier writers like Ôzaki Shirô (1898-1964) and artists like Tamai Tokutarô (1902-1986), Sasuke is simply a precocious child in need of stern parenting.

Sasuke’s real significance is that he reflects the popular sentiments of the age in which he exists. None of these values is fixed, however. They shift with the tides of public’s desires. Therefore, Sasuke is constantly

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1022 伊藤勢.
1024 尾崎土郎 (1898-1964).
1025 玉井徳太郎 (1902-1986).
evolving. Nonetheless, Sasuke is anchored to a historical tradition of kôdan that celebrates martyrdom. In the present era, terms like hôganbi’iki, chûshin, and kanzen chôaku are nothing more than antiquated gestures. What happens to these ideals in a time of struggle is another matter entirely. Such was the case during the Taishô era when the positive aspects of popular culture seen in the Tatsukawa bunko became entwined with state nationalism. We should not demonise the readers of the Tatsukawa bunko, however. Ultimately, what these things show is that individuals engage with popular culture in ways that go beyond consumerism.

For good or for ill, during Japan’s industrial era, the subjective nature of reading became a political act: a means of defining the self at a time when it was difficult to define one’s surroundings. In this way, readers of the Tatsukawa bunko reconfigured Sasuke ways that suited their emotional and psychological needs. This sits in contradiction to the idea that modernity brought with it a renewed celebration of the individual and human rights. What we see, via the patterns of migration, is the lessening of personal bonds fuelling the creation of grander self-sustaining narratives related to region, which, despite its obvious flaws, enabled individuals feeling lost in the dominant narratives of a new nation state to empower themselves.
ILLUSTRATIONS
The materiality of the *Tatsukawa bunko* was exceptional. Bunmeidô used a diminutive form of 150 mm x 117 mm, something halfway between the Foolscap octavo (170 mm x 108 mm) and the Crown octavo (190 mm x 126 mm): both were standard book sizes during the nineteenth century. The covers came in seven colours: red, blue, yellow, green, black, indigo, and purple. Each jacket was embossed with white lettering for the title, and every book featured gilt edging on its spine. Each title had a frontispiece by Hasegawa Sadanobu III (1881-1962), who was an acknowledged master from an established family of local woodblock artists famous for his contemporary take on *ukiyo-e*. His subjects included actors, beauties, and scenes from Japanese history. The artist’s work features at the start of each chapter in this thesis.
The above advertisement for the Tatsukawa bunko appeared in the New Year’s Eve Edition of the Osaka mainichi shinbun (1915). The Bunmeidō publishing company offers a reduced price of 25 sen (one hundredth of a yen) per volume for customers wishing to buy the first fifty volumes of the Tatsukawa Library in bulk, this includes postage for 36 sen. Aspects of Japan’s modernity are highlighted by the advertiser’s request for interested parties to contact the company directly using the postal system or via the telephone. Hoping to capitalise on a broad market, the advertiser states that the series is suitable for children.

Images courtesy of the National Diet Library, Japan.
Left: A publicity still of Japan’s first movie-star actor Onoe Matsunosuke (1875-1926) as “Sarutobi Sasuke” taken circa 1921. Makino Shōzō (1878-1929), produced and directed the film. Sadly, most of their collaborative work was destroyed in the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923.

Centre-left & below: The great success of Sarutobi Sasuke saw the fictional hero further commodified in print. From 1922 to 1923 Sasuke appeared alongside a multitude of similarly terse muscular depictions of folk heroes. The Asahi shimbun presented a more sophisticated portrait of Sasuke than that of the previous Bunmeidō or Onoe incarnations. The man responsible for this re-imagining of Sasuke was the Tokyo-based kôdanshi (classical orator) Matsubayashi Hakuchi (1856-1932). Migita Toshihide (1868-1925) provided the illustrations. Migita was a celebrated artist in his own right working with ukiyo-e and western styles of painting, but was best known for producing visual records for the First Sino-Japanese War (1894) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5). The first Asahi shimbun series ended on 5 February, 1923. However, Sasuke was revived a number of times until 1926, at which time Matusbayashi began a new series based on the peasant uprisings that followed the Ônin War (1467-77).
Kami (gods traditionally worshipped in Japan) are directly associated with the Imperial family. Until the end of the Pacific War the Japanese population were supposed to revere imperial scions as living deities, direct decedents of the sun goddess Amaterasu. Juliet Piggott states: ‘It is not easy to differentiate between the end of the mythological period and the beginning of the historical period in Japanese history. There have been many myths set in historical times; people known to have lived have been turned into legendary heroes, and as the stories have been retold, so have their deeds grown in number and their heroism been magnified. The area known as Yamato in Honshu was certainly the seat of power from the earliest of times. It was the here that the first Emperor of Japan, Jimmu Tenno, ascended the throne in the year 660 B.C., though this date is a legendary one. The story, and mythology in strictest meaning, goes back into the Age of the Gods.’
Inoue Enryô (1858-1919), a former Buddhist priest and graduate of the University of Tokyo, was an intellectual reformist in Japan during the 1890s. As a nationalist, Inoue advanced the idea that native epistemological and ontological modes of thought in Japan were superior to their equivalents in western civilisation – it is no coincidence that Inoue was a major influence on Nishida Kitarô (1870-1945), one of the founders of the Kyoto school. Inoue contributed the foreword (and a number of poems) to the *Kakugen kyōkun zensho: hinsei shûyô jinkaku tanren* (*Treatise of Morally Instructive Aphorisms: Forging Character, Cultivation of Character*, 1899) republished under exclusive license by Bunmeidô in 1909. Significantly, the work is proof that Bunmeidô specialised in diminutive-sized publications before the launch of the *Tatsukawa bunko*.

**Above:** The materiality of the book indicates a high level of investment, hitherto unseen in Bunmeidô publications. The text was printed on quality paper, lavishly bound with an embossed cover featuring an illustration of a lotus flower in gold leaf placed on dark green *faux* leather, all housed in a protective card card box.

**Left:** The outer casing features a small decorative representation of what appears to be a traditional Gassho-style house from either Shirakawa-go or Gokayama in Gifu Prefecture. The villages are famous for silk production, but the surrounding areas are also associated with paper manufacture.
The images seen here on the left show just a fraction of post-Bunmeidō interpretations of the leading protagonist Sarutobi “monkey-jump” Sasuke from the 1950s onwards. Most notable is the image on the far right taken from Solevision mitsuyoshi (2004) by Ueyama Testurô, which depicts Sasuke as female. However, most depictions of Sasuke tend to stress his Japanese qualities of youthfulness and leadership rather than the bestiality supposedly inherited from the Chinese fable Journey to the West (Jap. Saiyûki). However, his animal-like abilities remain a common feature.

All the images reproduced on this page come courtesy of the Kyoto International Manga Museum, Japan.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EPOCH</th>
<th>YEARS</th>
<th>DISCIPLINE</th>
<th>JAPANESE</th>
<th>MEDIUM</th>
<th>CLASS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| HEIAN/KAMAKURA   | 795-1185/1185-1333 | MINWA SUTRAS GUNKIMONO | 民話
本経
軍記物語 | • folk tales & local myth
• reading sutras
• military epics | • CHIROGRAPHICAL
• ORAL |
| MUROMACHI       | 1333-1573     | KÔSHAKU              | 講釈 | • sermons | • ORAL |
| EDO             | 1600-1867     | KÔDAN                | 講釈 | • scripts
• integration with yomihon* | • CHIROGRAPHICAL
• VISUAL |
| BAKUMATSU       | 1853-1868     | KAKI-KÔDAN           | 書き講釈 | • parlor performances
• theatre
• wayside performances | • ORAL
• CHIROGRAPHICAL |
| MEIJI           | 1868-1911     | TSUJI-KÔDAN          | 辻講談 | • film
• novels
• political speechmaking | • ORAL
• CHIROGRAPHICAL
• AUDIO/VISUAL |
| TAISHÔ          | 1912-1926     | WAGEI                | 話芸 | • state education
• magazines | • ORAL
• CHIROGRAPHICAL
• AUDIO/VISUAL |
| SHÔWA           | 1926-1989     | MEDIA                | メディア | • radio
• television | • ORAL
• CHIROGRAPHICAL
• AUDIO/VISUAL |
Under Heaven, before the scene of Sekigahara (1600), a force 50,000 strong waited [outside the gates] of the small Castle Ueda in Shôshû (now Nagano prefecture). Under the glare of their enemy Ieyasu, the Sanada keep one eye on their preparations for Sekigahara and the other on the battalion amassed on the Kantô plane. Whilst preparing to meet the Tokugawa in battle the Sanada sat blowing bubbles at Hidetata [son of the shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu]. The forces of the Sanada appeared active and alert.1029

Sanada Awa no Kami’s most talented son Sanada Nobuyuki — [who sided with the Tokugawa] had traded his life for the sake of his father and brother [Sanada Yukimura]. Ieyasu too [in admiration] sensed [the depth of this act of] filial piety. Yet, Ieyasu took Ueda Castle for all its 50,000 koku. Still Yukimura remained happy.

The princely brothers, the Ten Braves, accompanied Yukimura, now parted from his clan. Calm and collected they headed for Kyushu.

Yukimura had rapidly gained brilliance leaving the Tokugawa dizzy. [For him,] time was measured by the farming not yet done. Across the surface of the plains, there were blossoms. Heaven could be seen in the palm of his hand.1030

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1029 Sekka, Sanada yukimura shokoku manyûki, 28:1.
1030 Ibid.
Secretly [Yukimura planned to move camp] with sixty of his outstanding followers, each drawn from the most loyal of his retainers. Amongst some of the Sanada, this pretence of [non] action caused terror. The lords of the small provinces knew of this situation. Thus, arrangements for the day were carefully attended to.\textsuperscript{1031}

The boneless muscles of one of the leading lords Sarutobi Sasuke Yukiyoshi twitched. As a ruse, Sasuke stated it would be most satisfying to go on a trip:

Miyoshi: Oi, Sarutobi. Sarutobi! I feel the recent preparations are tedious. I cannot bear this grief! You son-of-a-bitch, come on, get on with it! Miyoshi Seikai the monk, [his manner] going somewhat against the grain [of the travelling party].\textsuperscript{1032}

Sasuke: Ah, ha, ha, ha, Miyoshi! Still grumbling? If our great and honourable general even suspects for a moment that we wish to be unruly, he’ll not pardon us. Furthermore, what should we do when we can do nothing? Wherever you look there are hundreds of famers. Even if we were to make trouble, he is not here, is he? If you are so inclined, why not set out for the castle town at Wakayama?

Miyoshi: I know, it’s four stops, but you can’t have everything your own way. Think about it, daily we get our balls crushed. We sit and eat, sinking deeper into shit. Anyone can do that. As warriors, we just lie around yawning all the time. What purposes have we? Why don’t you use your ninjutsu! Tsk, let’s take heart (‘tighten up’).

Sasuke: For three years I’ve gone unnoticed. If I start flying around in the sky shouting, I’ll shock people. Don’t you get it?

Miyoshi: Yeah, yeah, yeah. You’re a big talker. I get it. You with your ninjutsu, you’re intolerable. Anyway, as a good measure, I want to take a lot with us to drink! [Pointing to his saddlebags] I’ve not had booze for ten days.\textsuperscript{1033}

\textsuperscript{1031} Ibid., 28:1-2. 
\textsuperscript{1032} Ibid., 28:2-3. 
\textsuperscript{1033} Ibid., 28:3.
Sasuke: He, he, he. Whenever you have drink, we're unable to win. Still, sobriety is only good in moderation. There isn't a time when I don't drink. If there's drink, I'll drink, if there's none, I'll not.

Miyoshi: You impoverish all I say, stop interfering with my words. Hey! Yuri, Kakei, Anayama too! Get over here!

The Three: What's this? What's this? Are you still talking about things?

Miyoshi: Eh? We're not talking about important matters; all I said was that I wanted a drink. Sasuke said something about saké, what do you reckon? What do the bugs in your guts know?

Anayama: Hmm, saké is it. Well, the bug in my throat is crying out for alcohol.

Kakei: I'm the same.

Yuri: Yes [me too]. Do we have enough supplies?

Miyoshi: Well, we have, and we haven't. Look, we'll draw straws and whoever is selected has to go and get some. That includes something to eat.

Nezu: Well, this is interesting! [Nezu pulled up his horse.] I'll consent (to go). I Nezu Jinpachi hate guarding the rear for enemies. My stomach isn't rumbling but I heard the word saké.\(^{1034}\)

The nine gave their consent, as you can imagine Sasuke could not refuse.

Sasuke: I too will join in. So, draw your lots. The ever-honest Miyoshi Isa performed the task. They made their selections one after the other. When they each revealed their straws everyone saw that Sasuke had drawn the short straw.

Miyoshi: Well, how about that Sarutobi! The gods have spoken. [Miyoshi pushed the point.] Reluctantly you joined the group but now you're the one who's going, very funny. [He grinned] You've got to gather the drink and food. You have your ninjutsu, but if you get captured anywhere call.

\(^{1034}\) Ibid., 28:4.
Sasuke: Stop saying stupid things. That's not going to happen. I've no choice but to go and come back.

With that, Sasuke flew off. No sooner had he left than he returned with four large barrels of wine and a brace of ten birds.

Sasuke: Well, what do you think? [I reckon,] we should be able to drink all of that.

Anayama: Whoa! Four barrels of saké, that's thoughtful of you. And ten pairs of wings too! Oh, Mochizuki, you [look] dumbstruck!

Mochizuki: What are trying to say Anayama?

Anayama: Your cooked birds are good, aren't they! Quick get [these birds] plucked and we'll roast them.

Mochizuki: We're in agreement.

Anayama: Right then, Isa-nyûdô go around the back of this field and get some onions; otherwise it won't taste very good. Oi! Uno! Uno! Warm this wine.\(^\text{1035}\)

Miyoshi: [Bellowing] That's right! That's it. Hey, Yuri! You go and buy some tofu. One box ought to be enough. Kakei! What are you doing over there? Hurry up and get a fire going. Hey, where's Kirigakure Saizô gone?

[Saizô had been just out of view lurking nearby.]

Saizô: Oi! I'm right here.

Miyoshi: Oh, right. I see you're just casually wandering around [like] you're in a garden. Hurry it up, get some soy sauce and salt, and get the big stewing pot ready. [Miyoshi continued to bark orders.] This day, we accompany the honourable general Miwakoto Nosuke to Mount Kōya. During this absence [we'll] renew [our] fates [and reinvigorate ourselves]. Hurry! Hurry!

\(^{1035}\) Ibid., 28:5.
Miyoshi Seikai and Anayama stood together with clenched jaws marking out a plan, whilst watching the proceedings. As they did so, Sasuke stood motionless with his hands in his pockets.

Miyoshi: What the blaze is up with you?

Sasuke: Well, it all seems fine to me.

Miyoshi: Aren't you going to help? If you don't you'll not get any saké to drink.

Sasuke: Well, I was the one who went and got everything. But I'm not going to get a drink, am I? You lot couldn't have gotten everything together, so [now] I'm going to be the guest. You can be useful and get the food ready. And stop snivelling!

Miyoshi: Damn you, you just say things for your own advantage, humph!1036

Sasuke: Ha, ha, ha, ha, ha! There's no use in howling [like that.] If I'm just saying things for my own advantage, then what are you? You're not better than I. You're not doing anything other than sticking out your jaw impudently and making a lot of noise. I think I'll take out my hands from my pockets.

[The threat was enough to silence the monk.]

Miyoshi glanced several times at Sasuke who knew ninjutsu.1037

1036 Ibid., 28:6.
1037 Ibid., 28:7.
APPENDIX B

TATSUKAWA TIMELINE

1856
- Tamada Gyokushūsai II born in Kyoto.

1858
- Dutch reports made available to the public as newspapers.

1860s
- The era of the newspaper begins.
- Foreign attachés encounter stenography whilst dealing with foreign powers.

1867
- The Meiji government launches Seiyō zasshi.

1869
- Motoki Shōzō perfects Japanese metal type.

1878
- Takusari Kōki invents sokki (stenography).
- Tatsukawa Kumajirō born in Katsuhara, near Himeji.

1880-1890
- Outbreaks of cholera occur in Japan.

1882
- Sokki appears in the Japanese press.
- Tamada II: wife and child die from cholera.

1884
- Sanyūtei Enchō introduces stenography to the public with his adaptation of the Chinese ghost story Kaidan botan dorā.
1885
- Maruyama Heijirō begins self-publishing on stenography.

1889
- Shinshindō launches *Momo-chidori*.

1886
- *Tsuki-kōdan* (wayside *kōdan*) banned on moral grounds.

1892
- Maruyama Heijirō recreates *Momo-chidori* and introduces *kōdan* from Osaka to the nation.

1890s
- Okamoto Masujirō founds Okamoto Zōshindō (Okamoto Promotional Hall).
- New forms of *kōdan* and *tantei-shosetsu* (detective novels) emerge.
- 200-page *adauchimono* (revenge stories) gain popularity.
- Writers from Osaka struggle with the competition, leading to the term 'akabon' ('red books') for books that make no profit.

1895
- *Taiyō* sells over 100,000 copies.

1896
- Tamada II travels to Imabari from Osaka.

1897
- Tamada II and Kei elope to Osaka.

1898
- The Yoshinoya shipping fleet is lost in a typhoon.
- Tatsukawa Kumajirō goes to work for Okamoto Bunshindō (Okamoto Literati Hall); his brother-in-law Okamoto Masujirō owns the company.

1899
- Kei's former husband Matasuke dies in Imabari.
- Tamada II and Kei are ostracised by the *kōdan* community.
1900
- A revised Momo-chidori introduces Osaka culture to the nation.

1901
- Crop failure forces Tatsukawa Kumajirō home to Katahara.

c.1902
- Yamada Otetsu publishes work with Tamada II.

1904-1905
- Tatsukawa Kumajirō creates Bunmeidō (1904).
- Bunmeidō commissions its first work (1905).
- Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) promotes print culture through militarism.
- Natsume Sōseki writes Wagahai ha neko de aru for Hototogisu magazine.

c.1909
- Tamada II signs a contract with Bunmeidō.

1911
- Seitō, Kōdan kurabu, and Tatsukawa bunko premiere.

1914
- Bunmeidō launches Sarutobi-sasuke.

1921
- Tamada II dies.

1932
- Tatsukawa Kumajirō dies and is buried in Katsuhara; his remains are later moved to Wada Temple, Himeji.
In the opening foreword to an abridged version of the tales of *Sarutobi-Sasuke*, President Ayano of the Lions Club International argued that the general population had forgotten what kind of character Sasuke was. To address the issue, the local chapter in Imabari had brought together a number of scholars and fans of the *Tatsukawa bunko* in an attempt to preserve and pass on the narratives to modern audiences.

President Ayano gave a succinct history of Sasuke, describing him as a young ninja from the Iga faction, who had magical control over fire, could vanish at will, and who was part of a band of heroes in the service of the regional daimyô (lord) Sanada Yukimura (1567-1615). He then turned his attention to the moral character of the Bunmeidô creation. The president stated that he admired Sasuke for his courage, fortitude, and dedication to social justice:

Knowing he would lose, Sasuke fought against the likes of the future shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu in tales of battle. Sasuke and the Brave Ten would go on to travel all the districts of the land bringing the villains of this world to justice.\(^{1038}\)

President Ayano was at pains to acknowledge the event’s official sponsors: the Educational Office at Imabari and Ehime Prefectural Board of Education Offices, the Ehime Educational Committee Board Members, and the Ochigun Board of Education. Last on the list was the Omogomura Board of Education.

\(^{1038}\) Ayano in Wada, “Yamada otestu to sarutobi sasuke”, sec. Yôron.
Wada Kiyomi condensed the group’s findings into an article. The paper is divided into two sections. Part 1 is a synopsis of the Sasuke narrative as imagined by Wada. The short, almost synoptic, rendition of the *Sarutobi-Sasuke* story featured in Part 2 is transcribed here. The original document included a number of illustrations by Shiode Masako (possibly Shioide Kinuko); these are omitted for copyright reasons.
THE STORY

Sasuke was born in Nagano-ken on a property at the base of a mountain pass, to a local samurai called Tsuka Sadao. He also had an older sister called Sayo.

At the age of ten Sasuke already possessed great physical strength. Every day, he would go into the mountain areas of Toyatoge where he lived, climb the largest tree and play oni-gokko (tag) with the monkeys swinging from tree to tree. He would also clamber from rock to rock running with the deer of the forest and could chase through the forest with boar.

Villagers were dumbfounded by him, and often talked about the boy saying, ‘The son of Washizuka-sama (Mr Eagle-mount) [Sasuke’s father] had been replaced at birth with an ape!’

One day whilst playing, Sasuke’s sister Sayo said to him, ‘You may have more strength in just one part of your body than I, but because of all your running about, it means nothing.’ She continued, ‘Father told me last night that it is a time of war. If you avoid military training, success in life is just a dream. It made think a little about my own future.’

Sasuke thought carefully about his sister’s words. The next day he set out from Toyatoge. He found a lone standing tree and began to practice fencing. Day after day he would continue [to train], until he was so exhausted it took all his strength just to cling to the tree to keep upright.

1039 Ibid., 1–2.
Whilst in this state, half dreaming, he heard laughter but could not see anyone. He shouted out, ‘Here I am trying my hardest to improve my fencing, and yet you laugh at me. Come out and show yourself!’

All of a sudden, an elderly man with white hair appeared before him, smiling broadly.

‘You old toad; why you’re still laughing at me! Even though you’re old, you don’t have my permission to do so,’ said the boy.

‘Do you think that attacking a tree is the same as killing an enemy? You understand that that is no way to improve, don’t you?’

‘Stop being an idiot,’ replied Sasuke. ‘You’re talking nonsense. I have dreams, just quiet down won’t you.’ However, Sasuke softened towards the old man who was still smiling at him.\footnote{Ibid., 2.}

‘Old man, I want to learn about the military arts. I want to raise [the standard of] my arms and become strong. Won’t you teach me?’

‘Fine, I understand. I’ll teach you [if] you agree to be mine, I’ll teach you everything,’ said the old man.

Sasuke accompanied the old man to a clearing at the top of the mountain. The aged fellow made Sasuke sit down. [He then began to talk.]

‘Concerning the martial arts, as a whole it is impressive. Yet there are eighteen points that are each difficult learn. All are essential. But one of them cannot be learned at school.’ The old man paused and looked directly at Sasuke, ‘The essence of martial art is [simply] this; it is impossible to beat a person who has real resolution.’
The sound of the old man’s words touched Sasuke and he began to mature. He wanted to learn, and bowed prostrate on the floor.

‘Please, I beg you! Teach me the martial arts.’ Sasuke surprised himself, until this moment, he had no use for such polite words.

‘What is your name?’ he begged the old man.

‘Until you have learned everything from me, I shall be without a name,’ the old man replied.

‘Understood!’ said Sasuke.1041

From dawn till dusk, Sasuke studied hardest. Working under his tutor, he continued this way for many months until three years had passed.

One day, Sasuke arrived at the training ground to find the old man sitting atop a large rock.

‘I want to give you the expertise you need for advanced breathing techniques,’ said the old man. Carefully he pulled out an old scroll, which he handed to Sasuke. ‘I give this to you, but its contents you must protect. You must never divulge to any other, not even a great hero. Never let it be taken from you.’ With great care, he explained the meaning of the scroll to Sasuke.

Sasuke felt as high as heaven with joy, ‘Thank-you kind sir! This important teaching I keep in my heart, and I shall not forget it my whole life. If it pleases you, would you teach me your name?’1042

1041 Ibid., 3.
1042 Ibid., 4.
'So, that’s what you want? I am Tozawa Haku’unsai known as the Castle Lord of Se’shu-hanakuma. My father was the Governor Tozawa Yamajirō. For generations my ancestors have passed down the secret teachings, which in this world are called Ninjutsu. Now, [I have taught you] all the methods of water escape, wood escape, gold escape, earth escape, fire escape, and many others that are possible. However, you must only use these powers for justice. If you use them for your own profit, they will become corrupted and lead you to evil. Keep this in your mind.'

‘Yes,’ replied Sasuke.

‘There is one other thing that is essential,’ continued the old man. ‘You must choose your [future] Lord well, and your friends wisely.’

‘Thank you,’ replied Sasuke. He spoke again, ‘During these past three years we have worked from morning till night, I thank you for all you have shown me. I shall never forget your words. I shall always protect the knowledge you have given me. And you name will remain in my mind.’ Sasuke then bowed many times.

When he looked up his master could not be found anywhere, the old man had vanished in a puff of smoke. Sasuke was left looking in all directions.

‘Do not be alarmed,’ came his master’s voice. As he heard this, a metal fan dropped near the boy’s foot. ‘I forgot [to give you] this.’

Sasuke glanced down at the object.

‘When opened the fan can reveal a set of blades. It has written upon it all the hidden arts that have passed though my family line. Fare thee
well.’ With that, the old man reappeared on a cloud, which flew off to the East. Watching his master leave, Sasuke bowed low and prayed.

Alone, Sasuke worked hard at his studies. Two years slipped past and the boy became fifteen.¹⁰⁴³

One day, the Toyatoge village head Satori Gokuemon announced that Sanada Yukimura the young master of Ueda Castle was due to go boar hunting, and that he would pass through the village. To avoid causing any offense, no one was permitted to speak directly to the Lord Yukimura.

‘Please ask Sayo to pass this on to Sasuke,’ said Satori Gokuemon.

Upon hearing this Sasuke uttered, ‘How can this be? Hunting boar, monkeys, and deer: all of them are friends to me. I cannot stand by and see them killed.’ Talking to himself he continued, ‘on the day of the hunt I shall pretend that I have not heard [the village head’s order]. I shall go to Toyatoge.’

At the age of sixteen Sanada Yukimura was already a young daimyo (lord). As was his custom, he always travelled with six of his best vassals who flanked his left and right: Mochizuki Rokurô, Anayama Kosuke [a.k.a. Iwachiyo], Uno Rokurô, the monk Miyoshi Seikai, Miyoshi Isa (Seikai’s brother), and Kakei Jyûzô. Yukimura also had two hundred properly trained samurai in his retinue.

Although there was no breeze on that day, Yukimura, who was at the head of the procession, heard a whirring noise coming from the trees up ahead. He looked up and saw [what looked like] a big monkey up overhead staring back at him. Yukimura took careful aim with his bow

¹⁰⁴³ Ibid., 5–6.
and fired a shot. As he did so, what should happen, but the giant monkey caught the incoming arrow with his right hand. Yukimura flew into a rage and fired another two arrows. The great ape stopped them both with his left hand, he then laughed at Yukimura as if he were an idiot.\textsuperscript{1044}

Yukimura was incensed. ‘You do not have permission to act so saucily toward Yukimura, the second son of Yukimura Masayuki!’ he shouted. He glared at the large monkey; it was all so strange.

The large ape let out a couple of heavy breaths and dropped down from the cedar tree. Without any sign of fear, the monkey squatted before him.

Sekai Miyoshi caught the monkey that had fallen from the tree, but saw that it was in fact a young boy, Sarutobi-Sasuke.

Sasuke took Miyoshi’s left arm and threw him up into the air. The famous Miyoshi was overwhelmed. Enraged, he brandished his staff. ‘You have no right [to say such things]! Make ready!’

‘Enough,’ said Sasuke. ‘As an opponent, you’re no match [for me].’

Upon hearing these words, Yukimura burst into laughter, causing Miyoshi Seikai loosen his grip on the boy. Sasuke jumped back on to a branch of the cedar tree.\textsuperscript{1045}

‘That youth, I want to meet him,’ said Yukimura. ‘Will you not come down?’ he asked. Sasuke jumped twenty meters up in the air and landed just in front of the daimyô.

\textsuperscript{1044} Ibid., 7.
\textsuperscript{1045} Ibid., 8.
Miyoshi Seikai watched the movement of Sasuke with admiration. ‘[My Lord] looks pleased, I wonder if he will not make [the boy] his vassal?’

Since jumping from the tree Sasuke had thought [to himself], ‘This person looks fitting as a master.’ He replied, ‘If you so desire it.’

‘Very well,’ replied Yukimura. ‘It is decided.’ He went on. ‘Since this person looks and acts like a monkey, we shall call him ‘Sarutobi’ (‘Monkey-jump’) with your name. We still have much of the day left. Let us return to the castle!’

This is how Sarutobi-Sasuke came to accompany the group of the Braves: Mochizuki Rokurō, Anayama Kosuke, Uno Rokurō, the monk Miyoshi Seikai, Miyoshi Isa (Seikai’s brother), and Kakei Jyûzô.

They remained at the castle for many days. Sanada Yukimura called upon Sasuke time and time again.1046

‘Sasuke, I have called you here for one purpose. I want to see you take part in a match against your seniors my Six Braves. What say you?’

‘Of course, right away!’ answered the boy.

‘You’ll face each, one by one, be sure to show no cowardice.’

‘Understood,’ said Sasuke.

Each of the braves wore armour, but Sasuke prepared just as he was. His first challenge was Miyoshi Isa, who was as supernaturally strong as his older brother was. Sasuke disappeared in a puff of smoke appearing up in a nearby tree. In turn, Miyoshi Seikai, Anayama Kosuke, Kakei Jyûzô, Mochizuki Rokurō, and Uno Rokurō tried to catch Sasuke but could do nothing against his powers of Ninjutsu.

1046 Ibid., 9.
'Good!' said Yukimura. 'You have greater skill than I thought.' The daimyō continued, ‘I had a grudge against Tozawa Haku’unsai, but your power shall be combined with that of the Six Braves. You will be one of us.’

From then on, the Six were called Sanada Yukimura’s ‘Seven Braves’; they made strenuous efforts in his name. This is how the Sanada’s Seven Braves came into being.\(^{1047}\)

Whilst at Ueda castle, Sasuke worked hard, and Sanada Yukimura’s faith in him grew.

One day Yukimura called for Sasuke. ‘The fact of the matter is this, over the last few years I have been travelling around the Western regions. There are many local lords who have fumbled [their responsibilities], and I thought [you] would go and [listen] find out about the state of affairs down there.’

‘Should I go to each country?’ asked Sasuke?

‘It will be fine. Take [one of] the heroes with you and go and fathom the situation.’

‘Right away, sir.’

Sasuke found his room and collected all his clothing for the trip. Having heard about Sasuke’s orders the monk Seikai asked permission to travel with him. Together the two set out and began their journey.

Whilst looking around Toyatoge, they met the famous warrior Yuri Kuranosuke, who was traveling with one hundred [men at arms]. A terrible fight ensued. Seikai used his Herculean strength, and Sasuke his Ninjutsu. [Sasuke] could see everyone from up in the pine trees.

\(^{1047}\) Ibid., 10.
and knew where fires were lit from the smoke they gave off even though their flames could not be seen. The bandits knew not what to do. Finally, Sasuke unseated Kuranosuke from his horse.¹⁰⁴⁸

‘Understand that I will not kill you. You bandits are skilled. Any lord would [pay you] two thousand, no three thousand koku for such skill. Do you not feel like working for the honourable Lord Sanada Yukimura?’ asked Sasuke.

‘You have great skill but to hear your words leaves me unhappy. I am in fear. How can I join such a group [band of brothers], but please let me go with you.’

So [the two] became three and travelled together. Thus, Sanada’s Eight Brave Heroes were born.

Toyotomi Hideyoshi passed away on the eighth day, of the eighth month, in the third year of the Keichô era (1596.10.27-1615.7.13).

After the death of Hideyoshi, the world began to change. Thinking of his master, Miyoshi Seikai returned to Ueda Castle to serve the Lord Sanada Yukimura. Sasuke and Kuranosuke continued with their journey [mission].

They reached the sea coast of Suma. On the road, sitting amongst the roots of some pine trees was an obese warrior.

Sasuke joked, ‘That person looks really hungry, what shall we do?’

‘Have you got any money?’ the fat warrior asked.

‘Is this a holdup?’ asked Yuri Kuranosuke.

‘Why would you hold us up?’ asked Sasuke.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Ibid., 11.
‘What was that? A holdup you say. I would never do such a thing!’ replied the fat warrior.

‘It was an impertinent thing to say! We could lend you some money. Think on it,’ offered Sasuke.

Angrily the fat warrior rushed at Sasuke. Without striking back Sasuke flew into the air, did three somersaults and landed out of the way.1049

‘If you try to throw me like that I’ll lend you nothing!’ said Sasuke. Still, the overweight warrior pressed on at him. In an instant Sasuke vanished in a smoke. ‘I’m here!’ [Sasuke’s voice could be heard from atop a pine tree]. ‘[Now] I am here!’ he called out.

The fat warrior got more and more angry, and he began to shake the pine. Suddenly, it snapped, and toppled over. However, before it hit the ground Sasuke leapt and pinned the fat warrior.

‘For such strength we’ll pay. I am Sarutobi Sasuke and this is Yuri Kuranosuke. We are vassals of the Nobushige Ueda Castle [serving] under the Honourable Sanada Yukimura. Who might you be?’ asked Sasuke.

‘I am one from a group of twenty-four commanded by Motogonochi Kumamoto, [they call me] Nezu Jinpatsu.’

‘We reason that you’re very strong. Why don’t you join the service of Sanada Yukimura?’ pronounced Sasuke.

‘Of course, I am happy to grant this favour. I shall immediately go to Ueda Castle,’ replied Nezu. Thus, Sanada’s Nine Heroes came to be born.

1049 Ibid., 12.
Often mistaken for a thief, Kuranosuke was arrested and thrown in prison. Unable to effect Kuranosuke’s escape from jail, Sasuke devised a plan to find evidence to prove that his friend was innocent [and so] he set out [once again].

During his search, Sasuke defeated many unskilful robbers. Upon seeing this, the head of the thieves realized that many of [his] men were injured, so he set out himself on horseback.\textsuperscript{1050}

[Sasuke and the Bandit King] entered into hostilities with one another. Sasuke noted that his opponent had amazing secret powers. Both men used their abilities to the fullest. They clashed numerous times, but at last, the Bandit King was defeated.

‘I’ve lost,’ he said dropping both his hands.

‘Not at all,’ said Sasuke, and he too laid down his arms. ‘You posses amazing skills, how is it that you became a thief?’

‘I was born in the great house of a notable lord. I am known as Kirigakure Saizô. I have fallen from a great station, I [constantly think of] how is shall revive [my fortunes]. I joined the Iga faction of ninja and studied under the master Momochi Sandayû. He was a friend of Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Ishikawa Goemon, [men] who overturned the world. I saved money for military campaigns. I know all the most terrible methods, but there was no other way. So, I became a robber.’

‘Really, I understand. However, if you succeed with your plans, your mind will become impoverished. This is true in times of chaos and disorder. With just one power, we are heading towards a time of one

\textsuperscript{1050}Ibid., 13.
castle per region, are we not?’ reasoned Sasuke. ‘[Do you want to be known] for one lifetime or for generations to come?’

‘I wish it to be just as you said [for generations],’ replied Saizô. ‘I Kirigakure Saizô dedicate my life to you.’

‘Then it is decided! Kirigakure Saizô, from this day forth, we shall be companions. Sanada’s Ten Braves.’ [Sasuke was happy.]

Sanada’s Ten Braves: Mochizuki Rokurô, Anayama Kosuke, Uno Rokurô, the Monk Miyoshi Seikai, the Monk Miyoshi Isa, Kakei Jyûzô, Sarutobi Sasuke, Nezu Jinpatsu, and Kirigakure Saizô. All were assembled.

Here the story ends, but what kind of person was Sasuke? He was at the Battle of Sekigahara [in 1600], and at Ieyasu’s attack on Osaka, which was unfortunately lost. For the people of Osaka, Sanada Yukimura’s father the Lord Nobushige, along with a number of his vassals, spent fourteen years in Wakayama at the mountain temple of on Mount Kyûdo. Their lives were poor. Sanada Yukimura bound his vassals to him. Having sold everything, he was forced to flee. The daimyô and his Braves searched the country. Sarutobi Sasuke’s efforts [at this time] were the most splendid. In this way, they were able to prepare to meet Tokugawa Ieyasu in battle. The Brave Ten served under Sanada Yukimura, even though they knew he was at a disadvantage. Without retreating, they stayed to fight Ieyasu at Osaka through the ‘Winter Campaign’ [at the end of 1614], and the ‘Summer War’ [of 1615].

THE END

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1051 Ibid., 14.
1052 Ibid., 15.
APPENDIX D

SARUTOBI-SASUKE: SANADA YUKIMURA SAN YÔSHI NINJUTSU MEIJIN
Translator’s Foreword

Readers of *Sarutobi-sasuke* (1914) produced by the Tamada II and the Sekka Sanjin Collective would have known all of the historical figures featured in the novel. Correspondingly, the ‘Seven Braves’ (later ‘Ten Braves’) are fictional composites of people of who may, or may not, have existed. Accordingly, titles are very important in any culture, but this is especially true of Japan where a person might have several names throughout their lifetime: people had different family names whilst young, and another Buddhist name in death. Moreover, a lord might bestow a name onto his vassal as a sign of recognition. In *Sarutobi-sasuke* the tradition of *nanori* (spoken genealogies) is used as a device by the author(s) to give credence to the nobility; it also allows readers familiar with Japanese history to place protagonists within the context of a known social cosmology. Japanese names and dates are given for historical figures; the central fictional characters of the novel, most of who have already been introduced in the thesis, are not.

Visually the original text has the look of a play script. This is unsurprising considering the heritage of the writing team, which started out as part of the oral tradition of *kōdan* (classical narratives). Each sentence begins with a single Chinese character in bold type, to delineate each ‘player’. Spoken dialogues have quotation marks, so the reader can tell exactly who is speaking from the beginning of a quote. The visual layout becomes very useful when reading dialogue aloud. For the general reader, Chinese characters, used to indicate clauses of speech, have been replaced with appropriate names using the Roman alphabet. However, I have done my best to create a facsimile of the formatting for the original work.
The structure stories of the *Tatsukawa bunko* are in *rensai* (serial) form. Each episode ends with a suspenseful moment, hoping to engage the reader and induce them to read on: *yomihon* (reading books) in the vernacular from China directly inspired this practice. Moreover, from a commercial viewpoint, the technique encouraged consumers to buy the next instalment. Thus, each episode has the same structure: an opening statement, followed by a reminder of the plot. To avoid reader fatigue, I have omitted (or limited) this practice. Accordingly, the text presented here is in a *précis* form. Only the most basic actions of the protagonists and plot are given. Additional key words listed at start of each episode give a rough guide to each chapter’s content.

Adam Thorin Croft: 27 July 2015
The unannounced speaker, a literary simulacrum of the kôdanshi (classical narrator) begins the historiographical process of narration setting time, date, and place. Factual data places an emphasis on the fictional story as a chronicle. We begin, not with the legendary protagonist Sarutobi Sasuke, but with the historical person most associated with the Kansai region and the Osaka campaigns (1614-15), that is, Sasuke’s master Sanada Nobushige (hereafter Sanada Yukimura).

Japan is described as newly unified under the Toyotomi clan. The confederacy was achieved thanks to the efforts of House of Sanada, a clan allied to the Toyotomi during the Sengoku era.

Yukimura has at his command a number of powerful warriors, who are ‘unmatched under heaven’. These men are of ‘exceptional courage and bravery with good moral character’. Amongst this group of Braves is a ‘rude young man’ known as Sarutobi ‘monkey-jump’ Sasuke.1053 The setting is the southwest of present day Honshu.

After a lengthy exposition of the contemporary feudal hierarchy, narration directs us towards Sasuke’s lineage. Sasuke’s father is a rônin (a samurai without a master) called Satayûfu, who owns a small and peaceful property at the foot of a mountain pass near Kawanakajima.

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1053 Sekka, Sarutobi-sasuke, 40:9.
Satayûfu has two children: the eldest Sayo, she is ‘kind, charming, and very beautiful’. The other is a boy.

This younger child possesses none of the charms attributed to his sibling. Sasuke looks very like a monkey and from early childhood has a simian-like ability to jump, swing, and play amongst the treetops. As a consequence, Sasuke is described as a ‘changeling’. There is a good reason for this. One day whilst Sasuke is out playing in the forest, two woodsmen mistake him for an ape. Sasuke taunts the two woodsmen from the trees, playing on their misconceptions: he laughs at their stupidity. The two men are surprised that the ‘beast’ seems to comprehend their conversation. Sasuke, however, does possess some positive qualities; he was ‘born ready for battle’.

One day, Sasuke is practicing his fencing skills at home. Using a wooden post as a target, the boy complains bitterly to himself. As he bemoans his station in life, an old man mysteriously appears in a puff of smoke. The elderly gentleman has white hair swept up in a topknot, the mark of a samurai. The stranger watches Sasuke intently. Sasuke becomes aware of this other presence:

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Old man: Ha, ha, ha! So, you’re Sasuke! It matters not how much you train hitting inanimate objects, they are only good if your aim is to defend against dead enemies. You’ll not improve like that.\textsuperscript{1059}

The old man’s advice strikes Sasuke as being sound; accordingly he softens his tone. The unknown samurai tests Sasuke by asking him to try to strike him with the practice sword. Sasuke is unable to do so. After several more failed attempts the boy is exhausted.

The old man promises to help Sasuke achieve his goal of becoming a great swordsman, but warns him that it will take persistence and hard work. Sasuke attempts to catch him off guard with a quick strike, but the elderly man evaporates in another puff of white smoke, leaving the child alone and bewildered.\textsuperscript{1060}
Perplexed, Sasuke mutters under his breath about the ‘strange old fool’. He continues to hunt out his new teacher, hoping to gain a successful strike against him.\(^\text{1061}\)

The old man reappears and continues to impart more wisdom to the unappreciative Sasuke. The old man explains the benefits of having a good defence, the lack of which ‘can be fatal’.

Assuming the role of Sasuke’s teacher, the samurai stresses the importance of attending lessons with due diligence.\(^\text{1062}\) As a test of character Sasuke’s military education will take place in the nearby mountains.\(^\text{1063}\)

Time passes. Atop the highest peak, Sasuke waits for the old man. The youth falls asleep but is immediately awoken with an admonishment by the cantankerous old man who wants to know why his pupil was dozing. Sasuke speaks politely:

Old man: Sasuke, thou art asleep! Is this how you show your true character by nodding off? You didn't know I was here did you?

Sasuke: Ah, it is my honourable master! I was so sleepy and my body is weak from training.

\(^{1061}\) Sasuke’s youth makes up part of his description by the authors, he is often referred to as ‘young Sasuke’: the implication is that this is some kind of problem. Ibid., 40:14.

\(^{1062}\) Ibid.

\(^{1063}\) The writers condense this exposition into less than half a page, but like a film-montage, the sequence indicates the passing of a long passage of time. Ibid., 40:15.
Old man: Silence! Is it possible for one to know about the military arts, if you don't know what is in front or behind you? Don't you know enemies can attack at anytime, anywhere? You must be prepared. If I come again and you’re sleeping, there will be a fight about it.\textsuperscript{1064}

The old man threatens to expel Sasuke and end his training. The outwardly penitent boy persuades his teacher to do otherwise. Inwardly, however, the youth swears an oath to get revenge on the ‘oyaji-inu’ (‘old dog of a man’) by outperforming him.\textsuperscript{1065}

Much of the chapter unfolds in the same way with the young disciple’s opinion of his old tutor remaining the same (the terms ‘bastard’, ‘goblin’, and ‘old dog’ are liberally applied to many of Sasuke’s oaths).

After three years of hardship, Sasuke surmounts all his master’s teachings. There is one final test left before his apprenticeship can end. Sasuke reveals that he is aware of his teacher’s silent approach.\textsuperscript{1066}

\textsuperscript{1064} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{1065} Sasuke’s oath is one of the few instances of inner monologue in the novel. It is a fleeting moment but it indicates much of Sasuke’s attitude towards certain authority figures. Lord Yukimura, a contemporary to Sasuke in age, never receives the same treatment. Lord Yukimura’s father the Prince Awa-no-kami and his master Toyotomi Hideyoshi are also exempt from Sasuke’s internal criticisms. Ibid., 40:17.

\textsuperscript{1066} Ibid., 40:19.
Without education, a person knows nothing.

Unless you polish a gem, it will not shine.\(^{1067}\)

In this instance, the ‘gem’ is Sasuke; and the process of polishing is his education, which is to be martial.\(^{1068}\)

Sasuke finally manages to outwit his teacher and strikes him. As a sign of respect, the old samurai gives Sasuke a scroll containing the secrets of ninjustu (hidden techniques) gathered over his life’s work. The techniques focus on evasion by using one’s senses to detect and counter an attack by combing the natural elements fire and water to augment an individual’s fighting skills.\(^{1069}\) Sasuke also receives a strange metal war fan with thirteen struts called a tessen, which can return to its owner once thrown.\(^{1070}\)

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\(^{1067}\) Ibid.

\(^{1068}\) The idea of education has always been important in Confucian based societies; this is especially true of Japan, which obtained literacy at much later date compared to its neighbors with the arrival of Buddhist sutras sent with Korean envoys in the year 552, culminating in a full integration of the Chinese literary system by the Nara period in the 8th Century. The modernization of Japan from 1868 onwards, under the recently restored Emperor Meiji, brought with it only a partial dismantling of the rigid class system. In theory, people from the lower classes finally had the chance to improve their lot through thrift and application. The reality was quite different from the aspirational dream on offer, although some people succeeded in making their fortunes many did not. Ibid., 40:19-20.

\(^{1069}\) Ibid., 40:20.

\(^{1070}\) Ibid., 40:21.
The relationship between the pupil and his master has become cordial; this being so, Sasuke for the first time speaks in honorifics:

Sasuke: Ha, ha! Having been given such a precious gift by my teacher I shall keep it close. Having made this so, I have one small favour to beg of you…

Sasuke’s voice trailed off [with emotion].

Sensei: Well, Sasuke! Having learnt at great pains over the last few years the secrets of ninjustu, you must use them to oppose evil.¹⁰⁷¹

The old man reveals that his name is Tozawa Haku’unsai, a former mercenary once in the employ of the Sanada clan. Before flying off on a magic cloud, Tozawa directs Sasuke to the home of the Sanada clan in the hope that the boy will find a position as a page.

After descending from the mountain, Sasuke stops to give thanks in remembrance of his teacher before continuing along on his journey. Sasuke, now fifteen, is described as a formidable opponent possessing excellent martial skills. The young man heads towards an ancient village searching for more information on the whereabouts of Ueda Castle, home of the Sanada.

A passing villager recognises Sasuke’s station as a samurai and addresses the hero in honorifics. The peasant tells Sasuke that he is in luck: Sanada Yukimura, the youngest son of the regional noble Sanada Awa no Kami Masayuki, has been hunting boar nearby and is due to return to the village soon. The man adds that the youth should be careful; Sanada Yukimura is a child prodigy, and of a lineage connected to the powerful House of Tokugawa.¹⁰⁷² Heeding the

¹⁰⁷¹ Ibid., 40:21-22.
¹⁰⁷² Multiitpe allegiances were established during military campaigns with different factions, so as to protect the Sanada name. Ibid., 40:23.
peasant’s advice, Sasuke decides to wait for the young lord in a tree out of sight.

Eventually a large parade arrives with full pomp and ceremony: horns are sounded, and a retinue of armed men accompany the young noble Sanada Yukimura. Narration reminds us that the Sanada clan are under the protection and guidance of the family patriarch Sanada Masayuki. The ‘Lord of Ueda Castle’ retains a select number of famous swordsmen as personal bodyguards. These men are introduced individually as the Braves: Mochizuki Rokurô, Anayama Iwachiyo (a.k.a. Kosuke), Uno Rokurô, the buzô (warrior monk) Miyoshi Seikai, and his younger brother Isa (similarly robed as a fellow cleric).

The elder monk Miyoshi Seikai, a large and bombastic figure, is the first to spot Sasuke. Pro forma, Miyoshi mistakes the young man hidden in the branches for a strange kind of ape. The monk dares his young master to shoot the ‘monkey’ for sport. Everyone is astonished when time after time the beast evades the attack. Sasuke further confounds the group by catching the war darts aimed at him and tossing them back. The party comes to realise that Sasuke is human and are enraged by his impudence.

Narration introduces Sanada Yukimura by his full name, ‘Sanada Yukimura, second son and heir of Sanada Awa no Kami Masayuki, protector of the House of Takeda’. Puzzled by the unknown presence in the dense canopy above, Yukimura decides to consult with his elder brother Sanada Nobuyuki, who, he alleges to his companions, has a much worse temper. The young noble, only a year older than Sasuke

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\(^{1073}\) Ibid., 40:24.
\(^{1074}\) Ibid., 40:25.
(just fifteen), muses aloud that this may just correct the ape’s bad manners.

Yukimura’s confirmation of his own presence causes Sasuke to jump down from the tree: the simian-like warrior prostrates himself before the young lord.¹⁰⁷⁵

¹⁰⁷⁵ Ibid.
Miyoshi Seikai, the warrior monk, interrogates Sasuke, who sits atop a pine tree looking down at the Sanada retinue. Miyoshi verbally recaps the plot for those who might have missed or forgotten the last chapter, and in doing so he immediately highlights Sasuke’s feral qualities:

Miyoshi: You are a beast of a fellow! My young lord had to bear-the-brunt of his arrows being caught and stopped twice by the brilliant skills of a monkey, or so I thought. Finally, you came down under the glare of his stern gaze. Now we can see that this thing was only pretending to be human! You did not ask humbly for his pardon, as you ought to have done. Instead, with your hands together, [you] bowed deeply like some mocking baboon. My young lord ought to chop off your head and boil it for supper!

Miyoshi’s muscles in his neck bulge, he rants, unable to contain his rage.\(^\text{1076}\)

Sasuke leaves his perch to fight. Miyoshi goes to strike the young boy, but Sasuke defends himself throwing the irate monk to the ground. Miyoshi’s younger brother Isa interrupts by mocking his elder brother’s efforts.\(^\text{1077}\) He compares Miyoshi to a small cup that can be easily overturned. Sasuke moves nimbly avoiding the continued attacks

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\(^{1076}\) Ibid., 40:25-26.

\(^{1077}\) Ibid., 40:26.
of the elder monk, and then vanishes in a puff of smoke. Miyoshi is left to the mercy of his sibling’s taunts.\footnote{The two monks read rather like a comedic double act from manzai (‘overflowing talent’), which first developed during the eighth century from Shintō practices given at the start of a new year. The tradition developed most in the Kamigata region and remains popular with contemporary yose (vaudeville theatre) audiences. Reversing tradition, Seikai the eldest of the two acts as the fool, whilst Isa plays the foil. At first, it is hard to tell if their titles are purely religious, Yukimura later reveals that they are siblings in a short elucidation on the early crimes of the two as children. In defence of their lives, the two boys murdered a man. Yukimura's father was so impressed with their genuine remorse and adoption of monastic culture, he permitted them to live, eventually accepting them as his retainers. The Miyoshi brothers continue to wear monastic garb as a sign of gratitude for having been spared. Morioka and Harvard University, Rakugo, 6.}

Miyoshi believes Sasuke to be the grandchild of a tengu (mountain goblin), mythical beings possessed of great military prowess that can appear in semi-human form.\footnote{The reference is an inter-textual allusion to legendary upbringing of the historical Minamoto no Yoshitsune (1159-1189). It was claimed he was taught how to handle a blade by a tengu (天狗 translated here as ‘mountain goblin’), who had come to the boy in the guise of a monk. After defeating the Taira clan at the Battle of Dan-O-Ura (1185), the young warrior fell foul of his elder brother Yoritomo (1147-1199), the Lord of Kamakura. It is believed that Yoritomo was jealous of his brother’s popularity. When Yoshitsune dallied after the battle to attend the cloistered emperor Go-Toba (1180-1239) the Kamakura shogun grew suspicious. Fearing a coup, Yoritomo order the death of his sibling, which forced Yoshitsune to go on the run. Yoshitsune managed to evade capture but was eventually tracked down. Defended by his loyal manservant Benkei (弁慶, 1155-1189), the warrior managed to commit ritual suicide before being captured. Yoshitsune remains one of Japan’s most romantic historical figures. Ibid., 126-132; Immortalised in the Heike monogatari (Tale Of The Heike) the warrior features in many kabuki plays that have supernatural elements. Izumo Takeda, Yoshitsune zenbon zakura [義経本桜], trans. Stanleigh H. Jones (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).} The elder monk laments to all that he is unable to catch his monkey-like opponent. Realising that Sasuke has returned to relative safety in the one of the surrounding treetops, the senior monk changes his tactics. In a furious rage, Miyoshi attempts to dislodge Sasuke by uprooting the pine tree in which he sits. Struggling with the enormous weight, the monk apologizes to Heaven for taking a life: Miyoshi does not mean Sasuke, but the tree. Yukimura intervenes:

Yukimura: Enough! You’re so angry at the behaviour of this boy Miyoshi, it’s painful [to watch]. We should just question him. You won’t be hurt [boy], come here!
On hearing this, Sasuke immediately propels himself into the air, and like a bird lands deftly before his new master.\textsuperscript{1080} The display of agility produces an unconscious sense of respect in the group.

Yukimura wonders aloud as to what benefit the strange young boy can be. As he does so, the narration draws attention to the physical differences between the two young men. Sasuke is likened to a bear, while the noble is described as ‘respectable in form’.\textsuperscript{1081}

Sasuke declares his heritage as the student of Tozawa Haku’unsai. After, he excuses the young noble for his mistake by explaining that as a child he spent time playing with monkeys. Lastly, Sasuke reveals that he is the son of a country squire.\textsuperscript{1082} It causes Yukimura to re-evaluate Sasuke: \textsuperscript{1083}

\begin{quote}
Yukimura: Well, well, well! You’re the son of a local squire, are you? You have nerve, a natural ability to learn, and your remember your lessons. Perhaps, with time, we may be able to forge you into something [useful]. What say you?\textsuperscript{1084}
\end{quote}

Sasuke accepts and takes his place as one of a ‘band of brothers’ unified in service under the Sanada clan.

\textsuperscript{1080} Sekka, Sarutobi-sasuke, 40:28.

\textsuperscript{1081} Ibid., 40:29.

\textsuperscript{1082} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{1083} This is a key moment because Sasuke does not in any way fit the model of a commoner: this complicates Adachi Ken’ichi’s claim that Sasuke is an anti-authoritarian figure. Moreover, we can see that from very early on, Sasuke is absorbed directly into the Sanada hierarchy taking a position of privilege. Adachi, ‘Tatsukawa bunko no tanjyō’, 32–41.

\textsuperscript{1084} Sekka, Sarutobi-sasuke, 40:31.
Yukimura decides to stop near the mountain pass at Kawanakajima, which delights Sasuke because it is his home. This announcement aggravates the already building grudge held by the elder Miyoshi brother, who for reasons of safety wishes to leave the territory. Buffeted by gusts of cold wind that blister through the retinue, the monk warns Sasuke that he should pay attention to Yukimura’s instructions on brotherhood; they are all parts of the same body in service to the one lord. Sasuke retorts that his brothers might have age, but he is the one with skill. Miyoshi quickly checks him back:

Miyoshi: Oi! Still vomiting forth such cheek, I see. Huh, the six us each have skills. What does my young master think?

Yukimura: That sounds interesting. Sasuke is not afraid to confront each-and-every one of you. His manner is not that of a coward. [Therefore,] there is no need to behave like gentlemen with him.\footnote{Ibid., 40:32.}

\footnote{Ibid.}
For the first time the rest of the group are given voice in a chorus form reminiscent of jôruri (choral verse):

The Six [Braves]: Understood! 1087

The fledgling warrior must prove his worth through a martial initiation. The Braves dismount and make ready for battle. 1088 Whilst the men strap on armour, Sasuke pulls down a branch of oak with which to defend himself. 1089

Isa is the first to be ready. After a verbal insult from Sasuke, the youngest monk attacks whilst screaming loudly. The pair trade blows, both high and low. Narration extols Sasuke’s virtues as a cunning young opponent. Sasuke interrupts the proceedings, claiming that Isa is just marking out the fight. He challenges the junior monk to surprise him. Livid, Isa makes another attack. Sasuke uses his ninjustu to vanish. Isa hits empty space. The cleric looks in all directions for his opponent. Something that feels like the flat edge of a stone hits the monk on his behind. We hear the strange whirring noise of the war fan Sasuke inherited from his teacher as it returns to its owner’s hand.

Yukimura gives a verdict of a no contest. Outraged, Isa stamps his feet in frustration:

Isa: Enough! That fellow Sasuke is a coward! He keeps leaping into thin air! Oi! Hurry up and get down here. I’ve not given you my leave.

1087 Ibid.
1088 This event reinforces the notion of Sasuke as a vessel of destruction. His value to Sanada Yukimura is as a weapon.
1089 Sasuke already posses an enchanted tessen (martial fan) from his teacher Haku’unsai, therefore, the writers must have wished to infer something more. The young warrior’s choice of weapon demonstrates his hubris because it implies that his adversaries are not worth the drawing of a real blade. The noted duellist Miyamoto Musashi (1584-1645) was famous for having fashioned a paddle into a bokken (wooden sword). In later life, Musashi also used wooden practice weapons as a sign of his great skill. If Sasuke is to have any grounding in reality, it is here. Born under the Chinese zodiac of the Monkey, Musashi was thought bestial and unkempt by his contemporaries and is reputed to have fought in the service of Toyotomi Hideyoshi at the Siege of Osaka in 1615.
Yukimura laughs. He chides Isa by gently praising Sasuke’s skill:

**Isa:** But, the contest is not yet finished; my cudgel has not had the pleasure of meeting his head!

**Yukimura:** Angry as you are, your skills are no match for his. Therefore, there is no contest. A draw I say!¹⁰⁹⁰

Next is Miyoshi, and just as before, he is forced to yield. The rest of the Braves suffer similar fates, each one receiving several blows from the leering monkey-like adolescent.

Yukimura admires Sasuke; the youth has more skill than he suspected. He praises the youth for his restraint in not killing the others, and rewards him with a new name based on the characters for Yukimura’s own alias: ‘Sarutobi Sasuke Yukiyoshi’.

Sasuke’s father Satayûfu appears:

**Father:** What’s going on? Sasuke! Ah, bravo! I see this young lord is giving you a serious lesson in devotion and loyalty to one’s chief. You are now under the care of your master. You must deal with him from a respectful distance. You should look up to him. These are not your mother’s, nor my relations. As a child under our care, you have had pleasure and pain, but you have left us.¹⁰⁹¹


¹⁰⁹¹ The opening narration to the fifth chapter gives the samurai creed, as perceived by Tamada II and the Yamadas. The congruity of this phrase exactly matches the credo of the Taiheiki (Tale of Grand Pacification), which features the tragic hero Kusunoki Masatsura (1326-1348) charged with defending the imperial line from the forces led by Ashikaga Takauji (1305-1358) during the early fourteenth century. At the Battle of Shijo-nawate in the province of Kawachi (1348), the Ashikaga shogunate (1338-1573) vanquished the imperial forces of the Go-Daigo (1288-1339), emperor of the Southern Court. The Southern Court general Kusunoki died fighting in volley of arrows. After the battle ceased, his corpse was dismembered and his head sent to his family. Seeing his father’s severed head, Kusunoki’s young son Masashige (c.1294-1336) swore revenge. Masashige took up the imperial cause in the name of his father, but his sortie against the Ashikaga ended in failure. Like his father before him, Masashige died in battle vastly outnumbered. The valour of both men epitomised values held most dear to the Muromachi warrior class, who prized their honour above all else. Failure to stop the Ashikaga revolt did not diminish the respect accorded the father and son, who were acknowledged as truly filial to family and emperor. The poetry of the Taiheiki celebrated the efforts of both warriors in a genre that was dubbed gunkimono (military epic). The cardinal virtue of the romantic genre is hōganb’iki (‘sympathy for a fêted hero’). The term later became a byword for courage in face of certain death. With the Meiji Restoration, Go-Daigo’s familial line was restored to power by the Chôshû and Satsuma domains. Consequently, Masashige and Masatsura were once again revived as national symbols; a short account of their trials features at the start of the Meiji classic Sanada sandaiki (Three Generations of the Sanada: A
Overjoyed Sasuke begins to cry. He thanks his parent for having supported him thus far. Sasuke informs his father that he is in the presence of Sanada Yukimura, and that shall pass on his kind words to his lord, whose lessons he is grateful for. Satayûfu beseeches Sanada Yukimura to transform Sasuke into a gentleman: he then takes his leave. The rônin does not appear again. After receiving his official title, Sasuke amalgamated with the hunting party. Keeping time with the beat of taiko drums, the Sanada leave for Ueda Castle.

Upon arrival at Ueda Castle, Sasuke is officially introduced to Sanada Yukimura’s father Sanada Masayuki Awa no Kami. Sasuke recounts the circumstances of his meeting and appointment under Sanada Yukimura with the clan leader. The overlord is happy with this offspring’s choice:

Masayuki: I see you’ve found yourself a good servant! To do such a thing is hard in time of the country at war.

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Chronicle), which sharing the similar dichotomy of East verse West, celebrated the efforts of the Sanada clan against the Tokugawa clan. Ibid., 40:34.

1092 Ibid., 40:34-35.

1093 Ibid., 40:35.

1094 The sudden introduction and dismissal of Satayûfu is both striking and incongruous. No obvious logic informs the narrative. Did Sanada Yukimura know about Sasuke’s father? No explanation precedes the event, making the interlude difficult to decipher. The only clue is contained in the book’s introduction, which makes mention that Satayûfu was employed in the service of Takeda Shingen, but the reader is left to make all and any connections between the narrative’s chronological past and present. More important than time is the transference of affiliation from father to lord. The rônin willingly yields to the authority of Sanada Yukimura. In relinquishing his son, Satayûfu gives privilege to a senior aristocrat, who, as a surrogate father, will bestow power on Sasuke. For Sasuke, it is an opportunity to advance in the world; a thing previously denied to him in his rural station. As an expression of power, Satayûfu’s compliance with the senior lord, who is only sixteen (a year older than Sasuke), parallels that of Kusanoki Masatsura, whereby filial duty is transferable, and refined, in the service a higher authority. The Sanada are proxies for the Toyotomi clan. Ultimately, the subordination of the Sanada Yukimura and his father Sanada Masayuki Awa no Kami will dictate the fate of Sasuke, which concludes tragically in the fortieth edition of the Tatsukawa Bunko. It should be noted that, like Sherlock Holmes, Sasuke was revived several times and his fate rewritten. The final title in the associated Sanada Yukimura series within the Tatsukawa Bunko sees Sasuke survive the Osaka campaigns and tour the country as a fencing master.
Masayuki Awa no Kami celebrates Sasuke Yukiyoshi’s new station by drinking saké with him. (The ritual bonds all of the samurai in friendship. The custom occurs whenever Sasuke converts a warrior to the Sanada cause. Other than food, poetry, and martial tournament alcohol is the only indulgence the men afford themselves.) The senior lord continues:

Masayuki: Doubtless, with age you’ll become a great hero. In the future, you must not forget to aid my son Yukimura.

Until the age of nineteen Sasuke remained in constant service to the Lord Yukimura, accompanying him at all times. With the other heroes, he sharpened his ninjutsu and military skills. Over time, the noble Yukimura came to rely on Sasuke like a brother.

One day Lord Yukimura set Sasuke a number of tasks; first, to catch a dove on the roof; second, to climb up into a pine tree, which he accomplished with a single bound. Sasuke could do things that others were not capable of. His master was pleased. He had made do with the other six heroes, but not so with Sasuke.

Conscious of the group’s diminishing status, the other Braves begin to complain. In secret, they hold a meeting. Miyoshi Seikai and Kakei Jyûzô are first to speak:

Miyoshi: Oi, listen you lot. Since Sasuke has come, our young Lord has ignored us. He feels like a cramp [thorn in my side]. What shall we do?

Jyûzô: Huh, I feel the same as you. He is like a ghost; he can see in the dark; hear several conversations at once; and remembers everything you say. He’s a dreadful fellow; you can’t say anything about him behind his back or he’ll appear behind you. It’s terrifying!

Miyoshi admits that there is nothing more infuriating in a rival than stoicism. The group plots against Sasuke. Isa notes that however much skill Sasuke has, he is still human, and therefore fallible. The members of the group feel that Sasuke can be careless [in attitude] at times. Isa

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develops a plan with Uno Rokurô to cause Sasuke to make an error in public and lose his patronage. Mochizuki Rokurô suggests creeping into Sasuke’s room and smothering him with his bedding, but Miyoshi advises that his may have dire consequences for the group. Anayama agrees with the sentiment; thoughtfully however, he asks all present what they would do if the positions were reversed:

Anayama: After all, he has quick eyes and good ears. He’s [also] quick [on his feet], and built strong.

Miyoshi judges the plans, three of which he feels go too far, for the Braves only wish to intimidate Sasuke. However, the monk likes the idea of digging a hole for Sasuke. The Braves agree to wait for nightfall.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶Ibid., 40:30.
The Six waited for the day to come when they could show their master Yukimura how irritating Sasuke was. A *non sequitur* follows: the narration digresses for a few paragraphs to give the backstory to the two brothers Miyoshi and Isa:

During the Period of the Country at War, people's sentiments were coarse; murderers won [out], and people had less feeling. Many would lay in wait hoping to make mischief — the "Master of the Six" Sanada Yukimura was especially well known having a fixed rule for helping people. However, this did not curb all acts of villainy in the land.

One day, a wandering rōnin took [his] chance and attacked Miyoshi and Isa whilst they were still children. The two boys transgressed [in defending themselves] by accidently killing their attacker. To pay for the crime they became apprentice monks.\(^{1097}\)

The Lord Awanokami Yukimura heard of this and thought them splendid. Miyoshi was assigned as a page to Sanada Yukimura. He apologised to the parents of the deceased. After they became warriors, the boys continued to wear black priestly robes and kept their heads shaved. When the two were ten and nine, they took formal monastic names.\(^{1098}\)

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\(^{1097}\) Ibid., 40:30.

\(^{1098}\) The narrative rupture is suggestive of the sub-plots and miniature portraits of folk heroes that are scattered throughout Chinese works adopted into the Japanese canon of literature. Formulae from Chinese vernacular fiction stood as the model for Japanese writers up until the Meiji era. Reconfigurations of classical motifs that demonstrated an author's style were far more valued than originality, which is, as Okayama Emiko states: 'a very twentieth-century obsession'. Okayama, ‘Introducing Bakin: Japanese Literary Giant’, sec. Techniques of Writing.
Abruptly we return to the main story. As the sky darkens, Sasuke creeps up on the gang laying in wait for him. He spies their trap, a large camouflaged hole dug in the ground.

Sasuke: So, they’re trying to trap me, well I’ll burst their bubble.\textsuperscript{1099}

The group go before Yukimura, and together they recount war stories, which gives their lord great mirth.

Time passes and the appointed hour [for sleep] draws near. People begin to track back to their rooms, but the five plotters linger around the guest quarters. Isa points out that Sasuke is sound asleep, so the company exits.

Cuddled up like a fox, Sasuke’s tongue lolls out of his head, seemingly unaware of what is to come, but it is a ruse, Sasuke is fully alert. He chuckles quietly to himself.

A bell sounds in the dead of night; its peal can be heard across an unknown body of water. Suddenly, Sasuke jumps up. Twirling his bedding like a giant fan, he creates a gust of air, extinguishing the main fire, leaving the guest room in utter darkness.

Because of his enormous size, Miyoshi can be heard coming along the corridor. Sasuke rolls up his futon so it looks like a body, and hides himself atop one of the beams supporting the roof. The other Braves arrive silently.\textsuperscript{1100}

Outside Miyoshi directs the group in a whisper: he, Anayama Iwachiyo, and Uno Rokurô will hold down the corners of Sasuke’s bedding to stop their victim escaping; Isa and Mochizuki will bind

\textsuperscript{1099} Sekka, Sanobōi-sasuke, 40:31.
\textsuperscript{1100} Ibid., 40:33.
Sasuke. Members of the group complain to Miyoshi that it is too dark to see, but the cleric admonishes them. Tentatively, they open the sliding door to the room and enter.

Sasuke observes all from his vantage point in the rafters. Sneering at his opponents, he crawls over the ceiling like a spider to get behind the ringleader Miyoshi. Sasuke twists Miyoshi’s nose ‘as if it were a dial’ and then uses his magic powers to envelop the giant man within the futon. Sasuke then takes the monk’s form. Substituting himself for the real thing, he mixes with the group.

At the disturbance, the Braves, who are all unable to see in the dark, fall into confusion. Disguising his voice, Sasuke commands everyone to attack the struggling body now attempting to kick its way out of confines of the binding mattress. Smothered under layers of bedding, Miyoshi is unable to move or speak. The Braves enthusiastically kick, punch, and scratch at him. Having meted out sufficient retribution Sasuke (still in the guise of Miyoshi) tells the others to report to Yukimura; he will on follow after he has tidied up the room. Unaware of their ringleader’s plight, the Braves drag their captive off to see their lord.

Sasuke laughs to himself, saying that Miyoshi will be all ‘puffy’ and that the others will look like ‘donkeys’ in the morning. He promptly returns to sleep.1101

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1101 Ibid., 40:35.
Mitani, a samurai on night watch, wakes to discover a rolled up futon set before him. He wonders who the owner is. He questions his companion Satô, but his fellow guard knows nothing about the appearance of the bedding either. He hazards a guess or two, but comes to no conclusion. A third guard, Yamamoto, states that there is no way to know what the blankets are doing there. Howling erupts from inside the abandoned linen pile and causes further consternation amongst the three men.

Forced into action by the commotion, Yamamoto summons a subordinate to fetch the master of the house (meaning Yukimura). He gives instructions to all present to say nothing about the night watchmen having been asleep. Each speaker talks in quick comic succession. The men wait and worry.

Yukimura arrives and looks at the bundle with raised eyebrows. The thing trapped inside the bedding continues to twist and turn:

Yukimura: Well, whatever it is, it sounds like it's in extreme pain. Quickly, open it up and let's have a look at who's inside!
Unseen, Sasuke prods and pokes at the three guards, who remain afraid of the futon’s contents. Undeterred, Yukimura desires to solve the mystery.

Uno Rokurô [and the other Braves] appear; they dutifully stand at attention ready with some cord to snare the horror that writhes within the package. The three night watchmen retire themselves from the scene.

Sasuke becomes visible. He calmly salutes Yukimura. The Braves are taken aback. Opening up the bedding, Miyoshi is revealed:

Miyoshi: Sasuke; you bastard! How did you do that?

Sasuke: How strange! [I thought] you might have tried [to get me] before this night!

Isa is first to realise has happened.

Isa: That’s amazing! I had wondered where my brother had gone.1103

The group is speechless. The Braves wish to rebuke Sasuke. Chastened by the presence of Yukimura, they say nothing. However, Sasuke laughs at them. He chides the others that they are slow witted, and then enquires as to the state of Miyoshi’s health. The Braves find Sasuke’s manner unbearable. Enraged, Mochizuki denounces Sasuke’s behaviour as ‘intolerable’. All look towards their master Yukimura, who now suspiciously eyes Sasuke:

Yukimura: Enough! Explain [to me] why you have given us all such a strange greeting? Why is Miyoshi bound-up in a mattress?

Collectively, the group pauses:

Sasuke: Ha! Can you not explain anything to our young Lord?

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1103 Ibid., 40:37.
Yukimura: If I am to serve justice properly, I need to know what all this howling was about.

Yukimura offers a reward for the one who can adequately explain the situation to him. The Braves cast their eyes downwards and begin sweating. Like children, they make excuses like ‘a bee stung Miyoshi’ and ‘Sasuke is misleading everyone’.1104

Yukimura demands that each man provide an answer. Uno Rokurō begins. He hints that they were trying to catch a ‘certain monkey’ that was crawling about the castle. Yukimura is not convinced. Next Anayama Iwachiyo, hoping to cover for his friends’ claims, argues that it was a cat. Mochizuki Rokurō, claims he was so startled by the noise he could not be sure if it was a cat or not. Kakei Jyûzô quickly mentions that it might have been a fox. Isa Seikai reasons the confusion arose because his brother made a noise like a dog, so they were all mistaken. Doubting the veracity of the Braves, Yukimura turns to Sasuke. The two match their wits against one another:

Sasuke: It was not a beast.

Yukimura: Well, if it was not a beast then it was human.

Sasuke: That is my meaning.

Yukimura: I see. Well if it was not a beast, and it was seen, who said it was so?

Sasuke: You did my lord, [just now].

Yukimura: So, then who is it?

Sasuke: Only the monk Miyoshi Seikai really knows.

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1104 Ibid., 40:38.
Yukimura: (Laughing) Very artful! I am of the same opinion.\textsuperscript{1105}

Yukimura knows of Sasuke’s abilities to mimic form and shape, so it does take long before he accurately deduces the events of the previous night.

Miyoshi is released from the sheets binding him. Everyone laughs, even the hapless monk, so much so, that it aggravates his injuries. Sodden with sweat from the exertions caused by laughing, Miyoshi returns to his room to change clothes. Yukimura, still young and able to see humour in the situation, crumbles to the ground in hysterics. Thus, through wit, Sasuke is able to fend off any punishment that might have been his due.\textsuperscript{1106}

\textsuperscript{1105}Ibid., 40:39.
\textsuperscript{1106}Ibid., 40:40.
Having changed clothing Miyoshi the monk is readmitted into the presence of Yukimura. The senior noble looks stern. Miyoshi declares that he is, ‘truly fearful’. Yukimura informs Miyoshi that he need not make any statement concerning the events of the previous night, but he does wish to consult with his chief vassal about the best way to handle the ‘error’.  

Yukimura is primarily concerned about Sasuke’s naïve nature: he likens Sasuke to a flea jumping in all directions causing problems. He wants to correct the behaviour of his young vassal. Two ‘curses’ (obstacles) prevent Yukimura from achieving this: firstly, the seven Braves must work together. As brothers, they must function in a coordinated manner, as the limbs of a figurative body might. Yukimura lectures Miyoshi further: a lord and his officers are one and the same. Nothing must separate them in thought, words, or deed:

Yukimura: In this case, “A” and “B” exist as one-and-the-same thing. I need you to understand this.

Sanada Yukimura’s statement is deliberately ambiguous; it could indicate the Braves or Sasuke.
Having made his point clear Yukimura orders a sumptuous banquet for the Braves.\textsuperscript{1108} Yukimura’s gesture of reconciliation moves Miyoshi to tears.

At the banquet, the senior vassal conveys his gratitude publicly. Miyoshi assures his master that he will not hold Sasuke to account, he will, ‘get on with the job’. Miyoshi promises to behave like an older brother in order to bind the group together. Sasuke acknowledges that he too understands Yukimura’s lesson, he too promises to refrain from ‘nit-picking’ (criticising his betters). However, the form of this reassurance is typically vague:

Sasuke: Should there be anything you wish us not to do, to please say so.

In the name of their master, the Braves one by one agree joyously to serve faithfully. The narration states:

In this way, the newcomer Sarutobi Sasuke was welcomed into the service of the Prince Awa-no-kami Sanada Masayuki, Lord of Sixty Regions.\textsuperscript{1109}

The description of Yukimura’s father lasts for approximately two pages. In summation, the narrative describes both the overlord’s capabilities and position within the country. Governor Masayuki has a profound understanding of his domain, he is aware of any, and all contingencies that might require his attention. The reader is also reminded that his son Yukimura is a genius and in no way inferior to his father. The chronicle lauds the Sanada estate as one of the most

\textsuperscript{1108} Sekka, \textit{Sarutobi-sasuke}, 40:41.

\textsuperscript{1109} Ibid., 40:42.
influential in the history of Japan, yielding 50,000 koku in payment to Yukimura alone.\textsuperscript{1110}

Further exposition notes that Masayuki has kept a continual eye on the state of the country, and that he regularly receives many noble visitors to his house. Consequently, he is a man of great learning:

Masayuki was also a great general who, night after night, hour by hour, worked for other great lords from many regions. Thus, he was a man of letters with many songs composed in his honour. If the compositions were extremely good, Masayuki would give the best one a prize.

Sanada Yukimura did not come often to his father's events, neither did the Braves, but one night Miyoshi suggested that the group attend a meeting and perform a song. The song had to be constructed from thirty-one characters. However, none of them knew what the prize would be.

Jyûzô: Ha, ha, ha, ha! It would make sense if we were attending a competition of strength, but not a poetry event.

Miyoshi: We were all great men; we know things other people do not.\textsuperscript{1111}

The competition has a bounty attached: those who produced great poetry gain an introduction to the ladies of the Sanada house. In turn, the women perform songs for the winners.

The Braves note that the prettiest ladies-in-waiting always accompany the Lady Kaede (Maple),\textsuperscript{1112} a famous beauty. On this occasion, Kaede has brought along her closest maid and confidant Naragiku.

 Uno Rokurô wins the contest and is admitted to the private garden, where the ladies are congregated. Uno apologies for having read so

\textsuperscript{1110} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{1111} Ibid., 40:43.
\textsuperscript{1112} 楓.
badly, but the Lady Kaede demurs, telling him that nobles [warlords] are not meant to indulge in poetry. She assures him that he will improve. Naragiku agrees, but she cautions her mistress against disclosing such a forthright opinion in front of a samurai, for it might lead to trouble. Kaede jokes that being the wife [of a noble] is something to look forward to because, once admitted to the court, the women can then speak plainly. It is a falsehood, of course. The court is always a political space. Both women laugh. Naragiku continues the conversation:

Naragiku: [Being] bad at flattery is like a person trying to climb a waterfall. You should refrain from doing it as much as possible.1113

Councillor Gorosaburô, one of the senior officials of the House of Sanada, arrives with a letter. He leers at the two women ‘like a dog chasing after the passions of the world’.1114

Another narrative intrusion occurs: the House of Sanada has a system for any injustice, whereby a plaintiff can directly solicit for a meeting with the heads of the clan.

Councillor Gorosaburô tells Uno that he will teach him how to gain favour with the women. He then attempts to flirt with Naragiku, calling her close with the promise of an interesting revelation. Wary, she refuses:

Naragiku: What would my lord ask of me?

Gorosaburô: That you do me the favour of sitting beside me.

Naragiku: Really! And what might your grace mean by that?

Gorosaburô: Well, something very secret.

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1113 Sekka, Sarutobi-sasuke, 40:44.
1114 Ibid.
Naragiku quickly divines his meaning.

Naragiku: Ha, ha, ha, ha! So, dear sir, you mean to play at teasing [poor little] me. Is that it?

Councillor Gorosaburō’s face reddens unhealthily [as he begins to panic].

Gorosaburō: No, not at all! I apologize deeply [for any offense caused]. I came to deliver a letter to the Lady Kaede.

Naragiku: Well then, whatever it was that you were going to say I shall put down to your senility. Now you said you had a letter?

Naragiku takes the letter and checks its contents. The anonymous writer of the letter admits failure in the poetry competition, but begs an audience. We never know if the plaintiff is Sasuke, Gorosaburō, or someone else. Kaede tells her servant Naragiku to write a terse reply saying that she will consider the matter no further.

Gorosaburō slyly asks Naragiku for advice on how best to petition the Lady Kaede. She advises him candidly that he must write several times, but that he might still not have any luck. Kaede crushes Gorosaburō’s hopes before he leaves:

Kaede: You [sir,] are annoying!

\[\text{\textsuperscript{1115}}\text{Ibid., 40:45.}\]
Councillor Gorosaburô eagerly awaits a reply from the Lady Kaede. Several days pass, with no reply. In desperation the councillor makes two more petitions to the maid Naragiku to intercede on his behalf. On the third sortie, the maid tells him to be patient as she has already passed on the first letters. Unbeknownst to Gorosaburô, this letter will also be discarded like the previous ones.

Twenty-seven days pass in the same manner with Gorosaburô delivering letters, and then waiting for a [favourable] reply.\textsuperscript{1117}

Worried by the constant attention, the Lady Kaede and Naragiku debate in private. What should they do? Kaede notes that Councillor Gorosaburô can do nothing about the outcome of his petitions; so fretting is pointless on their part.

The Lady Kaede’s final decision is not in favour of the Councillor Gorosaburô. Naragiku wonders what she should say to the councillor in reply. The lady-in-waiting goes to the guardroom to return the letters. Gorosaburô sits at his desk, deep in thought. The maid quietly

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{1116}Ibid., 40:47.
\textsuperscript{1117}This may be a in joke based on the trials that the Sekka Sanjin Collective had with their publisher Tatsukawa Kumajirô: it took roughly the same time spent badgering the publisher for the family to get a book deal. Perhaps Tatsukawa was the model for Gorosaburô?
\end{flushright}
opens the door and drops the twenty-seven letters that he has written behind him, she then runs off. Gorosaburô is startled by the noise.\footnote{Sekka, Sarutobi-sasuke, 40:48-49.}

Left alone, the senior lord laments that he has made a fool of himself. Gosaburô goes to open an envelope. His humiliation is complete; most of the sealed letters are his. The lord feels that his station as the son of Ichirô Shô'isezaki (a high-ranking noble) should allow him to pursue the Lady Kaede; frustrated, he declares aloud that he shall not give up on his desires. Gorosaburô begins to scheme: he plans to buy something ‘cheap’ to persuade his master Awa-no-kami Masa-Yukimura to give the Lady Kaede to him.

The setting changes to find the Lady Kaede alone in her private garden. Sitting near a pond, she waits with a festival lantern in her left hand. Kaede is described as a beautiful girl, just eighteen years of age. The narration states that her conduct is above reproach, she has never erred. Moreover, she possesses the honest and open look of her father (Uno Tarôzaemon). Falling eddies made up of leaves and snow frame the great beauty of the young woman. Kaede hears something and calls out to see who is there. She recognises her unwanted suitor.

Gorosaburô confronts Kaede about her description of him in her only reply to his letter.\footnote{Ibid., 40:50.} Upset, the official demands to know why he, ‘Councillor Isezaki Gorosaburô should be refused’. The Lady Kaede states that she is acting correctly in her duties as a woman of station, nothing more. Gorosaburô bluntly tell her that this is not so. Kaede senses that her situation has become precarious. The woman tries to distance herself, however, Gorosaburô grabs her by the arm. Kaede protests. She scolds the aging advisor, telling him that she will not
forget the offence, and that he should say no more. However, Gorosaburô is too lost in his own desires to care. He pushes Kaede into a passageway. She falls to the floor, her hair in disorder. \textsuperscript{1120}
Councillor Gorosaburô forces the Lady Kaede to the ground and stands astride her. As he does so, the newly promoted Sarutobi Sasuke arrives on night duty. Able to see in the dark, Sasuke quickly apprehends Kaede’s plight.

Possessing the ‘strength of an ape’, Sasuke leaps to the rescue. He grabs Gorosaburô by his hakama (riding skirt). Holding the councillor from the seat, he picks up his opponent. Gorosaburô’s legs keep motion ‘like a turtle’. Lady Kaede flees from underneath her attacker and glowers back ‘like a tigress’. Sasuke speaks first:

Sasuke: I set out on my night watch expecting things not to be this bad. However, then I heard the both of you.

Sasuke declares that he is bound to ‘fight against injustice’. However, he also believes in the power of a person to ‘reform’. To avoid embarrassment to all parties, Sasuke tactfully pretends not to recognise the identities of Kaede and Gorosaburô. To ensure decorum, Sasuke commands the belligerent noble to refrain from speaking further. Properly righted and on his feet, the shaken councillor exits. Bemused, Sasuke pokes his tongue out and laughs whilst apologising:

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1121 Term: 袴.
1122 Sekka, Sarutobi-sasuke, 40:52.
Sasuke: Poor Lady Kaede. I had to save Gorosaburô there, he was so happy when he thought [I couldn’t] see him in the dark. He’s such an idiot.  

Kaede thanks Sasuke and tells him how fortunate Lord Yukimura is to have such a generous page as a close companion amongst his ranks. Kaede normally refrains from giving compliments, so Sasuke is smitten.

Days later, inspired by his actions, Kaede writes a letter to Sasuke. She entrusts the message to her lady-in-waiting. Naragiku is disbelieving when instructed to take the message to Sasuke, a mere page.

Sasuke is reading alone in a room when he hears Naragiku quietly approach his door. He calls out before she reaches the screen. The maid is startled and looks about before entering his room.

Sasuke finds it strange that a woman should come to see him; he curtly demands to know her business with him. Naragiku apologies and offers Sasuke the letter from her mistress. The young warrior is dumb-founded that he should receive a letter from the lady, but having done so, he acknowledges that it must be important. Sasuke sends the maid away. Before leaving, Naragiku asks if he will consider her mistress’s invitation ‘to play’.

Left alone, Sasuke lets out a wicked laugh and ponders the merits of having rescued such an important figure. He thinks the idea of a page and a lady in union ridiculous. Nevertheless, he clutches her letter to his chest and runs excitedly to his back quarters.
After several days, Kaede has heard nothing from our hero. Her maid (Naragiku) jokes that her mistress might be better served by Gorosaburō. Kaede decides to write three more letters to Sasuke. She states openly, if he refuses to reply it would be ‘highly unusual’. Naragiku mocks her by arguing that her mistress is acting exactly like Gorosaburō did. Embarrassed, Kaede agrees that she should do nothing so rash.

Time passes. Sasuke is busy searching for his letters from the Lady Kaede. The furniture in his room has been overturned. The military cleric Miyoshi arrives in the company of Yukimura’s most senior lord Anayama Iwachiyo:

Miyoshi: Sasuke what are you doing?

Anayama: There's no need for such haste is there?

Sasuke: Just looking for something, sit down won’t you.

Miyoshi: Right, I see.\(^{1127}\)

Anayama: (to Miyoshi) Master Sasuke is rather a rude fellow, isn't he.

Sasuke: What do you find so rude about me?

Anayama: Don't feign ignorance [boy]. Is this what you're scrabbling for?

Anayama produces a letter.

Sasuke: No, that's not it.

Anayama: So, it's not come from the Lady Kaede.

Miyoshi: The young rascal is not yet nineteen and already pinching girls. We have here a letter of confession [from the Lady Kaede]. What say you, if we give to our master Yukimura?

\(^{1127}\)Ibid., 40:56.
Sasuke laughs loudly at the error; the lords have mistaken him for Gosaburō.

Sasuke: You’re both a pair of idiots; you can’t see anything [clearly] can you?

He chides them both, defending his purity.

Sasuke: I have not lost my way with women.

Sasuke: You don’t know any of the particulars of the situation. Look, you haven’t even opened the letter!

The two visiting samurai dimly begin to realize that the young page is telling the truth. Miyoshi asks for forgiveness, but adds that he does not care for Sasuke’s manner.¹¹²⁸

The problem of the letter remains. Anayama wonders if they should examine the contents of the letter sent to the Lady Kaede. Sasuke intervenes to defend Kaede’s honour. He states that there is an easy way to settle the matter; grabbing the letter he attempts to flee. Miyoshi blocks his path. After Sanada Yukimura’s admonition on loyalty and co-operation, Miyoshi is in disbelief at Sasuke’s reticence to seek help. The real reason for Sasuke’s behaviour dawns on Anayama, and he opens the letter.¹¹²⁹

¹¹²⁸ Ibid., 40:58.
¹¹²⁹ Ibid.
There is some comic interplay as the two samurai Miyoshi and Anayama Iwachiyo excuse one another for opening the mail. Anayama struggles with the knot tied by the Lady Kaede around the note — it is so secure! The letter reveals in cryptic detail how Sasuke rescued Kaede. Miyoshi and Anayama fathom that Sasuke has performed an act of bravery, but they are none the wiser as to what occurred or why. Furthermore, they cannot understand why Sasuke has not boasted of his triumph. Kaede’s documented anger with Sasuke perplexes the old advisor:

Anayama: The bastard is good looking, isn’t boorish, and if the contents of the letter are to be believed a fine gentleman too! He’s [usually] careful of other people’s feelings, and doesn’t use his ninjustu for profit. I can’t see what her complaints are all about?

This description of Sasuke points to his new sense of refinement as an adult. He is no longer the monkey but a gentleman. Sasuke refuses to answer any questions, but he does admit that he is unsure of how to handle this particular situation. What should his duty be? The young vassal asks Anayama to read another letter.

The two older men seem troubled by the letter’s contents. Anayama gives a general overview saying that some of the sentences are rather personal. The writer is very angry, but thinks of Sasuke all the time. Miyoshi and Anayama both are shocked at the frank contents.

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Ibid., 40:59.
Sasuke laughs and asks if there is any mention of a fat aggressor. At Sasuke’s instance Anayama reads the last letter:

Kaede: For this lady, there is no one above Sasuke. However, if my desires cannot be [granted], if we cannot be together as man and wife, what should I do with this life? You should pity me. In my sorrow, my own tears shall drown me.

The two older men weep. They both think that Sasuke must be made of wood not to respond to such a plea. Anayama suggests they help Sasuke write a reply. However, Miyoshi agrees with Sasuke that it would be improper. How should they do such a thing anyway? Miyoshi recommends consulting ‘Lord Yukimura’ about the problem. Sasuke tells them both to stop being idiots. He realizes that this will cause trouble for all parties concerned.

Miyoshi and Anayama roughhouse Sasuke into seeing Yukimura. The two older samurai relate the contents of the letters in detail and ask the noble for his advice. Yukimura sits and listens grinning to Anayama and Miyoshi’s explanation, then he admits he has understood nothing of the case brought before him. Sasuke offers no assistance; he stands in mute silence. Anayama asks the page if wishes to get hanged. Prompted thus, Sasuke explains in detail all the events as they happened.

Yukimura asks Sasuke outright if Gorosaburô beat Kaede. If so, then he is sorry. Councillor Gorosaburô is one of the Sanada clan’s most senior aids. Yukimura is compelled to direct the three men to go and see his father. Only he can pass judgment on the case.

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1131 Ibid., 40:61.
1132 Ibid.
1133 Ibid., 40:62.
Yukimura is admitted to his father’s court. Governor Masa-Yukimura is glad that the matter has been brought to his attention. He states that at nineteen the Lady Kaede is too young to marry; she does not have legal permission to wed until she is twenty-five. However, the Prince will try to persuade her father the Lord Uno Tarôzaemon that Sasuke is a good match.\textsuperscript{1134} Sasuke’s response to the news is typically irreverent:

\begin{quote}
Sasuke: This is going to be trouble for me: she’s only nineteen. I’ll have to be a good fella for the next six years!\textsuperscript{1135}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{1134} Sasuke marries out of love and above his station. However, once Sasuke’s status as a married man is established, the Lady Kaede does not appear again except as a victim of kidnapping. This plot device helps to set in motion the political drama of the novel, drawing Sasuke and his compatriots out into the wider military landscape. The lack of female characterization in the novel calls into question the actual level of involvement of Ikeda Ranko as a writer.

\textsuperscript{1135} Sekka, Sarutobi-sasuke, 40:65.
The moon is in danger from the clouds. The flowers fear the wind.

Councillor Gorosaburô complains to his friend Matsuda Gengorô that Sasuke took the Lady Kaede from him like a ‘hawk taking its prey’. He vows revenge.\textsuperscript{1136} Sasuke is unaware of the grudge held against him by the senior lord.

A sentry stands outside Lady Kaede’s room. Gorosaburô arrives and pays the guard not to say anything about Sasuke’s impending visit. Gorosaburô has arranged to meet Sasuke at Kaede’s quarters with the pretence that he will apologise and try to help the young couple. The watchful sentinel is a confidant of Gorosaburô called Matsuda. He laughs at Sasuke’s stupidity. (Matsuda has been hired by Gorosaburô to kidnap Kaede.) The two conspirators talk in hidden code. Matsuda then leaves for the ‘East’ of the country on an errand to spread rumours about the lack of security at Ueda Castle.\textsuperscript{1137}

Kaede does not appear that night; her maid Naragiku reports her missing to the Governor Masayuki. Suspecting mischief, Masayuki summons his most senior lords to give their verdict on the situation. There have been reports of suspicious-looking people entering the

\textsuperscript{1136} Ibid., 40:64.
\textsuperscript{1137} Ibid., 40:65.
inner keep at night. Masayuki is worried that if the scandal gets out it will ruin the reputation of the House of Sanada with its neighbours. He demands that they debate the matter.

The most senior advisor present is the Councillor Isezaki Gorosaburô, villain and orchestrator of all the trouble. Also present is Aiki Genosuke, Kaede’s father Uno Tarôzaemon, and another general called Kaijyû Heikai. The council sits and stares silently at one another. Gorosaburô speaks first:

Gorosaburô: Whomsoever the intruder was, he must have been someone with knowledge of the inner hall. This individual must have known the passwords, for such a sin [to have been committed]. We must find out his name. He must be made to commit ritual suicide for the sake of this [noble] house, for this [noble] family.

Wrinkling his nose [in a sneer].

Gorosaburô: How shall we make this so?\(^{1138}\)

All the lords agree, and so Prince Masayuki gives his blessing.

Evidence is produced that suggests Sasuke has been bribing the guards to see the missing Kaede. The lords argue that Sasuke ought to be given the chance to account officially for his ‘sins’ (karmic actions) in the morning. Gorosaburô becomes angry and says rudely that if Sasuke has participated in treason, he ought to be hanged.

The news is dispatched immediately to Yukimura, who states that if the story is true it is very troublesome. He wishes to know who accuses Sasuke, and so summons his young vassal:

Yukimura: Tell me; were [you] loyal last night on guard duty?

Sasuke: Yes. I carried out my work faithfully.

\(^{1138}\)Ibid., 40:67.
Yukimura: From what I’ve heard something [else] occurred, so there is a discrepancy.

Sasuke: Damn, who said so? (Thought Sasuke, but he said nothing). I heard that they caught some strange types hanging about, but I don’t know the details of it.\textsuperscript{1139}

Yukimura: If the reports are accurate then there was an intruder, so who was it?

Sasuke complains that he is not yet a samurai (and therefore, he should not be accountable as one). Sasuke reminds Yukimura that the prince is aware of his impending marriage. Therefore, Sasuke cannot openly challenge anyone without destroying Kaede’s reputation. Far from scolding Sasuke, Yukimura praises him for his understanding. Sasuke assures Yukimura that he is loyal to the House of Sanada: he submits to his master, who binds him and takes him as a prisoner to his father’s court.

Yukimura calls to court the Braves who each defend Sasuke’s character. Having guessed many of the unspoken intrigues of the court, Yukimura tells them that either Sasuke or Gorosaburô is guilty [of deception].\textsuperscript{1140} They must torture Sasuke, tell Kaede’s father (the Uno Tarôzaemon) of what has happened, and search the castle high and low for strangers.\textsuperscript{1141}

\textsuperscript{1139} Ibid., 40:68.
\textsuperscript{1140} Ibid., 40:69.
\textsuperscript{1141} Ibid., 40:70.
When looking for thieves we become children, having searched seven times for them, [we] doubt ourselves.\footnote{1142}

The Six Braves, like those arrogant lords during Masayuki Sanada’s father’s reign, those who supported the Lord Tokugawa Ieyasu only to become dust, showed a marked lack of judgment. They dragged Sasuke [tied up and bound] through the central castle into the large gardens [of Ueda Castle. The prisoner’s] stomach was bared [in readiness for his atonement]. The cause of all of Sasuke’s troubles Lord Gorosaburō sat staring at him.\footnote{1143}

Governor Masayuki waits calmly. Assembled on either side of the prince are his most trusted aids, all the men are related directly, either through adoption or blood, to the Yukimura’s coterie of warriors. It is a great display of authority by the clan, a military court. Yukimura, however, is absent.

Councillor Gorosaburō in his official role appears confident and powerful. He recounts all the details leading up to this event. The councillor demands that Sasuke tell the assembly what he knows about the Lady Kaede and the business of the castle intruder:

\footnote{1142}Ibid.\footnote{1143}Ibid.
Sasuke: I am filled with fear, since I helped this person. However, in accordance with my morality, I cannot say what their full name is.

Gorosaburō: Huh! So, you’re saying that you don’t know their name?

Sasuke: No, I know their name. I just won’t tell you what it is.

Gorosaburō: Enough! Where is he? You are before the Lord Awa-no-kami Masayuki himself. Therefore, quickly, speak. [Say what you know]!1144

Sasuke gives a clue.

Sasuke: Even if you don’t know the name of a flower, you know what it is. 1145

Gorosaburō picks up on this information and indicates to the group that he is close to gaining a confession from the young man. However, Sasuke tells the ‘fat’ councillor:

Sasuke: No matter how many times you repeat the same question, I will give the same answer. He is a samurai.

Gorosaburō calls for the use of torture. Sasuke goads the councillor, telling him that despite being afraid he should go ahead and enjoy himself.

Suddenly there is a loud shout and movement from Miyoshi, who leaps to Sasuke’s defence. He states that Sasuke has shown ‘great spirit’ and is a ‘force for justice’. He begs the panel of lords to find some other way to punish Sasuke.1146

Gorosaburō dismisses Miyoshi’s plea. He commands the monk not ‘stick his beak’ into the business of the court.1147 Outraged, Miyoshi’s

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1144 Ibid., 40:71.
1145 Ibid., 40:72.
1146 Ibid.
1147 Ibid.
brother Isa joins in the protest telling the ‘arrogant’ Gorosaburô that he will have to use force against the Braves if he wishes to torture Sasuke. Isa explains that his master Yukimura handpicked Sasuke. (The implication being that only Yukimura can decide Sasuke’s fate.) This puts Gorosaburô in a difficult political position with his own master (the prince). Isa is on the verge of starting a physical fight with the senior lord. Everyone watches on in disbelief, transfixed by the ‘weird’ atmosphere amongst the Braves. Having misbehaved in the company of their betters, they have broken the formal protocols of the court.

Finally, Masayuki breaks his silence. He admits that Gorosaburô is at fault for being rude, but he argues that Sasuke has provoked the councillor by failing to answer the question put to him. He commands the Braves present to behave. A problem remains: Sasuke’s hesitation has irritated the governor. Consequently, the young page is placed under house arrest at the mansion of the Lord Ahike Genosuke, one of the senior nobles present at the hearing.

The Braves inform Yukimura about the events of the day, and he laughs. The young noble believes that his father has a secret plan to flush out the truth.

The scene changes to two horsemen hiding near the mansion of the Lord Ahike Genosuke. The Braves Uno Rokurô and Anayama Iwachiyo both wear hoods and speak quietly to one another; they are on a scouting mission. Noises indicate that a party is approaching, so the two warriors find cover.

A small band arrives at speed. As they pass, one of the horsemen mutters something about the Lady Kaede: sentences captured on the
wind suggest that this interlocutor will attempt to ‘flatter’ a certain person of influence before it is ‘too late’. ¹¹⁴⁸

¹¹⁴⁸Ibid., 40:76.
Anayama Iwachiyo is described as taciturn. However, he is excited by the news he has overheard. He rushes to confer with Uno Rokurô. Uno (who wears his topknot tightly pulled back giving him a severe look) is noted as being short-tempered. Uno identifies the stranger as Matsuda Gengorô, Gorosaburô’s henchman. Uno wonders why Matsuda is present at the mansion. He runs over and strikes the henchman across his face, unseating him from his horse. The two Braves quickly tie up Matsuda. The bonds are so tight he can barely choke out his words; this amuses the two heroes:

Matsuda: Urgh! It is the Honourable Anayama and the Honourable Uno. Please don’t be so violent!

Uno: Don’t try to feign ignorance Matsuda, where is my cousin, the Lady Kaede?

Matsuda: You’re being absurd…gah…gasp.\(^{1149}\)

Anayama: For the sake of your health start talking. The pair of us won’t let loose anything you say, you know.

Matsuda says nothing. Anayama and Uno both hit the bound man several times.

There is a loud cry and several samurai on horseback attack the Braves. The Sanada vassals fight back, keeping close for protection. The

\(^{1149}\)Ibid., 40:74.
[captain] of the horsemen bellows orders to his men calling on them to organise their attack formations and stop being ‘careless’. Two officers protect their hostage the Lady Kaede, who is gagged and in a dream-like state. Uno and Anayama defeat the group of six men.

The Braves reveal to Kaede that they have come to rescue her. Kaede addresses her kinsman Uno and Anayama with their proper titles:

Lady Kaede: Oh, Sir Rokurô, and Lord Anayama. I am grateful to you both.

The voices of other people are heard. At first we do not know who approaches, but is apparent from their speech that is the rest of the Braves. The arriving members of the Sanada clan quickly adopt a guard formation by surrounding the three (Anayama, Uno, and Kaede) on all four sides. Miyoshi tells Uno and Anayama that they have been sent by the Yukimura to accompany the Lady Kaede and the two scouts to safety:

Mochizuki: I think it strange that Gorosaburô went to the trouble of the trail.

Jyûzô: (sounding like a cat) Why would you care about such a thing? Gorosaburô is an insect, so trying to understand him is pointless.

Mochizuki: I agree, he has been mistaken; the fact that Gorosaburô has sinned is enough [of a reason to pursue him].

Miyoshi: It's just as you bastards say, there is no saying sorry [now]. He must commit harakiri (ritual suicide).

Miyoshi praises Anayama and Uno on their speed at executing their master’s orders. Kakei Jyûzô grumbles that the two Braves are very irritating. He suggests that they should go all with the Lady Kaede to

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Ibid.
make sure she is safe. Mochizuki agrees with him on this point.\footnote{Ibid., 40:75.} However, the Braves’ business is with now with Gorosaburô, so the party continues on through a number of fortified gates leading into the mansion of Lord Ahike Genosuke.

The Braves canter into a courtyard to find themselves surrounded by archers. Holding a drawn bow in his hands is Gorosaburô. Miyoshi tells Gorosaburô they offer no threat. Four samurai rush the group from a side gate; the Braves are entirely surrounded. Offended by the threat, Kakei Jyûzô shouts insults at Gorosaburô telling him that he is ‘pond life’. Mochizuki dryly admits the situation is ‘irritating’ and calls on the four assailants to ‘come at them’\footnote{Ibid., 40:78.}. Anayama calls for a plan of action. Miyoshi rallies the group to stay close to the Lady Kaede, the most vulnerable member of the party. A few of the attacking men are frightened off by the [battle] cries of the Braves; others attack rashly but are soon defeated. Miyoshi engages Gorosaburô and overpowers the ‘brittle old man’.

Having defeated their enemies, the group destroys the mansion. Gorosaburô is tied to a screen door for transport back to Ueda Castle. Matsuda is also kept alive.

Upon their return to Castle Ueda, Miyoshi rouses the guards of the gate keep. He commands them to watch Gorosaburô till the morning. The guards are made nervous by the status of their ward.\footnote{Ibid., 40:79.}

The following morning the Braves go to see Yukimura. Gorosaburô and Matsuda seem to have played on his confidence. Yukimura gives the Braves a number of direct orders. (At this point in the narrative we
are not told what those orders are.) The Braves divide up and guard the main towers of Ueda. Two of the Braves, Anayama and Uno, are posted inside a room with Kaede. It appears that Kaede is a key component in an elaborate trap.

Anayama, Governor Masa-Yukimura’s chief advisor, goes in private to the room where the Councillor Gorosaburó is being held. He claims he sympathises with the errant lord. He states that those connected with the intrusion must be made to disembowel themselves as ordered. Gorosaburó mocks Anayama for being ‘long winded’ in his speech, he then talks about the insolence of ‘suspicious-looking people’.\textsuperscript{1154}

\textsuperscript{1154}Ibid., 40:76.
In a time of many evils, the man who is fixed upon it decides the winning of Heaven.

Sasuke arrives outside the castle gate of the Lord Isezaki Gorobe (also known as Narimasa). He surveys the mansion, but wonders about the inside of the building. Rumour abounds that the House of Isezaki will attack the House of Sanada, and so begin a national war.

Spying a nearby pine tree close to one of the battlements, Sasuke scales it for a better view. Sasuke repeats his instructions from Yukimura, which allows for a plot recap. Sasuke relaxes; the experience of being aloft in the tree reminds him of his younger days, so he decides to write to his sister Sayo while he waits.\textsuperscript{1155}

Sasuke watches the inhabitants of the castle going about their business. He thinks them foolish for cleaning all the corners of the fort so thoroughly before evacuating. Despite their diligence security is weak, thus, the inhabitants of the Isezaki mansion are completely unaware that they are being watched.\textsuperscript{1156}

All of the Isezaki clan depart the castle via the back gate under the light of a full moon; a seventy-strong guard of foot soldiers follows.

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\textsuperscript{1155} This wistful interlude is the only one of its kind in the novel; a fragment of Sasuke’s former self peeks through. We are never privy to the content of Sasuke’s letter to Sayo.

\textsuperscript{1156} Sekka, Sarutobi-sasuke, 40:87.
them. They journey to the town of Unoguchi, just below Ueda Castle: the march will take three days.

Sasuke follows the train, keeping his distance. At this point it appears that the House of Isezaki is going to rebel and attack the House of Sanada. Sasuke claims that his skills of concealment are so great that even the ‘Buddha’ wouldn’t know that he was present.\footnote{This is appears to be a direct reference to the Chinese classic *Hsi yu chi*. Sasuke’s sense of hubris is not unlike that of the Monkey diety Sun Wu-k’ung whose oath that he can match the Buddha in terms of universal perception proves to be his undoing. Ibid., 40:88.}

Sasuke’s estimate is correct, and it takes the Isezaki train exactly three days via Nozawa and Toyota to reach the stronghold of Unoguchi. Sasuke arrives before the oncoming force and makes his camp on the rooftop of a building where he cannot be seen.

The visiting troupe arranges to stay for a period within the Unoguchi castle. This action confirms for Sasuke the word of his master Yukimura that the Hirakage clan is acting in concert with military officials from the House of Isezaki: this secret alliance is a violation of former treaties held in trust with the House of Sanada. Sasuke is curious as to why the retired General Hirakage Shurinosuke Genshin, now a monk and leader of the House of Hirakage, would want to tackle the superior force of the Takeda Clan (the Sanada’s former overlords): he decides to enter the castle to find out more information.

Sasuke climbs up to one of the inner towers and creeps slowly into the building. Loud celebratory noises echo up from within. All the best warriors from the Hirakage and Isezaki are present and celebrating the future downfall of the House of Sanada:

\begin{quotation}
Genshin: The death of the Sanada’s is near at hand. Wonderful!
Wonderful!
\end{quotation}
Three young samurai stand guard outside the main hall: they have been drinking. Sasuke has the idea of starting a fight between them as a distraction.\textsuperscript{1158} Whilst invisible, the intruder steals the saké and food rations left out for the guards. The missing items cause the three samurai — Naitô, Matsuyama, and Hayashi — to take umbrage with one another.\textsuperscript{1159} Each accuses the other of stealing. As the group argues, Sasuke creeps about striking each one over the head. Terrified, the young men flee for their lives.

Still unseen, Sasuke enters the large hall to find the head of the Hirakage family Genshin flanked by Isezaki Gorobe and another senior warrior called Itchi Shingorô: a flank of Isezaki warriors stand guard.\textsuperscript{1160} Genshin is drunk. He makes a toast to the future success of the vanguard that will assault the Ueda Castle, and proposes another to taking the heads of the Sanada. Sasuke is angered by the pledge, but stops himself from taking action. He wisely reasons that he has only heard one part of their plan. However, the Sanada vassal decides to make mischief by removing the cup from beside Genshin, so that when he moves the company to toast a second time he will appear to be drunker than he is. Sasuke’s aim is to embarrass the Hirakage leader and disrupt the political bargaining process.

The assembly of warriors listens to a story told by Isezaki Gorobe: presumably \emph{gunkimono} (military epic). Unnoticed, Sasuke takes Genshin’s cup. Finding his drinking vessel gone, Genshin accuses Isezaki of theft. Sasuke adds to injury to insult by hitting Genshin on the side of the head. (To the crowd, it appears as if Isezaki is the

\textsuperscript{1158} Ibid., 40:90.
\textsuperscript{1159} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{1160} Ibid., 40:91.
attacker.) Isezaki is equally shocked; he quickly and politely defends himself.\textsuperscript{1161} Enraged, Genshin snatches a sword from an attending page, and then — in a nod to the attack on Soga no Iruka by Prince Naka no Ōe in the *Taiheiki* (Tale of Grand Pacification) — drives the blade deep into the shoulder of Isezaki Gorobe.\textsuperscript{1162}

\textsuperscript{1161} Ibid., 40:92.

\textsuperscript{1162} Ibid., 40:93.
Having taken a fatal blow to the shoulder from the short sword of the *buzô* (military cleric), the ‘short-tempered’ general Isezaki Gorobe states his shock and disbelief at what has happened. Although dying, he manages to strike a blow to the neck (windpipe) of Genshin. The surrounding crowd of warriors all rise and move about in amazement at the sudden spectacle.¹¹⁶³

Genshin: Listen well all you of the House of Isezaki, “Even the hunter will not kill the bird that flies to him for shelter”. Isezaki Gorobe came to me for this favour and we welcomed him with this drinking festival. [Yet] he stole my cup and hit me. If you so wish to think of me as an enemy, so be it! This single strike to my person is a fit punishment. However, I now offer you safety.

Matsuda Gojirô (Isezaki Gorobe’s second in command) responds:

Matsuda Gojirô: [You] had no other choice. Though the thing was quickly done (hasty), if we think of the insult, it was the correct course to take. If there were any way that we could gain favour as your servants, we would be honoured.

Sasuke clicks his tongue in surprise and disgust that none of the seven Isezaki officers present will avenge their slain master. Moreover, the

¹¹⁶³Ibid., 40:93.
meekness of the Isezaki means that Sasuke’s plan to disrupt the opposing union to the Sanada clan has failed.\textsuperscript{1164}

Sasuke focuses his rage on the spokesperson Matsuda Gojirô. Stepping forward and revealing himself, the Sanada vassal beheads the Isezaki warrior, branding him a ‘traitor’.

The sound of Sasuke’s battle cry and sight of Matsuda’s head falling off his shoulders astonishes everyone. Genshin is terrified by the supernatural occurrence:

\begin{quote}
Genshin: What! Matsuda Gojirô’s head just fell off!
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Sasuke: Ha, ha, ha, ha, ha! That’s the first time you’ve seen anything like that, hey, Hirakage Genshin? Held in the service of the Great Lord of Ueda Castle Prince Awa-no-kami Sanada-Masayuki’s child, the famous Lord Sanada Yukimura I am the foremost [of his] ninja Sarutobi Sasuke. I came here on my master’s orders to see you perish!
\end{quote}

Sasuke mocks Genshin: ‘You have not seen me come, neither shall you see me go.’ He disappears.\textsuperscript{1165}

Genshin tries to morally subdue Sasuke by informing the Sanada vassal that he is in the presence of a religious figure, but this fails to have any effect. Sasuke reappears by the family (‘parent and child’) of Isezaki [Gorobe] and decapitates them, collecting the heads in his left hand whilst brandishing his sword in his right.\textsuperscript{1166}

Genshin orders his men forward, and the group attempt to rush Sasuke. Sasuke jumps up to the ceiling and crawls about. The samurai fetch pole arms. Whilst evading spear thrusts from below, Sasuke defends himself with blasts of fire and ice.

\textsuperscript{1164}Ibid., 40:94.
\textsuperscript{1165}Ibid., 40:95.
\textsuperscript{1166}Ibid., 40:96.
One soldier among the assembly manages to hold out against Sasuke’s counter-attacks. Sasuke grabs the end of the spear and using electrical powers melts the end of the weapon. The resistant soldier gives order for the remaining samurai to close off the exits. Torches are brought and fire is used to smoke out the intruder.

Whilst seeking an exit, Sasuke considers the success he has had in disrupting the plans of his enemy. He jumps down from some of the higher beams and encounters Genshin climbing up towards him. With all the smoke the general is unable see properly; he howls with pain:

Genshin: Insolent fellow!

Sasuke: Old man! I cannot tolerate monks like you. I want you for myself, so come on; I’ll take your head as a prize.

Genshin is unsteady on the ladder; he sweats with fear. A misstep causes him to fall.

Genshin calls for archers with bows. He is furious that a vassal of the House of Sanada should have a complete victory over him. Everyone in the room prepares for a full-scale assault on the cornered Sasuke.

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1167 Ibid.
1168 Ibid., 40:97.
1169 Ibid., 40:98.
1170 Ibid., 40:99.
EPISODE 17

WHENEVER FORCES DO NOT BEGIN TO RUN, YOU ARE IN TROUBLE

- Talk of war: provocation
- The presenting of heads
- Instilling of courage in troops
- Narratives of history
- Real politick
- Osaka
- Kyoto
- Gunkimono & narration

Although mountains are tall, they are not [always] noble. Yet the trees are also accomplished in nobility.

It is the same with people: you may be a great hero, but it is nothing without wisdom.\(^{1171}\)

Exposition states that there is no mistaking the power of the House of Hirakage. Yet it is no match for the House of Sanada. By delaying Sasuke’s return, General Genshin has alerted the other Braves to the fact that something is amiss. The delay also gives the House of Sanada adequate time to prepare for war.

Kakei Jyûzô is the first to comment that Sasuke is late in returning. Uno Rokurô jokes that Sasuke will probably return with a souvenir of some kind (meaning the heads of the Isezaki family). Miyoshi prophetically sates that these trophies alone would be ‘boring’. The monk is more concerned if Sasuke were to antagonise Genshin, forcing him to arms. Genshin has fought the Sanada many times before.

\(^{1171}\)Ibid., 40-99.
Uno hungers for the excitement of war; he complains that Sasuke gets to ‘drink the delicious juice of life’. The rest of the Braves, he contends, do not get to go ‘sightseeing’.

The Braves decide to visit their master Yukimura:

    Isa: There is something [I wish] to say.

    Yukimura: And what may that be?

    Isa: It has been seven days since Sasuke left, and he has not yet returned.

    Yukimura: Ha, ha, ha, ha. Do you think it has been so long?

Yukimura tells the group he knows of their desire for battle. He informs the Braves that Sasuke’s mission is complex: more than a scout, Sasuke is a provocateur. The Braves are taken aback by their master’s plans and bow down before him. The group are filled with awe at his formidable intellect. Miyoshi commends his master on his ‘insight’. Still, Miyoshi asks bluntly:

    Miyoshi: Do you intend to start a war?

    Yukimura: If we annoy Genshin there will be war. According to last night’s astronomy [readings] there is an overflowing feeling of killing emanating from the coast (Yukimura means Sasuke’s interactions with the Hirakage). In any case, Sasuke will return tonight, [so I] will hear what he has to report. Until then, do not bother [me] with talk of war, for it is something the whole House will decide. As family we should be still.

Yukimura cautions the Braves not to be too welcoming of conflict. The group listens, humbled. The lord departs:

    Jyūzō: Did you see how collected he was? I really respect that, you could all learn from him. Making such a racket [about going to war].

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1172 Ibid.
1173 Ibid., 40:100.
Miyoshi: Huh! You've changed your tune. The sooner Sasuke returns the better.

Sasuke returns and attends the court of Governor Masayuki. He presents the heads he has taken from the bodies of the defeated Isezaki family. Sasuke then recounts the complete story of his mission.

The prince and his son Yukimura applaud Sasuke for having taken the heads of their enemies and for his engagement with Genshin in hand-to-hand combat. Prince Awa-no-kami Masayuki is particularly pleased that Sasuke has managed to forestall an imminent attack by the Hirakage clan.

Exposition tells of how Yukimura with the Seven Braves and army of three hundred men defeated Genshin’s forces. It mentions that Sasuke in particular made an important impression in his first war aged twenty; his first great deed was to take the head of Genshin. No person was more grateful than Masayuki:

> Time flies like an arrow, and it cannot be defended [against].

> Three years passed like a dream: during this time, the House of Takeda was extinguished.

> The Sanada remained the last [free] lords, Ueda Castle was solemn, the state of world affairs covert.

> Oda Nobunaga’s chief marshal of the overseas campaigns Tokugawa Ieyasu, based in the nearby region of Kinki [near Osaka], was somewhat afraid of Awa-no-kami Masayuki because he had the strength to defend his territory without the need for allies.¹¹⁷⁴

> After the assassination of the Supreme Minister Oda Nobunaga in 1582 in the sixth month of the Taishû (The Years of Heavenly Righteousness, 1573-92), his servant Toyotomi Hideyoshi took revenge at the Battle of Yamazaki in the central country. Hashiba-Chikuzen-No-Kami Hideyoshi [Toyotomi] killed Akechi-Mitsuhide for

¹¹⁷⁴Ibid., 40:102.
forcing Oda Nobunaga to commit suicide at [the Nichiren Buddhist] temple of Honnô-ji.

The influence of Toyotomi Hideyoshi was growing. On the fifth day of October, incense was burnt at Daitoku-ji in a Buddhist memorial service for Nobunaga. Hideyoshi had summoned many lords to the ceremony. Awa-no-kami Masayuki also attended the service. Hideyoshi was generous. The junior lord, and his son Yukimura – who was not yet well known – noted this.1175

Hideyoshi commands Yukimura, the Braves, and procession of twenty samurai to accompany him to Kyoto. The party stops at Nijyûdōri near Kyoto. All in attendance are dismissed, but Sasuke is called back for a special mission:

Yukimura: I must say you are a valuable asset.

Sasuke: Thank you for informing me.

Yukimura: I haven’t had the chance to tell you, at the memorial, Toyotomi Hideyoshi allowed me into his confidence. He has informed me that it is inevitable that Shibata, an elder statesman of the House of Oda, and a number of junior lords, such as Takigawa, will plot against him. So he is gathering allies. I need you to search this place thoroughly [for enemies] and report back to me.

Delighted to be entrusted with the task, Sasuke flies about the inn and returns in an instant. Sasuke gives several names of potential plotters and allies like Maeda ‘Ichimatsu’ Gen’i (1539-1602),1176 Hasegawa Tango-no-Kami, and Gamô Katahide (1534-1584).1177 There are also people from within Toyotomi’s court such as Katô ‘Toranosuke’ Kiyomasa (1561-1611),1178 and Fukushima Ichimatsu (1561-1624).1179 Shibata Katsu’ie (1522-

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1175 Ibid.
1176 前田玄以 (1539-1602).
1177 蒲生賢秀 (1534-1584).
1178 加藤清正 (1561-1611).
1179 福島正則 (1561-1624).
and others: all are powerful men capable of swaying the course of a war.

The famed men are discussing the pros and cons of an alliance with the prince (Awa-no-kami Masa-Yukimura), and whether his son is a man of great ability or not. Maeda and Shibata are in favour of Prince Awanokami-Masa-Yukimura but seven others, especially Katô and Fukushima, are both undecided about promoting Yukimura — whom they refer to as Yosaburô — at such a relatively young age (twenty-two or three).

Yukimura finds the conversation about his personal strength amusing. He gives Sasuke notice that he will go against the gathered lords if need be. Therefore, Sasuke must gather the other Braves for counsel. He tells Sasuke to inform anyone else that asks for him, that he is ‘ill’ and does not wish meet with anyone.

The Braves are ecstatic with the news that they will get to fight for the House of Hashiba (Toyotomi Hideyoshi’s clan name during the time of Oda Nobunaga) under an alliance. The men immediately begin to bind their bodies in hand and leg armour.

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1180 Chiba Tsune (1522-1583).

1181 This is account is based on a famous meeting of the clans after the assignation of Nobunaga to decide who would take over. Hideyoshi went against the nominated candidates from the Oda clan to favour Nobunaga’s two-year-old son Nobuhide. This put Toyotomi in opposition to Oda minister Shibata and Nobunaga’s brother Nobutaka. Sekka, Sarutobi-sasuke, 40:104.

1182 Ibid., 40:104–105.
That’s an Appropriate Courtesy to Come With

- Sasuke as guard dog
- Sasuke uses his titles
- References to the Romance of the Three Kingdoms
- Sanada Yukimura restrains Sasuke
- Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Sanada Yukimura
- Yomihon hero
- Sasuke goes too far
- Yukimura refuses a reward

The chapter begins stating that the warrior Katō Kiyomasa (1562-1611) could not dream of the tearing demons that rode on horse to the battleground. The battleground is the inn where Yukimura waits with the Braves, all of whom are currently fortified with ‘vinegar’ (alcohol).

Despite doubting Yukimura’s abilities, Toranosuke (in the company of Ichimatsu and a number of bodyguards) hopes to solicit the House of Sanada against the Tokugawa. However, Sasuke guards the entrance to Yukimura’s lodgings. As commanded, the Brave tells the incoming battle commander and minister of finance that his master is ill, and, therefore, cannot attend any meetings that day:

Sasuke: And what might your [lordships] business be?

Tornosuke: Various matters: we wish to confer [only] with the Lord Sanada Yukimura.

Sasuke: Ah! You are famous under all of heaven, of course. However, and it makes me feel terrible to say this, my lord is unwell. Being so, he is unable to attend any meetings. Is there anything you would like me, Sarutobi Sasuke Yukiyoshi, to convey to him?

1183 加藤清正 (1562-1611).
1184 Sekka, Sarutobi-sasuke, 40:105.
Ichimatsu: Enough! Sarutobi or Inutobi (He plays on Sasuke’s name calling him ‘Jumping-Dog’). Which it is I know not. The Lord Toyotomi Hideyoshi sends us here. If Lord Yukimura is ill, get him a pillow and make sure he eats food his stomach can tolerate!

The irritated lord runs towards the entrance and stamps his foot at Sasuke in anger. Sasuke does not flinch.

Sasuke: Well, if you’d like to make an orderly line, and wait a while. We cannot have the Lord Toyotomi being upset now can we. However, I don’t think it is possible [for you to enter].

Sasuke politely argues with the lords, offering a proverb about the T’ang dynasty in which a certain lord Liu Bei (161-233)\textsuperscript{1185} was forced to visit a noble three times before gaining access to the Confucian thinker and military tactician Zhuge Liang (181-234).\textsuperscript{1186} Sasuke reminds the group that Yukimura attended the funeral rights for Oda Nobunaga with due attention and respect. Therefore, his master is not being rude. Having explained his position, Sasuke then implies that the visiting lords are being disrespectful by making a fuss so soon after the memorial ceremony. If the lords wish to speak with Yukimura, they must show courtesy, and no matter who sent them they will have to wait.\textsuperscript{1187} The news is not well received.

Sasuke reveals that he knows of their plans (and of their opinion of his master Yukimura). Ichimatsu says that he will silence Sasuke and rushes at him. Sasuke evades the attack. Just in the nick of time, the Braves arrive and each member pares off with an opponent for a duel. Sasuke takes on Ichimatsu.\textsuperscript{1188}

\textsuperscript{1185} 刘备 (161-233).
\textsuperscript{1186} 諸葛亮 (181-234).
\textsuperscript{1187} Sekka, Sarutobi-sasuke, 40:106.
\textsuperscript{1188} Ibid., 40:107.
Because all the participants in the fight are equally matched, the skirmish lasts for some time. The commotion rouses Yukimura, and he joins the fray.

A lone rider on a warhorse arrives. The man smiles at the entangled warriors. He commands them all to stop fighting. The rider is a messenger from Toyotomi Hideyoshi. He praises Yukimura and his ‘so-called Braves’ noting that they are moving up in the world. He tells Toranosuke, for whom the fight has not been going well, to feign from ‘putting on airs’. Sasuke who has until now been locked in combat with Ichimatsu unexpectedly puffs up his chest and calls out:  

Sasuke: Oi! You lawless fellow! I don’t know the meaning of the word restraint. Right, let’s give you something of a surprise.  

Sasuke calls on his reserves of power to appear beside the messenger and stepping up into the air unseats him from his horse. The messenger is outraged; he is the Lord of Ibaraki Castle Nakagawa Kiyohide (1542-1583), another reputed warrior loyal to the Toyotomi. To prevent any further mischief Yukimura intervenes. Although Nakagawa is flustered he recovers his composure, as the countenance of Yukimura ‘only twenty-three years of age’ affects his mood. The rider apologises, ‘I am only following orders’.  

Nakagawa does not know how to judge the outcome of the situation, although he is inclined to give the victory to the Braves. Toranosuke is outraged by the interruption; he has never lost to anyone, so feels shamed. He threatens to ‘take off’ Nakagawa’s head. Sasuke laughs and states that the (seven) attacking lords are not equal to the Braves. He

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1189 Ibid., 40:108.
1191 中川清秀 (1542-1583).
boasts that, if forced to do so, he will use his magic and ‘make them look like children’. Toranosuke swears back, and his fellow lords react in kind. Sasuke has once again gone too far:

Yukimura: Sasuke enough! The Lord Nakagawa has come especially [to see us].

Yukimura guides all the lords inside and they share drinks. The fight is soon forgotten.

Ten years pass and having become good friends the Braves are accepted as emissaries for Hideyoshi. They meet with various eminent lords of the day.

The scene moves to a battlefield. All Hideyoshi’s forces are assembled. Yukimura meets with his master, Toyotomi Hideyoshi. No greeting is needed; the two are on close terms. A passage of narration speaks of Hideyoshi’s generosity towards Yukimura. The two men exchange stories. Hideyoshi has ‘fallen for Yukimura’s looks’. Later they burn incense at the Kyoto temple Daitoku-ji. Next they consult on military matters.

Yukimura is permitted to freely give of his opinion: such as the beheading of Hideyoshi’s fallen enemies (the House of Shibata). At the preceding battle, Hideyoshi followed the tactical arrangements of Yukimura. As a reward Hideyoshi offers Yukimura a stipend of 10,000 koku. Yukimura politely refuses and returns home to Ueda Castle.
EPISODE 19

DO ONE THING FOR ME

- Hideyoshi as the common father of Japan
- Sasuke takes rank over Miyoshi
- Miyoshi the drunk
- Samurai versus the townsfolk

From peace to extreme chaos and then to peace again, Hideyoshi’s plans came to fruition and his name rose in renown as with the rising sun.\textsuperscript{1196}

The House of Sanada become generals for the House of Toyotomi, which gives them privileged access to the inner political workings of the country. Yukimura sends Sasuke on a three-year mission to scout out the feelings of other \textit{daimyo} (lords) in the Western region. He wants to know who looks down upon him with ‘conceit’.

Miyoshi the monk inquires about Sasuke’s business with their master, and Sasuke divulges some of the details regarding his mission. Excited, Miyoshi goes to see Yukimura for permission to accompany the younger warrior.\textsuperscript{1197}

Yukimura, however, is reluctant to release the monk; he states that to do so will set a precedent that the other Braves may wish to emulate. Furthermore, Miyoshi is a known drinker and tends towards violence. Because of this, Yukimura has doubts as to the monk’s suitability for such a long mission.\textsuperscript{1198} Nevertheless, the lord yields to the whim of his trusted vassal. There are a number of conditions, however. First and foremost, Miyoshi must not get into any fights. Secondly, he must

\textsuperscript{1196}Ibid., 40:112.
\textsuperscript{1197}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{1198}Ibid.
follow Sasuke’s orders. Miyoshi promises not to drink. He also yields to Sasuke’s promotion by stating he will treat Sasuke ‘like an older brother’. Thus, the senior man accepts his place as a subordinate officer. Sasuke finds the warrior monk’s obsequiousness amusing. Nevertheless, he is pleased to have a fellow traveller.

In secret, the two Braves reach one of the castle towns held by Tokugawa Ieyasu. They stop at the home of a certain Tenryo’ûya Matsubei: it is a safe house. Each night Sasuke and his subaltern Miyoshi face one another and talk about the information that they have gathered that day. The two warriors discuss the state of the House of Tokugawa, finding the vassals to be ‘splendid’ but the level of power wielded by Ieyasu to be an issue of great concern. Miyoshi suggests the pair return home to report the news; however, Sasuke tells him they should stay longer in the town. Sasuke then heads to the roof to keep watch and relax, as he is most at home in unconfined spaces.

Alone, Miyoshi begins to feel the effects of his pledge to stop drinking alcohol. Hoping to alleviate the growing sickness in his belly, he quickly consumes three bottles of sake. Because he has abstained, the monk succumbs to intoxication quicker than he usually would:

Pulling a face like a drained octopus Miyoshi smiled.

Miyoshi: Ah, it’s been such a long time since I had a drink! There’s nothing like it to warm you up from the insides. Ugh, [I can’t think straight.] Ooh!

As he stands up slowly and tries to walk, the monk’s legs dangerously give way. His motion is like that of a bendy pipe, moving up and down like concertina, with his big arms out in front of him.

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1199 Ibid., 40:114.
1200 Ibid., 40:115.
Miyoshi: Tokugawa's samurai are like crawling [ants]. I'm gonna have to… do my best… gonna start a riot! I'm not accountable for my actions.\textsuperscript{1201}

The monk is right, Sasuke is.

The lumbering giant stumbles through the streets into the lower part of town, where he stares menacingly at passing officers of the law. Miyoshi begins to shout at passers by, then at the guards, whom he tries to goad into a fight. The officers of the town respond by telling the ‘honourable lord’ that he should behave himself.

A noble called Yamanobe Tango approaches with a cortège. Miyoshi is outraged; he demands to know what a townsperson thinks he is doing on horseback? The attending officers tell him that Yamanobe Tango is a well-respected person in the community. The drunken Miyoshi perceives everyone as a threat: he talks of Yamanobe Tango’s previous service to the now fallen Takeda Clan, calling the local ‘favourite’ a ‘dog samurai who has submitted to Ieyasu’. He raves and then bites the one of the local officers, who turns pale with fear.\textsuperscript{1202}

\textsuperscript{1201} Ibid., 40:116.
\textsuperscript{1202} Ibid., 40:116–7.
Miyoshi, normally a ‘saint’ when sober, is a ‘demon’ when drunk. Having bitten the town guard, he suddenly lets him loose. Howling like an animal, the monk proceeds to attack the retinue of Yamanobe Tango. Catching hold of the merchant, Miyoshi shakes him vigorously. Yamanobe commands his porters to help him flee to the safety of the (unnamed) inner castle (presumably near Kinki). The surrounding town officers try to intercede but fail. Frightened by Miyoshi’s antics they flee towards the Anayama Mon (inner gate) of the town for reinforcements.

Moments later, Sakakibara (Kohei’ita) Yasumasa (1548-1606), a brilliant warrior in the service of Tokugawa Ieyasu appears. In a loud voice he demands to know who is the cause of all the chaos. Yasumasa is described as one of the Four Devas (Buddhist guardians of great ability and size associated with the four cardinal directions of the compass). The term is also used to describe Tokugawa Ieyasu’s most effective generals: Li Naomasa (1561-1602), Honda Tadakatsu (1548-1610), and Sakai Tadatsugu (1527-1596).

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1203 榊原康政 (1548-1606).
1204 Sekka, Sarutobi-sasuke, 40:118.
1205 井伊直政 (1561-1602).
1206 本多忠勝 (1548-1610).
1207 酒井忠次 (1527-1596).
Miyoshi is unfazed by his new opponent. Demanding the ‘traitor’ who was riding in the carriage, the drunken monk gives his full title as a vassal of the House of Sanada. Using honorifics, Miyoshi politely asks:

Miyoshi: Do intend to block my path with your honourable self?

Yasumasa: No. [Referring to the fall of the Takeda Clan,] I understand your situation. What happened was terrible. It was awful. So, enjoy yourself.

Ieyasu’s other ‘Deva’ arrive, and taking hold of the carriage they attempt to rescue Yasumasa.

Undeterred, Miyoshi admonishes Tango for having become ‘Ieyasu’s servant’. Yasumasa replies that he is not a traitor, but the victim of unfortunate circumstances:

Miyoshi: Excuses are no use. Stop snivelling!

The Deva accompany the terrified Yasumasa — still physically a hostage to Miyoshi — through a number of security gates in the inner fortifications of the castle. As the party reaches the front entrance of the keep, Ieyasu’s court guards come out to meet them. Yasumasa has stopped struggling by this point.

The Tokugawa retainer Ôkubo Hikozaemon (1560-1639) enters. He is young, brave, and twenty-four years of age at the time of his appearance in the novel. With authority, he commands the rude and noisy band to state their names and business. Miyoshi laughs, and tells the young man that he is to blame for the disruption. The errant monk demands to meet with ‘Prince Ieyasu’ to negotiate for the life of Tango.

Tadanori refuses. He tells Miyoshi that his request is an insult and unreasonable. Three guards surround Miyoshi from behind and hold

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1208 大久保彦左衛門 (1560-1639).
him captive. Miyoshi uses all his brute strength in an attempt to pull free, but fails. Ôkubo strikes Miyoshi across the face. Faced with serious opposition, Miyoshi begins to sober up. In order to gain favourable treatment, Miyoshi gives his rank as a vassal of the Sanada. It is of no use, Ôkubo casts aspersion on Miyoshi’s claim that he has any connection with the Sanada nobility. Bedraggled, Miyoshi looks like a mendicant monk more than a high-ranking vassal.

When interrogated by the Tokugawa, Miyoshi explains that Tango’s existence ‘pains him’. Ôkubo attempts to draw more information from his captive. The noble states that he understands the premise behind Miyoshi’s claim. Nonetheless, he continues with his interrogation. Where the monk is staying, and with whom? Miyoshi stalls for time by joking:

Miyoshi: I feel like I’m at a family registration.

The monk wants to know if he will be admitted before Ieyasu. His desire is granted.

The Devas surround Miyoshi, holding him hostage. Ieyasu is outraged with the monk’s manner. The lord correctly accuses the Sanada vassal of spying:

Ieyasu: We will punish this evil monk and make him a servant! 

Given to ‘mental violation’ Ieyasu takes strange pleasure at the subsequent beating and torture of the Sanada vassal. After administering the beating, Li and Honda take Miyoshi away.

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1209 Sekka, Sarutobi-sasuke, 40:123.
1210 The novel portrays Ieyasu as a lacking the masculine qualities he most surely possessed. He takes no direct action by himself, depicted instead as reliant on his subordinates to carry out violence. The subtext being that the intellectual Ieyasu has no real power. The same may be argued of Yukimura, and yet, it is not. Though he was fifty-one when he died,
Though ‘peerless in strength’, Miyoshi is not strong enough to withstand the torture inflicted upon him by the Devas. However, he manages to utter a few provocative witticisms:

Miyoshi: The Devas scratch like cats…leyasu [you’re] nothing…!
Miyoshi Seikai the monk am a vassal of Sanada Yukimura. Even if you kill me…you can’t keep going...

Ieyasu laughs wickedly.

Ieyasu: [Your words] are like that of a ballad for a condemned criminal dragged to his execution. You have not had [my] permission to die. You will shortly see that [I] still have more pain to show you. For attempting to injure my servant Yamanobe Tango, you shall [also] go to prison.1211

Yamanobe Tango is filled with courage and approaches Miyoshi directly to threaten him. Suddenly there is a strange noise and a metal fan flies past, returning to an unseen hand. Yamanobe’s severed head falls from his body, blood spurts from the neck of the corpse. Ieyasu and the Devas are momentarily stunned. Sudden panic ensues as smoke fills the chamber. A loud disembodied laugh is heard:

Sasuke: Ha, ha, ha, ha! Lord Ieyasu and the brave heroes [of his House,] listen well. I am the famous Sarutobi Sasuke Yukiyoshi, he who labours for Lord Sanada Yukimura. I will take possession of Miyoshi Seikai the monk and [we] shall return [home]. I prefer not to

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1211 Sekka, Sarutobi-sasuke, 40:125.

Yukimura is portrayed as a youthful. If Sasuke were real, he would be of a similar age. Ieyasu, seventy at the time he commanded his campaign against the Toyotomi alliance, is always depicted as ancient.
take lives, and [I] have no particular grudge against you. However, in the future this may change.  

When the smoke clears Miyoshi has gone.

Ieyasu infers from the attack that Toyotomi Hideyoshi’s servant Sanada Yukimura is watching him:

Ieyasu spits out his words like a tanuki (badger).

Ieyasu: So we now know that the House of Sanada employs the use of ninja, and they have sent them to the very heart of this keep to frighten us.  

Some leagues away Sasuke gently chides Miyoshi. The monk defends his actions, stating that he only got drunk because tedium had overcome him. Nevertheless, Miyoshi admits that he would have been in trouble had not Sasuke rescued him.

Sasuke tells Miyoshi that he has spent each day at the castle spying on Ieyasu for their lord Yukimura; it was only pure luck that he saw Miyoshi and was able to take him by force. Miyoshi is worried about a formal report reaching the ears of the Prince Awa no Kami Masayuki. Sasuke allays his fears. That night the two vassals pray together before evacuating.

Sasuke and Miyoshi reach the pass at Mount Oku by sunset. The two wander into territory held by a local daimyo known as Yuri Kamanosuke Harufusa: this is the third hero of the Sanada series.

Sasuke and Miyoshi meet a local farmer. We learn that Yuri is renowned for his skill with a spear; he is able to take on as many as fifty enemies at one time. This ‘thief’ hopes to revive the fortunes of

1212 Ibid.
1213 Ibid.
1214 Ibid., 40:126.
the allied House of Asakura. Consequently, Yuri has been using force to collect money for more troops. This has led to a series of increasingly violent disputes, local people are leaving the area in droves; gossip tells of many missing samurai. No one is safe.\textsuperscript{1215}

Yuri has not had the success he would like. Despite having fought for the local feudal lord of Gôshuseta Castle, Yama Okatsu Shima-no-Kami, Yuri and his band of 450 men have had to flee many times. Accordingly, the local rustic warns the wandering samurai to be careful in their search.

Because of the troubles the farmer has been unable to produce any food. The narration states that Sasuke and Miyoshi are usually moved by such problems:

Miyoshi: I’d be happy to help. Just tell us where this thief lives. We’ll go and visit him, and I’ll cut off his head. Sasuke?

Sasuke: I don’t know much about farming. I was trained for combat.\textsuperscript{1216}

The three part company with the farmer wondering what will become of the two warriors.

Following the farmer’s directions, Sasuke and Miyoshi climb the nearby mountain occupied by Yuri and his bandits. At a difficult pass near the border, they stop for a rest. Sasuke tells Miyoshi that he will use some of his skills to tackle the problem of the bandits, he jokes that the monk ‘need not worry’. The ever-competitive Miyoshi retorts that he and Sasuke alert the bandits to their presence. True to his word, the monk sings loudly as they climb the rest of the mountain. It is dark, but a rising full moon illuminates the way.

\textsuperscript{1215} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{1216} Ibid., 40:127.
As they reach higher ground Miyoshi’s singing acts as bait for the thieves. A small group of robbers come to investigate the noise. Sasuke cannot be seen behind the hulking Miyoshi:

Thief 1: Someone’s coming.

Thief 2: I hear them.

Thief 1: It’s a samurai, a big samurai. A really big one!

Thief 2: Right, let’s do it. Signal the others.\textsuperscript{1217}

Using torch movements the thieves alert troops nearby. A party of fifty men arrive.

Standing at the front is a young warrior called Yamagami Shin’nai; he holds a formidably large spear. Yamagami wonders if the approaching samurai can be brought into the group as an ally. He gives an intimidating cry and gives a hard stare in the direction of Miyoshi.

Miyoshi calmly enters the space, followed by Sasuke. Sasuke laughs and calls Yamagami a ‘brave maggot’. He tells the bandits that they are ‘pretenders’ collecting money for the Asakura clan because they have no authority or understanding of what they do. Miyoshi draws his sword telling the group that if they were truly ‘loyal’ to their masters it would not be a problem for them to find some other means of raising money.

Yamagami asks Miyoshi if he intends to ‘beat them with his lecture’. The spearman charges at Miyoshi, who meets him with greater force. The monk’s blade splits the bandit warrior in two.\textsuperscript{1218}

\textsuperscript{1217} Ibid., 40:128.

\textsuperscript{1218} Ibid., 40:129.
Sasuke leaps up into a tree to watch his companion at work killing bandits. As the surrounding bandits rush towards the monk, Miyoshi tells Sasuke that he is fine because the cliff edge provides safety to his back.
The narration tells us that bandits tend to be ‘extreme sorts of people’. Consequently, if possible, one should always choose a suitable means of dealing with them. However, the narration cautions us that these means ‘may not be good ones’.

Miyoshi has successfully quelled the group of bandits. Sasuke now talks with their leader Yuri Kamanosuke (later Yuri Kamanosuke the Brave). Sasuke tells the rogue that he is a more formidable opponent than his friend Miyoshi, and should Yuri try him in a fight things will no go well for the lord.

Yuri rebuffs Sasuke, telling him to ‘shut-up’. He complains bitterly about the warrior’s ‘massive servant’ Miyoshi, who has taken all of his teshita (underlings) to task.

Sasuke and the bandit lord duel. Yuri forces Sasuke to the edge of the cliff. Knowing he can disappear at will, Sasuke remains relaxed. Miyoshi’s presence also gives him comfort. The two adversaries cross swords more than thirty times over a long duel.

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1219 Ibid., 40:130.
1220 Term: 手下.
Yuri pushes Sasuke to the precipice. Concerned, Sasuke disappears. Somewhat startled, Yuri calls out:

Yuri: Be you not the grandchild of a Tengu?

Searching in all directions.

Yuri: You coward!\textsuperscript{1221}

Sasuke reappears only to tap Yuri on the shoulder; he then evaporates back into the ether. Yuri is repeatedly taunted in the same manner. Eventually the rogue staggers around aimlessly. Fatigued, Yuri throws down his spear. Resigning himself to his ‘inevitable death’, Yuri allows himself to be tied up and bound by his tormentors.

As Sasuke finishes binding Yuri and his crew, Miyoshi wonders if they should track down and kill the rest of the bandits or just leave with the gold now in their possession:

Miyoshi: We could just pack up all the gold and carry it on our backs?

As the commanding officer, Sasuke reminds Miyoshi that they are supposed to be tourists, not robbers. He also points out that there is too much to carry:

Sasuke: The weight would snap our bones.

Sasuke lectures the group: the House of Asakura is associated with the House of Sanada, and even if they were genuinely trying to help the Toyotomi cause, there was no excuse for theft. Sasuke presses the men further; they should return to their senses, mend their ways, and become ‘true’ people.\textsuperscript{1222}

\textsuperscript{1221} Sekka, Sarutobi-sasuke, 40:131.

\textsuperscript{1222} Ibid., 40:134.
Somewhat irritated at letting such a large fortune go to waste, Miyoshi tells Sasuke to finish his preaching. Sasuke immediately reminds Miyoshi that he is the one in charge, and that he thinks the monk short tempered.

Yuri interrupts the squabble to thank Sasuke for his ‘words of pity’ for the bandits. The rogue promises not to work for evil ends in the future. His manner is genuine and pious. Sasuke accepts Yuri’s reform as thanks enough for his trouble.

Yuri asks for Sasuke’s name, he praises his strength. Sasuke somewhat coyly admits that he is no one special, but gives his full title regardless:

Sasuke: I am a vassal of Castle Ueda, part of the 10,000 koku estate of the House of Sanada, Sarutobi Sasuke Yukiyoshi.1223

Yuri is amazed, for he has heard of the heroes. The repentant noble asks the two Sanada clan officers to stay another night with the group. The two heroes agree to stay. The group sit down to ‘tanuki tempura’ (badger fried in batter), sashimi made from wild boar, and barbequed deer.

The next day the Sasuke, Miyoshi, and Yuri distribute the confiscated gold with the other reformed thieves and burn down the mountain fortress.

Having accepted Yuri into their company, the three men head for the pass at Suzuka, then to Miyako (Kyoto). At a very expensive lodge the band drink together like brothers. After recuperating they go to the

1223 Ibid.
Nanzen-ji (Southern Zen Temple) to look at a ninja scroll by Kaizoku Ishigawa Zaemon.\textsuperscript{1224}

\textsuperscript{1224} Ibid., 40:135.
Yuri is extremely happy to have been accepted as a brother by the travelling samurai Sasuke and Miyoshi. Having left the remaining bandits behind to keep watch in the hills for the Sanada clan, the three companions now travel around Miyako (Kyoto) ‘sightseeing’.

Whilst out walking around the lower streets near the Eastern Temple, Sasuke’s keen senses pick out snatches of an illicit conversation floating on the wind. Thinking the information might be useful to his master Yukimura, the warrior decides to track down the source.¹²²⁶

Sasuke straps his sword to his back, so that he can climb better, and ascends a towering tree by the Mountain Gate. He positions himself out along a branch, waiting he listens trying to not to lose the conversation being carried away on the rising storm.¹²²⁷

For the first time, Sasuke has an uneasy feeling. The wind stirs and lightening strikes within twenty meters of his position. It is a

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¹²²⁵ Ibid., 40:136.
¹²²⁶ Ibid.
¹²²⁷ Ibid., 40:137.
distraction; a *shuriken* (throwing knife shaped like a star) cuts across the wind straight towards his face. Sasuke catches it with his left hand before it buries into his neck; a moment later a bullet grazes his head. Sasuke’s eyes search out his assailant.\(^{1228}\)

A figure of a man appears on the balcony of the nearby Mountain Gate. He calls out to Sasuke directly:

Man: Remember young samurai you are not the only one who understands the hidden arts. There are others with strength like you, and I am such a one.

Sasuke: Ha, ha, ha, ha. Well, if you want to know my name you should tell me yours first. I can’t see you from here, it is immoral to be selfish, stop shielding yourself behind the Mountain Gate and let me see you.\(^{1229}\)

Using voice commands Sasuke jumps from his perch towards the balcony of the gate. Atop is a small room. There seems to be no one living at the site, but Sasuke notices ‘patterns’ indicating otherwise.\(^{1230}\)

Moving into an adjoining chamber Sasuke encounters the mysterious figure sitting alone in the dark. Veiled in shadow, the man mutters incantations whilst drawing gammadions on the floor. Sasuke has never seen anything like this, so he watches the deft movement of his opponent’s hands carefully. Sasuke speaks to the stranger, but receives no reply. The stranger suddenly stops and introduces himself formally.

Ishikawa: They call me Ishikawa Goemon (d.1594), he who is fearful that he will be caught in the glare of Toyotomi Hideyoshi.

Sasuke: From whom did you learn your ninjutsu?

\(^{1228}\) Ibid.

\(^{1229}\) Ibid., 40:138.

\(^{1230}\) Ibid., 40:137.
Ishikawa: If you wish to know who my teacher was he the Master of the Iga Faction Momochi Sandayû. Now tell me your name.

Conforming to the military custom of *nanori* (spoken genealogies), Sasuke offers up his full title ‘Sarutobi Sasuke-Yukiyoshi, vassal of the House of Sanada’: he includes the name of his first teacher Tozawa Haku’unsai from the rival Koga School of *ninjutsu* for added weight.

Sasuke notes it is a pity that Ishikawa was made an outlaw after his attempt on the life of his overlord Toyotomi Hideyoshi. In repost, Ishikawa states he could work for the Toyotomi if he so chose, but boasts that they could not pay him enough. Critically, Goemon states that he does not wish to be limited by a lord who decides what he does in life. Sasuke replies that he understands his opponent’s feelings. However, he then chastises Goemon, stating that he could not live the same kind of life committing great crimes. The Sanada vassal tells Goemon plainly, ‘a thief, is of course, [always] a thief’.

At Ishikawa’s behest, the two have a competition testing their abilities against one another. It is obvious that both ninja relish the opportunity to test themselves against a foe of the same ilk. Each takes his turn demonstrating his arcane abilities, disappearing, and then reappearing. They transmogrify: Ishikawa turns into a mouse; Sasuke then turns into a cat. Ishikawa admits defeat. The pair then test their elemental magic: Goemon tries out some fire techniques; Sasuke counters with the use of wind and water.\(^{1231}\) The chapter ends with Ishikawa distorting his features as he sucks in air for his next attack.\(^{1232}\)

\(^{1231}\) Ibid., 40:140.
\(^{1232}\) Ibid., 40:141.
Goemon replies that his next trick will be more impressive. Suddenly, he disappears. As he does so, the whole area goes dark. All that can be seen is a small orb of light. Steadily, the glowing sphere becomes brilliant like ‘broad daylight’. Automatically Sasuke’s spare hand reaches for the metal *tessen* strapped to his back.

Sasuke gently pokes at the floating flame: Goemon is a spirit. The villain reappears, his face dripping with blood from the effort. Sasuke chides his opponent that he knows all of the same secret disciplines. Unlike Sasuke, Goemon is a thief, and therefore rash in his actions. Because of his lack of judgment he has lost to Sasuke.

Sasuke goes on to remind Goemon that there are choices that can be made during one’s lifetime, both good and bad. Goemon has made bad choices. Sasuke tells him that the legacy of a person’s name, for good or evil, is defined by their moral self-determination, stating that this has been the way since the dawning of Japan (time). Were Goemon to reform, it would bring him happiness. Two beautiful apprentices join Goemon. The threat to Sasuke increases:

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1233 Ibid.
1234 Ibid., 40:142.
Sasuke: What do you think Goemon? Will you make a new start, or will you rot [from the evil inside you]? I know of your powers so I’ll let you decide. But know this, next time we meet I will take your life.

Outnumbered, Sasuke takes hold of the balcony rail and jumps over it, and quickly disappears.

Goemon wipes the blood away from his face and admits that Sasuke is a terrifying opponent, ‘there is no one to match him’. The ninja commands one of his female attendees to take down a letter and deliver it to an unknown recipient. It states:

Goemon: If Sasuke were weak [there would be nothing to fear] but his abilities are extraordinary. It makes him dangerous and a great enemy. Therefore, we should leave the area.

Goemon’s instructs the recipient to meet him at an arranged ‘secret meeting house’.

Back at the lodge our three heroes talk about Sasuke’s findings. Miyoshi laughs loudly when Yuri says that nothing can be done for the ‘uncatchable’ Goemon, ‘who could be a great man, were he not given to evil’. Sasuke ignores Miyoshi and tells his comrades that they should not underestimate Goemon.

A few days later, the three Braves sight the capital of Osaka. They traverse the main road into the city in a relaxed manner; their arms swing loosely whilst they walk looking at the surrounding forest.

The sun begins to set and darkness creeps over them. There are no inns nearby, so the three Braves discuss where to stay. Miyoshi comments that the approach to the city looks sad and lonely. However,
he then sights a small temple that might suit them. It is a haunted house:

The temple is very old. Its eaves cave in and the pillars are at odd angles and appear fragile, as if they are about to fall over. Inside the building looks like the kind of place foxes might be lurking.\footnote{Ibid., 40:146.}

The three travellers wonder if anyone is present. Because he is a monk Miyoshi goes to the temple door first. He calls out for a response. There is none:

Miyoshi: Well, I called so loudly that they could hear in the heavens, if there are priests here then…

There is a sudden noise from within the depths of the temple.

Miyoshi: I thought there wasn’t anyone around! Well, what can it be?

The group search here and there but find no one. However, a small bonfire \[crackles with light.\] A few fish are grilling slowly on its heat.\footnote{Ibid., 40:147.}

Though the group cannot see anyone, they can hear someone or something murmur. Disturbed, Miyoshi tries to locate the source of the sound, but again finds no signs of life. The three exit the hall and wait outside.

After a while Miyoshi, who is short tempered by nature, can stand it no longer. He calls on the other to two to go back in and investigate properly, so that they can all eat dinner in peace. Sasuke laughs in agreement. After all, they are all supposed to be Braves. He reassures the group that the three of them ought to be able to cope with any trouble they mind find.
The food is reminiscent of the mountain bandits’ fare, but with a coastal feel to it: battered octopus, grilled eel, and crab. Hungry, the travellers gorge themselves.

His appetite satiated, Miyoshi elects to stand guard first. The monk suggests that Sasuke take the next watch, followed by Yuri. The sounds of snoring follow.\textsuperscript{1240}

\textsuperscript{1240} Ibid.
EPISODE 25

HEY, YOU AWFUL MONK, OPEN YOUR EYES!

- The abbot
- Sasuke does not fight fair
- Ban Dan’emon apologizes (1569-1615)
- Mutual respect

The abbot of the decrepit monastery returns late at night. He has spent the day mediating marital disputes. He is pleased that things have been peacefully resolved:

> Alone, [the abbot] talked to himself. He was bigger than Miyoshi, with no physical equal, and glaring eyes.\(^{1241}\)

Upon his return, the abbot discovers that his food has been eaten. He spots three drunken strangers sleeping by his fire. Outraged, the giant comments that the group has ‘no manners’. Raising himself to his full height he gives a great shout for the ‘thieves’ to ‘wake up!’ He stamps his foot, pinning Miyoshi to the ground. In the ‘blink of an eye’ Sasuke jumps out of the way. Though famed for his bulk, Miyoshi is ‘like a tiny atom’ compared to this man. Still drowsy with alcohol and sleep, the Brave does not fully comprehend the perilous situation:

> Abbot: Hey, you awful monk, open your eyes!
> Blinking his eyes and yawning, Miyoshi slowly wakes.
> Miyoshi: Ah…so tired…Oh, I see the abbot has returned!
> Abbot: What do you mean, "I see the abbot has returned?"\(^{1242}\)

\(^{1241}\) Ibid., 40:148.  
\(^{1242}\) Ibid.
The Abbot demands to know why his food has been eaten. Miyoshi in pain introduces himself in full, and rather impolitely tacks on the question, ‘Don’t you know who I am?’

Yuri, now roused, attacks the abbot with a powerful kick. The abbot does not flinch. He hoists Yuri up by his belt with such force that the bandit is tossed out of the main hall.

Sasuke is surprised by the strength and power of the abbot. He disappears, confusing the temple’s guardian. The giant wonders if Sasuke is using witchcraft to attack him. Sasuke reappears and twists the abbot’s ear hard. Responding, the abbot picks up his discarded lance and attacks. Sasuke avoids the blow. Suddenly as if recalling something, the ape-like Brave evaporates into the ether once again. He reappears with a cooking bowl, which he slams on the great monk’s head, so it covers his eyes. Sasuke then moves around his blinded opponent hitting him from all sides.

After a while, the abbot sits and cries for mercy. Sasuke ceases his attack, makes himself visible, and speaks. He pays the abbot a compliment acknowledging the fact that he is not an ordinary priest. Sasuke then proceeds to formally introduce everyone. Finally, he asks for the abbot’s name:

Great Monk: Now I understand, I have heard of the House of Sanada’s ninjustu and the famous Sarutobi Sasuke Yukiyoshi. I wondered how you could vanish and reappear. Just like a monkey! I live here at the Mokutōyabure-ji (The Temple of Torn Subordination). I have thrown away the floating world. Since I have taken this road my eyes are dazzlingly [clear]. I have chosen the name Testugyû Ojyô (Iron Bull [of the] Peaceful Way). However, I was often known as Lord Katô Yoshiaki

1243 Ibid., 40:149.
1244 Ibid., 40:150.
of Iyo-Matsuyama Castle. I once received three thousand *koku*. My formal name is Ban Dan’emon (1569-1615).1245

In the presence of such a great warrior of the Sengoku era and another casualty of the 1615 war, the three temple intruders become reverential.

The former general forgives the three Braves. He actually approves of [their] violence. He was hungry, so acted ‘like a child’ when he found his supplies eaten. Sasuke has taught him a lesson in humility, so he forgives them. Ban Dan’emon fetches more food and drink and together the men talk.1246

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1245 The former general. Ibid., 40:151-52.
1246 Ibid., 40:152-53.
After a long and deep conversation with the former general Testugyû Ojyô (Ban Dan’emon), our three travellers Sasuke, Miyoshi, and Yuri leave for Osaka.

The landscape surrounding Osaka is full of patchy areas of forest; it is a sign the three are heading towards a more urban area very different from Sasuke’s hometown, where there is lush forest inhabited by wild monkeys.

Once inside the city, the Braves find a prosperous-looking inn. The compound is large, and includes eight other small buildings. The travellers enjoy the fruits of the city going here and there to listen to *haikai* (poetry readings).

Ôtani Yoshitsuge (1558-1600)\(^\text{1248}\) is also in the neighbourhood. Ôtanigyô was once a vassal of the great Toyotomi Hideyoshi. He aided the great lord in a time of peril. Grateful Hideyoshi burnt incense as an offering at the Daitoku-ji (Temple of Great Attainment) on his behalf.\(^\text{1249}\)

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\(^\text{1247}\) Ibid., 40:153.

\(^\text{1248}\) 大谷吉継 (1558-1600).

Through a connection (not made explicit) Ôtani helps Sasuke and Miyoshi gain a private audience with Toyotomi Hideyoshi. A formal invitation arrives via a messenger:

Toyotomi Hideyoshi: Heroes of the Sanada, Sarutobi Sasuke and the Monk Miyoshi Seikai, this is unexpected! Bring the one [who is with you] called Yuri Kamanosuke, and the three of you present yourselves [at court].

The invitation is described as ‘an honour’.

The senior lord conducts the Braves into the inner fortress of the Osaka citadel. Here, in the Southern Hall, Hideyoshi will communicate his ‘thoughts to the lower orders’. Various other nobles are also present.

Before the council, a spear instructor is due to give a demonstration in the *Kamei* (Turtle in the Well) style of spear technique. The event is just about to begin when the trio arrives. The Braves worry about how to address Hideyoshi. As a means of introduction, Sasuke quietly prompts Yuri to enter a practice duel with the instructor:

Sasuke: Oi, Yuri. That bastard is famous with a lance; he seems the best here. [You should] represent us. Get in there, do us proud, and don’t lose! What do you reckon?

Yuri: Gotcha.

Kamanosuke stood up to his full height and entered himself in the competition. He picked a suitable practice lance and moved off to the southwest corner of the grounds opposite his opponent to prepare himself.

After the usual preliminaries that occur before a fight, Yuri and the spear instructor (a formidable looking warrior named Shinjūrō) attack

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1250 Ibid.
1251 Ibid., 40:154.
each other with force. Realising that Yuri is a difficult match, Shinjûrô’s attacks become more frenzied. Yuri is also aware that his reputation is at stake, but he decides to play carefully and keeps calm. The duellists clash spears and sparks fly from their weapons. Yuri manages to use a stamping attack which surprises Shinjûrô, who gives repost with a special attack of his own devising. They parry one another’s blows high and low. Using advanced techniques Yuri successfully feints, causing Shinjûrô to defend out of counter. The mistake allows the Sanada vassal to disarm his adversary.

Shouts and applause erupt from the stands where the military officers sit watching. Both fighters are praised for their efforts and are invited to share a cup of saké with their overlord, the noble Toyotomi Hideyoshi. However, one of the senior lords present from the House of Kuroda casts doubt over Yuri’s ability to win against a serious opposition. He calls for another contest and nominates Lord Gotô Matabei (1570-1615), a known expert with the spear. Not wishing to offend anyone, Yuri refuses.

Yuri is naturally hesitant to fight such a well-known figure and an elite. Pointedly, the narration explains that Yuri’s decision is based on humility, not a lack of confidence. The nominating lord begins to imply that Yuri is hesitant to fight such a distinguished figure because he lacks courage. Miyoshi the monk steps in:

Miyoshi: Oi! Yuri what are you saying? Having never lost to anyone, he is the most famous [spearman] under Heaven. There’s no shame if you lose, and if you win, you gain praise.  

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1252 Ibid., 40:155.
1253 Ibid., 40:156.
1254 後藤又兵衛 (1570-1615).
Yuri accepts the challenge. Hideyoshi signals for the match to begin. Gotô is ‘not one to fear bigger opponents, nor does he underestimate smaller ones’. Accordingly, the match will be hard. Not wishing to cause any permanent injury to a senior officer, Yuri exchanges his weapon for a practice staff. His opponent does not.

Having seen Yuri’s previous fight Gotô is undeterred when the bandit warlord attempts his signature move. Blows are exchanged, the crowd cheers. Frustrated, the senior lord becomes more emphatic in his attacks. Correspondingly, Yuri changes his style and loosens his grip on the weapon in his hand. Gotô throws himself at Yuri whose measured response helps him avoid a near fatal blow. Contact has been made, however. Blood seeps out from under Yuri’s hachimaki (headband) causing him to back away from his challenger. In a surprise twist, Gotô apologises to Yuri for having stuck him. Likewise, Yuri gracefully excuses his opponent. Toyotomi Hideyoshi praises both men and remarks that although Gotô was ranked higher Yuri’s efforts were ‘splendid’ and ‘commendable’. The errant daimyô has proven himself a hero. Toyotomi Hideyoshi personally rewards Yuri with a small pillbox. Having defended their honour, the Sanada delegation retreats to a nearby lodge.

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1256 Ibid., 40:158.
1257 Ibid., 40:159.
1258 Ibid., 40:160.
Yuri refuses wealth
Toyotomi Hideyoshi dies
Chôson given up by the Japanese (not a military failure)
Letters between Sasuke and Yukimura
Sasuke takes another name: Mushiya Yukikyô
Internal thoughts
Sasuke meets Haku’unsai’s son
Sasuke and Yuri get held up

Winning and losing are both down to the timing of fate.\textsuperscript{1259}

Ôtani Yoshitsuge arrives with an offer of patronage for Yuri — a stipend of 300 koku, a vast sum by any standard. However, having already promised himself to the Sanada, Yuri politely declines the offer. Sasuke and Miyoshi praise their comrade.\textsuperscript{1260}

The narration now informs us that Toyotomi Hideyoshi has sent many to the front during the invasion of Chôson (Korea), causing many of the Western Lords to be absent from their domains. Upon their return disaster strikes:

In 1599, the third year of the Keichô era (1596.10.27-1615.7.13), during the tenth month on the eighth day, the death of the noble Toyotomi Hideyoshi came to pass. At this time the encamped troops withdrew their power.\textsuperscript{1261}

Understanding the precarious financial and political situation of the Toyotomi heir Hideyori (1593-1615), Sasuke dispatches Miyoshi to the Sanada fortress of Ueda Castle with a letter:

\textsuperscript{1259} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{1260} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{1261} Ibid., 40:161.
Sasuke: The passing of Toyotomi Hideyoshi signifies terrible consequences of chaos for all. I must send message of this to the honourable Sanada Yukimura. 1262

A reply from Yukimura is quickly returned via a courier:

Yukimura: Though nothing has come out these past three years, this event is a dividing line under Heaven. [I feel] certain there will be a great war. As for you, stay in Osaka and watch the people carefully for any developments in the designs of the House of Ieyasu. By the way, [I hear that] Yuri Kamanosuke has become a great hero; work together in your plans. If need be, take any expedient measure [you feel is necessary]. 1263

Sasuke and Yuri continue act as spies for Yukimura. They travel constantly in order to observe the provincial lords suspected of treachery. Sasuke becomes bored:

Sasuke: Hey, Yuri, waiting for war is boring, is it not? Why don’t we go to the central region or Kyushu and take a tour?

Yuri: That sounds good, we've the got the general understanding of what's going on in Osaka. 1264

The two set off on their journey. All the while, they send reports back to Ueda Castle.

Sasuke has an errand to run at Tozawayama Castle, the home of his teacher Tozawa Haku'unsai. For an undisclosed reason Sasuke must go incognito. The leading Brave orders his compatriot (Yuri) to temporarily use a false name: Mushiya Yukikyō. 1265 Sasuke then forbids Yuri to accompany him. (We understand later that Yuri is to act as a cover for Sasuke’s mission.)

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1262 Ibid.
1263 Ibid.
1264 Ibid., 40:162.
1265 Ibid.
Sasuke arrives at Tozawayama Castle. There, he impersonates Yuri in an interview with Yamashiro no Kami, Haku’unsai’s son and heir. News has reached Yamashiro of the fencing match that Yuri (now Sasuke) took part in during the previous year. Yamashiro admits Sasuke into his private training hall. The ninja invites his guest to several bouts of spear fighting. The Brave cautiously accepts.\textsuperscript{1266}

Sasuke thinks privately to himself that gaining access to the inside of the castle was easy. However, he is unaware that Yamashiro suspects his true identity. Sasuke is eventually betrayed by his fighting technique, which despite his skill does not resemble a native spearman. (Sasuke is too careful and precise with his movements: he has no flair.)

Though the men use training weapons, a real fight develops. Sasuke begins to sweat with effort.\textsuperscript{1267} Yamashiro disappears, and for once Sasuke is left looking surprised. On his reappearance Yamashiro tells Sasuke that he has guessed that he is using a false name: he know that the man before him is really Sarutobi Sasuke, his father’s former student. Sasuke immediately prostrates himself before Yamashiro:

\begin{quote}
Sasuke: I am filled with fear at the level of your insight; you truly are more powerful than your honourable father Haku’unsai. Yes, I am Sarutobi Sasuke Yukiyoshi. Please forgive my impertinence.
\end{quote}

Sasuke bowed several more times in greeting.\textsuperscript{1268}

Yamashiro nods his head in forgiveness for the act of deception. Flattered by Sasuke’s desire to meet with him, he praises the Brave’s skill and determination. Sasuke is elated by the compliment.\textsuperscript{1269}

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{1266} Ibid., 40:163.
\footnote{1267} Ibid., 40:164.
\footnote{1268} Ibid.
\footnote{1269} Ibid.
\end{footnotes}
asks to pray and offer incense at the mortuary table of his former master Haku’unsai. The son and pupil then share food and drink together, whilst telling stories of military and magical exploits. They also share information on the coming war.

Sasuke passes a number of days at the Tozawayama Castle enjoying his ‘spare time’. Before leaving for Osaka, he meets with Yamashiro one last time to bid a formal farewell.

On his return to the port city, Sasuke gives a detailed report to Yuri. Sasuke is full of admiration for Yamashiro. Whilst talking further, the sound of guards clattering down the street alerts them to danger.\footnote{Ibid., 40:165.}

The party of guards burst in. The Braves are surrounded but ‘unconcerned’. The group leader commands the pair to keep their hands visible:

\begin{quote}
Samurai: Right you bastards, we greet each other [formally]! If you are Japanese, I am Japanese. If you are samurai, then I am a samurai. All of us in the world are brothers, are we not?
\end{quote}

Sasuke and Yuri exchange looks.

\begin{quote}
Sasuke: If we just stay here silent it’s going to get very bad Yuri. Why don’t we take a break?\footnote{Ibid.}
\end{quote}

Yuri jokes that they should escape and see some more scenery. The arresting office laughs:

\begin{quote}
Samurai: In this age of chaos, [it seems] everything is permissible. As they say, “Flowers over food”. So, you sons of bitches, what about it? Fancy lending us some money [for flowers], do you?
\end{quote}

Sasuke and Yuri are being robbed:

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}
Yuri: (Laughing loudly) Spoken like a true thief! I thought you were concerned with money.

Samurai: Oh, you’re a saucy bastard to answer me back like that! You must be a fella of strong character, eh?\footnote{Ibid., 40:166.}

The Braves prepare to flee.
Sasuke pays deference to a noble highwayman
Sasuke and Yuri think about the future
Himeji Castle is attacked

Sasuke laughs about the manner in which the rough samurai has accosted him. The samurai declares that he has been staying at the same inn, but could not settle his bill. Sasuke jests with the robber asking if he wants him to settle the account. The Sanada vassal then admonishes the man by telling him that he would not do such a terrible thing as commit highway robbery. ¹²⁷³

The samurai asks why should anyone in his position think it such a bad thing? Sasuke explains that such things are ‘unreasonable’. The samurai replies that Sasuke is wrong if he thinks he will bow his head to someone from the lower orders; to argue otherwise shows a lack of sense on the part of Sasuke. The issue seems to be one of pride.

Sasuke speaks to the samurai again:

Sasuke: It is [my own] simple logic that Heaven will not tolerate such behaviour. [It] is not good. Holding two swords and asking for money will ruin [your] name for future generations...you should be more self-effacing when asking for a favour, or else you’ll not get a farthing. ¹²⁷⁴

Unconvinced, the samurai rashly grabs for Sasuke. Sasuke performs a triple somersault out of the way. Whilst the samurai stands amazed, Yuri tries to grab him. The dumbfounded samurai is so big he does not

¹²⁷³ Ibid., 40:167.
¹²⁷⁴ Ibid., 40:167–68.
budge. Yuri remains composed and manages to avoid the blows of his attacker, as does Sasuke.\textsuperscript{1275}

Sasuke vanishes, causing the samurai to search for him. Outraged, the man demands that Sasuke reveal himself. Sasuke does so. He appears in the branch of a nearby tree. From on high, he tells the samurai that, however strong he is, he is not fast enough to catch Sasuke. The samurai sneers as he tries with both arms to topple Sasuke’s tree to the ground. Meanwhile, Yuri scolds the samurai telling him he is ‘lawless’. However, the man perseveres with his attempt to uproot the tree. Sasuke tells him that his strength, though formidable, is not enough to complete the task. Nevertheless, for safety he jumps to another tree.\textsuperscript{1276}

Unaware of Sasuke’s departure, the samurai sweats profusely. Finally, he manages to lever the tree out of the ground. Realising that Sasuke has escaped he shouts:

\begin{quote}
Samurai: I am gonna break your bones in the same way. You won’t make it to another tree. You bastard born of an ape!
\end{quote}

Discouraged by his lack of success and exhausted by his efforts, the samurai falls backwards on to the earth. His lungs burn with pain as he gasps for air.

By this time, Yuri has become enamoured with the samurai’s persistence. He formally introduces himself and Sasuke. The samurai laughs with good humour. He cordially introduces himself as the twenty-fourth descendant of the House of Higo:

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{1275}Ibid., 40:168. \\
\textsuperscript{1276}Ibid., 40:169.
\end{flushright}
Kiyozumi: I have the unusual name of Arakawa Kumazô-oni (Demon Bear of the Violent River) Kiyozumi.\textsuperscript{1277}

Kiyozumi is famous. Sasuke immediately apologises for having been so disrespectful. Yuri is equally contrite:

\textit{Yuri: Please forgive us!}\textsuperscript{1278}

Having given and received recognition of each other’s titles, Yuri tells Kiyozumi that he need not worry about money. They return as friends to the inn to watch a performance by \textit{maiko} (dancing girls),\textsuperscript{1279} eat, and get drunk.

Eventually, Kiyozumi lightly takes his leave of the two Sanada vassals saying that they will surely meet again. Sasuke and Yuri both laugh at their newfound friend’s jovial manner. Privately, Sasuke notes that Kiyozumi will probably die penniless. Yuri defends their departed guest stating that despite his fate, Kiyozumi is one of the strongest men he has ever met. Whilst the two men sit and think about their encounter, we learn through an interruption of narration that the Ukita clan [allies of the Toyotomi] are under attack at Bizen, Okayama, and Himeji, which dates the events of the book to some time around 1598.\textsuperscript{1280}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{1277} Ibid., 40:170.
\textsuperscript{1278} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{1279} Term: \textit{舞妓}.
\textsuperscript{1280} Sekka, \textit{Sarutobi-sasuke}, 40:171.
\end{flushleft}
The two travellers arrive at the castle town of Bizen, Okayama. They stay at an inn called the Kojima-Hachibei (Little Island Inn of the Eight Streets). Sasuke and Yuri keep to the back rooms away from any onlookers. The two Sanada vassals spend their time drinking, eating, and laughing. Sasuke calls to the maid:

Sasuke: Oi, how come there's only one of you?

Serving girl: There is a shūgensha (Buddhist monk who specializes in ascetic practices) visiting. He is very interesting and so many customers have gone to see him.

Sasuke: Well, I'd rather go sightseeing.

Serving girl: They say he speaks of magic.

Sasuke: Well, if he does magic, I have an interest in such things! I would go to witness that. Yuri?

Yuri: Let's have a look.\textsuperscript{1281}

Sasuke and Yuri set out to find the monk in the town square.

A crowd has gathered. The Braves talk with one of the expectant sightseers at the edge of the group, and the man invites them to take a seat as they wait for the monk. The monk appears. Sasuke immediately

\textsuperscript{1281}Ibid., 40:172.
believes that the man is a charlatan; he distrusts the monk’s ‘sharp eyes’ and ‘careless looks’.\footnote{Ibid., 40:173.} Yuri is of the same opinion; the man has the ‘eyes of a thief’.\footnote{Ibid.} The two become quiet and watch the street performance closely:

\begin{quote}
Ascetic: Well, most honourable ladies and gentlemen! I am an ascetic monk. I have travelled the whole of the country. I possess the great secrets known only to members of the Shingon (Pure Word) sect. I will demonstrate its ultimate technique: the disappearing form!

As he said this the monk suddenly rose into the air. His form began to thin and vanish into nothing.
\end{quote}

The audience is impressed. The ascetic then dispels what is left of his body, by transforming into twenty-four rats. The rodents proceed to run all over the street.\footnote{Ibid., 40:174.} Unbeknownst to the crowd, the rats enter many of the local houses and steal things. Sasuke recognizes the skills demonstrated by the ascetic to be that of the rival Iga School: the technique is a high-level skill used for military infiltration. Sasuke laughs to himself and guesses that the ascetic monk is a compatriot of Ishikawa Goemon. Sasuke tells Yuri not to fall asleep during the show because he suspects that the event is a distraction, and something bad is obviously occurring elsewhere. Yuri promises to stay alert.

As the ascetic’s form converges back, the audience applauds loudly. The ascetic’s plan is put the audience to sleep using \textit{suimin-jutsu} (slumber technique).\footnote{Term: 催眠.} Sasuke feigns sleep, but Yuri falls under the power of the incantation.\footnote{Sekka, \textit{Sarutobi-sasuke}, 40:174.}
As the monk’s body begins to vanish again, Sasuke shouts loudly to wake Yuri. The town square has become dark. Waking from his slumber, Yuri realises that he has failed to apprehend the trickster. Worse, his swords have been stolen.\footnote{Ibid., 40:175.} Sasuke is impressed with the skill of the ascetic. Thinking quickly, he begins to reason out where such a thief might hide his loot. Yuri is contrite having failed in his task of guarding against sleep. Subsequently, the two return to their lodge.

Sasuke lights a beacon to call for help. People respond, but it is of no use as the ascetic has fled. Sasuke hears a loud scream, and he surmises through his keen senses that the owner of the inn where they have been staying has been slain.\footnote{Ibid., 40:176.}

On returning to the inn the Braves discover that Yuri’s weapons have been used to commit the murder; the ascetic knew who was in the audience, and the two Sanada Braves have been implicated in the crime. Sasuke suspects that the local magistrate is corrupt, and therefore of no help to them should they appeal to him for justice. As such, Sasuke is not entirely sure of the best course of action. However, he asks Yuri to entrust him with finding a plan of escape.\footnote{Ibid., 40:176.} Examining the body of their landlord further, it is apparent that Sasuke’s short sword has also been used to carry out the killing. Yuri confirms this. Chaos ensues when the 780 servants of the inn become aware of their master’s murder.
Bonded by the false charge laid against them, Sasuke suggest that he and Yuri flee the scene, not out of cowardice, but so they can gain time to prove their innocence. However, they have the difficulty of their missing weapons.

The Braves look for their weapons along with the servants of the inn. However, the accompanying staff members begin to suspect their two guests. Surrounded, Sasuke and Yuri try to push the servants away, but are unable to do so. As an adept Sasuke has the skills to flee, however, Yuri cannot. So, Sasuke stays to protect his friend.

Unperturbed by the number surrounding them, Sasuke jumps into the middle of the group and boxes with the servants. He calls on Yuri not to draw a blade because, as heroes, the two are more skilled than their opponents. With their sleeves rolled up they each knock down several men. Sasuke and Yuri manage to push back the servant away a couple of meters, but there is no way out.

One brave fellow hits Yuri on the head with a metal pole. The Brave lets out a yelp. Yuri’s attacker receives a swift kick to the shins in return. However, the cry has drawn the attention of the local militia. Thirty senior guards arrive and call on the group to stop the fracas.
The lead guard — Masaka Kamnonosuke — asks why all the servants are lying about piled up on one another.\textsuperscript{1290}

Yuri says it is a pity that his ‘elder brother’ (Sasuke) had to stay to help. Taking the blame for the murders, Yuri remains calm. Sasuke frees himself, and he swiftly runs over the heads of the crowd in the dark:

Sasuke: Oi! Kamanosuke, what are you going to do? My running is not very fast; you know you might even catch me. I’m slow you know.

Yuri does not move.

Sasuke: Damn! If I knew that Kamanosuke was going to daydream, I would have escaped earlier.\textsuperscript{1291}

Sasuke thinks of how best to get a better look at Himeji Castle. After considering his options, Sasuke leaves town via the country road.\textsuperscript{1292}

Sasuke travels some distance. Shaking with the cold, he complains bitterly to himself about having to leave the comfort of the inn. Climbing a nearby mountain, he happens upon an earthen dwelling. Taking refuge inside the dwelling, Sasuke tries to sleep. However, the cold keeps him awake:

Sasuke: I wish I were back in the castle town, I thought the country would be better [for me] but it is so cold here.

Sasuke’s lamentations are disturbed by the approach of something outside the hut.

Four bandits talk in loud voices. They surround the building:

Head bandit: Blow me it’s cold! We’ll be all right after we get a fire going; we’ll warm up after that.

\textsuperscript{1290} Ibid., 40:178.
\textsuperscript{1291} Ibid., 40:179.
\textsuperscript{1292} Ibid.
Second bandit: Yeah, that'll be good.

The four bandits work together gathering bracken for the fire.1293

Sasuke is happy at the arrival of company, and the prospect of a warm fire.

Sasuke: Oi! You four.

The bandits laugh nervously at having been taken by surprise. Sasuke smiles back.

Sasuke: You don't look like real robbers. There is no need to be afraid. I am small. So, come on, get in here.

Nonplussed, the bandits stare at Sasuke.

Head bandit: What's a samurai doing in here? You're certainly not a townsman; you're appearance is too strange for that.

Sasuke: Ha, ha, ha, ha, ha. Well, that may be so. However, I am a human.1294

The bandits are as taken aback by Sasuke’s lack of concern at their profession as they are with his presence. Sasuke pays the four an awkward compliment for having provided him with some shelter, but urges them to get with lighting the fire. He forcefully suggests that they might do him the kindness of giving him something warm to wear.

The Head bandit argues that none of them know who Sasuke really is, which could lead to painful consequences. This being so, he reasons, they should throw him out. The most junior bandit suggests that there are four of them, more than a match for the young hero.1295 The group rise in anticipation of a battle with the intruder. Sasuke asks if they have been listening to him, but the group just laughs:

1293 Ibid., 40:180.
1294 Ibid., 40:181.
1295 Ibid., 40:182.
The Four: What [kind of] world do you think you’re living in?

Sasuke: Ha, ha, ha, ha. Now I get it! I think you should run from me, [not the other way round].

The bandits become more threatening:

The Four: Ah, you’re a playful hero aren’t you! We can’t tolerate a thing like that. You’re taking a risk with your life saying such things.

A fight erupts. The bandits grimace with the proximity of the fire. Sasuke remains calm and collected.

Sasuke beats the bandits into submission. Sasuke asks for a kimono to wear but still feels the chill. Realizing he is hungry, The Brave forces the four bandits to share their food and drink with him. He jokes that he is beginning to like them. The most junior bandit speaks humbly to Sasuke, who becomes irritated with his manner. The third bandit slyly goads Sasuke into having some alcohol after the meal before sleeping.
Sasuke behaves selfishly
- Plans of torture
- Return of the counterfeit monk
- Internal thoughts as soliloquy
- First mention of Kirigakure Saizō

Sasuke’s eyes reeled; he had eaten and drunk [his fill] leaving nothing.

Sasuke: Delicious! I am [truly] satisfied. I’ve enough layers of clothing; I’ve drunk my fill of sake; I’ve eaten enough too. I am feeling warm [again]! Somehow, with all the heat, I am feeling sleepy.

Sasuke has eaten all the food and left only a drop of alcohol for his hosts.

Sasuke: Well, there might be some sake left? Only the bones remain from the snacks, though.

Head Bandit: What do you think we are? We are not dogs or cats! [How] can you do such a thing!

The four bandits look like they are about to weep. Sasuke only vaguely pays attention.

For the first time, Sasuke takes an interest in the group as individuals. He asks which of them is the leader.

It is revealed through conversation the four are led by a man able to harness arcane magic called Kumokaze Guntôji. The bandit’s leader is presently on an errand in the castle town of Okamoto nearby, but is due to return to the camp soon.

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\(^{1296}\) Ibid., 40:184.
Connecting the group with the ascetic monk, Sasuke decides to bind the four bandits in the hut to a bench. Having tied up the men, Sasuke then lies in wait for the monk, whom he plans to torture.\footnote{Ibid., 40:185.}

Sasuke detects another presence nearby, so he hides in a nearby pine tree. From a branch, Sasuke observes the ascetic monk as he approaches the earthen hut. The monk pauses and looks about the dwelling, he speaks to himself:

Guntôji: Where are they all? They were supposed to be here! There’s a fire going [I see], I’m certain they must be about.

Sasuke leaps from the tree and catches hold of the ascetic by his belt.

Sasuke: Oi! You have the respect of the ignorant masses of the town, [but I know] you murdered the proprietor of the inn at Okamoto and have pinned the blame on others…There is no way that thou wouldst have known that I might find and wait for you here.

Guntôji: You underling! You’re the samurai from the Kojima inn!

Sasuke: The very same.\footnote{Ibid., 40:185–86.}

Sasuke goes to strike the ascetic, but the man vanishes in a puff of smoke.

Sasuke quickly picks up a stone and aiming throws it toward the top of the earthen hut. A loud yelp is heard and the ascetic reappears; stunned by the projectile he falls into the fire.\footnote{Ibid., 40:187.}

Sasuke introduces himself by his full title. Laughing hollowly the ascetic monk acknowledges Sasuke as his enemy. Sasuke sighs and wipes his brow, and tells the monk he will be taken to the town of Okamoto to confess his crimes.
Sasuke demands to know how who taught the ascetic his magical skills. The ascetic tells him it was a wandering samurai called Kirigakure Saizô. The ascetic boasts to Sasuke that he will never tell him where to find his mentor. Sasuke states that he will spare the man’s life and that of his companions as long as he capitulates. The ascetic gives in to the threat. Once the other men are freed, Sasuke and Guntôji leave in search of Saizô.
The chapter begins with the news that the ascetic Kumokaze Guntôji has reformed his character, thus, saving his life. The cause of this reformation is Sasuke.

In the company of his new convert, Sasuke arrives at the foot of Ryûten-yama (Heavenly Dragon Mountain):

Guntôji: Honourable Sarutobi, can you see that hermitage over there? It is the secret home of Kirigakure Saizô, my teacher. [I am afraid,] it is very dangerous there. Please excuse me this one thing, but I would be overjoyed if you could lead.

Sasuke: Very well, I’ll guide you.¹³⁰¹

Sasuke knocks at the door of the cabin. A noise emanates from inside. Giving the impression of being human a monkey answers the door and politely bows:

Sasuke: Oi, old man! A monkey as an agent is unusual. It somehow looks cute; [I know] I’ll comb its hair!

¹³⁰⁰ Ibid.
¹³⁰¹ Ibid., 40:189.
Sasuke suddenly grabs the monkey by the throat and throws it up in to the reaches of a nearby tree. The monkey looks ruefully back down at Sasuke, then transforms into something more human. Unsurprised Sasuke laughs: this is Iga magic.\footnote{Ibid., 40:189-90.}

Recognising his quarry, Sasuke tells Kirigakure Saizô that it was impudent of him to try and fool his visitors. Sasuke taunts the ninja, arguing that he should come down from the tree and show how skilled he really is.

Saizô accepts the challenge. He drops from the tree illustrating his violent intent by landing with a heavy thud on the ground:

\begin{quote}
Saizô: What are thou? What expectation do you have in paying [me] a visit? How did you perceive my human form through [the illusion] of the monkey? You're an unusual one aren't you? Quickly, say who you are!\footnote{Ibid., 40:190.}
\end{quote}

Sasuke laughingly retorts that Saizô’s understanding is limited. Nonetheless, the Sanada vassal introduces himself in brief (politeness is not a concern for Sasuke here). Sasuke announces that he has come to test himself against Saizô. This comment draws a dry chuckle from his Iga opponent:

\begin{quote}
Saizô: He, he, he. Seeing as you are such a great and famous ninja, I hope I meet your expectations.
\end{quote}

Saizô reminds Sasuke that both he and the gentleman-bandit Goemon (plus a host of other famed warriors) at one time were pupils of the Iga School. This ninja faction has been raising military coffers for the Tokugawa clan:
Saizô: Is not a quiet life [we lead]. Using your ninja skills [you believe]
the idea that justice and authority go together like a head and torso, it
is a terrible thing so say, but in the end this is not so.\textsuperscript{1304}

Saizô’s fearless boast enrages Sasuke, who refutes this position saying
that the Iga warrior is just repeating words of others. Sasuke believes
that Saizô will lose in the same way as those that went before him. The
Brave decides to hold nothing back in his efforts to vanquish his
enemy. Sasuke attacks and topples Saizô:

\begin{quote}
Sasuke: How do you like that! At last, will you reform? Or will you
speak otherwise? If you do [not change], you are asking me to kill you.
If you follow the way of evil, everyone suffers, for that path is one and
the same. What say you?
\end{quote}

The narration notes that at his core of being Saizô is not evil, just
jaded.\textsuperscript{1305} In a state of dejection, Saizô explains how he came to be. The
ninja was born to a high-ranking member of the House of Ashinake. In
a desire to restore the clan to its former glory, the Ashinake turned to
the secret arts.

By chance the Ashinake met with a ninja of the Iga faction, who taught
privileged members of the noble house about magic, giving them the
skills needed to assert their power once again. However, the House of
Ashinake gave way to immorality. Seeking national power, the
Ashinake feigned an allegiance with the Toyotomi clan; all the while
the clan toiled in secret to secure its own destiny. Unbeknownst to all,
the House of Ashinake continued to obtain military funding for their
own projects whilst waiting for a suitable time to act.\textsuperscript{1306}

Having listened to the tale, Sasuke tells Saizô that the task to unite the
country will not be an easy thing whilst armed forces use military

\begin{footnotes}
\item[1304] Ibid.
\item[1305] Ibid., 40:191.
\item[1306] Ibid., 40:192.
\end{footnotes}
strength against one another. He expresses the long-held desire [of the Sanada clan] for peace, ‘not to have troops chasing around constantly’. Sasuke appeals to Saizô; he asks the Iga warrior to join the Sanada cause. Sasuke explains that Saizô will be acknowledged as an equal (he will have the same rank as a Brave). Moreover, the ninja will be permitted to travel with Sasuke and Yuri on their journey around the regions. ¹³⁰⁷

Despite his cynicism Saizô begins to hold the same vision of his future as Sasuke. Having never encountered such a situation, Saizô is uncertain of how best to respond but pledges himself to the Sanada household. Sasuke is overjoyed. Narration states that that even Goemon will one day be converted to the Sanada brotherhood.

The two ninja celebrate by eating and drinking together. The ascetic Guntôji asks if he may join the party. Saizô tells the monk not to be so stupid, as the monk ignored Saizô’s instructions to conduct himself with honour. Moreover, he must pay for having framed Yuri for the murder of the innkeeper. ¹³⁰⁸

Guntôji asks if there is any other way that he can be excused for his crime? Saizô comprehends that he has been given another chance in life: he asks ‘Lord Sasuke’ for advice. Sasuke suggests that they all return to Okamoto to aid Yuri. The three destroy the secret hermitage and depart.

¹³⁰⁷Ibid., 40:193.
¹³⁰⁸Ibid.
Saizô meets with Yuri
Sasuke begs a favour
Sasuke uses flattery
Sasuke ignores the rules
Guntôji saves everyone with his confession

Having considered the opinion of Sarutobi Sasuke – that amongst people, the names of the great are for generations – Kirigakure Saizô become bound to the fortunes of his brother.\(^{1309}\)

Sasuke, Guntôji, and Saizô arrive at the castle town of Okamoto to rescue Yuri Kamanosuke. Their first port of call is the inn where the owner was slain by Guntôji. Sasuke speaks with the head servant; he gives a full account of what has transpired. Sasuke then collects his clothes and the swords that were left behind in the escape.

Sasuke tells Saizô that he must wait at the lodge whilst he goes to infiltrate the castle and find his friend. Wishing to perform a great deed and prove his loyalty, Saizô begs to go in the stead of his ‘brother’. He also wants to meet Yuri. Sasuke concedes.\(^{1310}\)

Saizô accesses Himeji Castle via the back gate. Using magical skills to hide his form, he passes through various rooms searching for Yuri.

Yuri has been waiting patiently for Sasuke to come and find him. The captive daimyô is not surprised by the arrival of Saizô; he guesses there is a connection between his rescuer and Sasuke. Saizo introduces himself. Yuri is relieved. The captive lord then proceeds to complain: he has not been able to drink his favourite saké; he has been treated

\(^{1309}\) Ibid., 40:194.
\(^{1310}\) Ibid., 40:195.
like a grub; he has been verbally abused and scolded with profane language.

Saizô speaks to Yuri of his salvation.

Because it is day the Saizô cannot free Yuri without attracting attention. The ninja reasons it is better to relay a message to their leader Sasuke; together they will devise a suitable plan to free their compatriot. Saizô asks who has mistreated Yuri: he is given the name of a lord of the House of Ukida, Hanabusa Sasuke. The ninja leaves and returns to the inn at Okamoto.\textsuperscript{1311}

Sasuke is concerned that Yuri has no idea how to break out of his cell. As he considers his next course of action, he jokes that perhaps Yuri cannot think logically without a drink. Sasuke considers abducting Yuri’s gaoler instead.

Back at the inn, the two Sanada ninja confer further. They decide to contact the Ukita general Satô Shingorô Harutane for support. Satô is an advisor to the head of the clan Prince Hide’ie (1573-1655).\textsuperscript{1312} Sasuke and Saizo believe that they might receive a more favourable outcome if they can persuade the political giant to aid them.

Later that day the Braves gain an audience with Prince Hide’ie. Prostrating themselves on the floor before the lord and his advisor they make their case for Yuri to be released:

\begin{quote}
Shingorô: There are two [samurai] here – full of fear – who wish to be of service to your Lordship.

Prince Hide’ie: Very well, let them approach.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{1311} Ibid., 40:196.
\textsuperscript{1312} 宇喜多秀家(1573-1655).
Sasuke: I am your servant Sarutobi Sasuke; I am most humbly delighted to be admitted to your presence.

Saizô: In your presence is Kirigakure Saizô.

Prince Hide’ie: You are both heroes [it seems]; Sasuke your skills have made you known [to me]. Well, during this interview will you not show me your talents?

Sasuke’s manner toward the prince changes, he becomes more intimate.

Sasuke: I [can tell you that someone has already] used such skills to enter a certain castle. They spoke with the Honourable Yuri Kamanosuke Harufusa, who having committed sins against your lordship is being held captive here. This being so, I just wanted to acquaint you with this information.\footnote{Sekka, \textit{Sarutobi-sasuke}, 40:197.}

Giving little away from his expression the prince lets Sasuke know that he has heard something of the matter already from his general Satô Shingorô. Certain matters are clear to him, others less so. The prince quizzes Sasuke for more information.

Sasuke becomes aware that his life may be in jeopardy. The Sanada vassal admits he was nervous about informing Hide’ie about what had happened. Nevertheless, he was involved, though indirectly because the infiltrator was another vassal from the House of Sanada (Saizô). Sasuke states that the gaoler Hanabusa Sasuke was not aware of this action. Sasuke explains that a lack of evidence saw his friend subjugated and thrown in jail. Using flattery, Sasuke acknowledges that it is rude of him to ask for an appeal. He states:

Sasuke: It would not be out of order if one had the strength to [look at the case] again.

Hanabusa Sasuke arrives and is outraged at the charges laid against him of torturing Yuri. Comparing the Braves to ‘squawking crows’, the
short-tempered officer openly accuses the Sanada ninja of further deceit. Saizô takes great offense.\footnote{Ibid., 40:199.}

Hanabusa challenges both Sasuke and Saizô to a fight. Saizô agrees to go first with Sasuke acting as his second. During the engagements, Sasuke shouts abuse; he encourages Saizô to dismember his challenger.

Having had little experience of combat (or rude language) Prince Hide’ie condemns the behaviour of the fighting men. Subsequently, attending guards separate Saizô and Hanabusa. Impassioned Sasuke cries out:

Sasuke: Hanabusa! You may have survived Saizô’s attacks, but you won’t mine!\footnote{Ibid., 40:200.}

Sasuke and Hanabusa agree to fight. Sasuke warns Hanabusa that if he loses, so does his lord and master.

At the last moment Guntôji intervenes, he falls prostrate before the prince so as to confess. In admiration of this show of loyalty, Sasuke commands Guntôji not to say anything lest he incriminate himself. However, Guntôji has indeed reformed his character, and so wishes to unburden his sins.
Yuri gets another chance at honour
A prince apologises (class reversal)
Saizô demonstrates his skills

Guntôji: (To Hanabusa) If it pleases your grace, the only person you can say that murdered of the owner of the Kojima Inn was [me], Kumokaze Guntôji. Sarutobi Sasuke exposed my craft, which out of desperation drove me such actions. Yuri Kamanosuke has committed no such sin. Therefore, if you can, make me your servant.¹³¹⁶

Despite having acting so rashly, Sasuke still feels that Hanabusa should answer for his rudeness. Sasuke laughs and tells Guntôji that he is resorting to desperate measures. Still irate, Saizô intercedes:

Saizô: Oi, Hanabusa, you share your name with the House of Ukida. What do these words mean? For the time being [only] we are ninja. You think that Yuri Kamanosuke entered this castle to steal from you? As you know there is nothing to support this. On the other hand, we are also vassals for the House of Sanada. As such, our masters’ faces have been smeared with mud. We came to find the murderer of the innkeeper, speak to his family if you doubt us; call them here. I beg of you, investigate this.¹³¹⁷

Prince Hide’ie gives a nod to his officials to summon the owners of the Kojima Inn; the family confirms that they now believe that Guntôji was the murderer. Hide’ie gives a command for Yuri to be fetched personally by Hanabusa. This draws complaints from the gaoler, but he complies nevertheless.

Yuri is admitted to the great hall. Immediately he thanks his ‘precious brother’ Sasuke for returning to aid him. The daimyô also boasts to his

¹³¹⁶ Ibid., 40:201.
¹³¹⁷ Ibid., 40:202.
friends that he gave no ground to the House of Ukita during his torture.\textsuperscript{1318}

Sasuke flanks Hanabusa, abusing him for having doubted their innocence. The lord sullenly retires from the hall. The prince in halting language asks for forgiveness:

\begin{quote}
Hide’ie: Well, I too am complicit…the fault of a vassal is also the fault of the lord. Please excuse me on this occasion.
\end{quote}

The lord bowed his head. Convinced [of the prince’s sincerity] Sasuke made a reply.

\begin{quote}
Sasuke: Well, there is no need for a formal apology or to say anything [more]; [the release of Yuri] is enough.\textsuperscript{1319}
\end{quote}

Yuri, however, is not convinced. He asks for retribution as a victim of torture. Sasuke feels compelled to notify the prince of Yuri’s demand for satisfaction.

The prince recalls Hanabusa to face his challenger in a duel:

\begin{quote}
Sasuke: Ha, so now you understand [Hanabusa]. To die without an apology is loathsome. Let’s have a match and compare skills. But if you lose can you bear their whistles?\textsuperscript{1320}
\end{quote}

Yuri takes a lance, and Hanabusa a \textit{bokken} (wooden sword).\textsuperscript{1321} They repair to the garden of a nearby Buddhist temple to duel. Both warriors have their honour to defend.

During the fight, Hanabusa lunges, parries, blocks, screams, and sweats with effort. The veteran soldier notes that Yuri is a tough and perceptive opponent and admits that he cannot best the calm and

\begin{footnotes}
\item[1318] Ibid., 40:203.
\item[1319] Ibid.
\item[1320] Ibid., 40:204.
\item[1321] Term: 木剣.
\end{footnotes}
collected Sanada Brave. All present are satisfied that suitable recompense to Yuri’s honour has been made. Subsequently, the prince praises Yuri for his efforts, stating that he has improved since his last duel. He is a formidable foe.\textsuperscript{1322}

On returning to the great hall, Sasuke is called upon to demonstrate some of his special powers. Ever protective of his secrets, Sasuke replies in reverential terms that Saizô will demonstrate some of his skills from the Iga School. Immediately Saizô states that he will not allow his methods to be subject to a detailed observation. Sasuke glares at Saizô. Comprehending the Sanada hierarchy, the ninja yields to his brother-in-arms.

Standing apart from the onlookers Saizô vanishes, his body consumed by fire. Reappearing as a mouse, Saizô runs about the hall. The ninja transforms once again, shrinking in size to the point of being virtually invisible to the naked eye. Hanabusa reacts when something flies into his nose, then his ear (which hurts him). He turns bright red claiming that Saizô’s demonstration is making a mockery of the Ukita clan.\textsuperscript{1323}

\textsuperscript{1322} Sekka, Sarutobi-sasuke, 40:205.
\textsuperscript{1323} Ibid., 40:207.
Saizō leaves the castle taking with him the hair (possibly scalps) of four guards he encountered. He laughs and jokes to himself that within ten days they could turn the entire castle inhabitants into priests.

Yuri asks to go on the next mission. Saizō tells him not to say stupid things; Yuri is not clad properly. The three Braves laugh.

Over the course of a week, with Saizō leading the way, the Braves shave the heads of sixty-seven people.\(^{1324}\)

Rumours circulate amongst the Môri that ghastly apparitions haunt the castle claiming the hair of whomsoever they find. Young men are especially uneasy at the news; hoping to avoid being scalped by ghosts they keep their helmets on.

The general of the keep Môri Terumoto (1153-1655)\(^{1325}\) is perplexed. His line is descended from the Prince Ōedaizen Hiromoto (1148-1225),\(^{1326}\) a court noble from the time of the Kamakura Bakufu. Terumoto bemoans the state of affairs in the country; there is no good news; his young vassals are ever boastful, they demand larger estates; the list goes on.\(^{1327}\)

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\(^{1324}\) Ibid., 40:213.

\(^{1325}\) 毛利輝元 (1153-1655).

\(^{1326}\) 大江広元 (1148-1225).

\(^{1327}\) Sekka, Sarutobi-sasuke, 40:214.
Reports arrive concerning monsters stalking the castle. An advisor beseeches Terumoto to verify the matter himself. Terumoto reacts by saying that his reputation would be damaged if he were to investigate; it would only give credence to stories.

Terumoto’s wife shares a number of the stories she has heard from the servants: just as people begin to fall asleep they hear a strange noise (‘kokori-kokori’), suddenly their hair is missing. The lady tells her husband that over one hundred people have been directly affected. Those that have not gone bald are sick with worry.1328

Terumoto summons his most renowned warriors from within the House of Môri: Inoue Gorobei (dates unknown)1329 and Matsuda Etsuchû no Kami. Terumoto wishes to put an end to the situation before any lords from neighbouring countries find out. The Môri lords consult and it is decided that Gorobei will stand guard in the quarters of the mansion where the incidents have occurred.1330

Inoue: I’ll not be the one to run away tonight. [Whatever it is], it’s supposed to appear about now. Let it come and face me. I have no peer in hand-to-hand combat.

Saizô overhears Inoue talking and notes his name.

Saizô: Hey, Sarutobi. Something amazing happened tonight.

Sasuke: What?

Saizô: [There was] one of the great heroes from the House of Môri, Inoue Gorobei!

Sasuke: Hmmm, at last. I wonder what changes are taking place in the castle. To take the hair of Inoue Gorobei would be a regrettable [thing to do] Saizô. It’s okay to avoid going tonight.

1329 井上五郎兵衛 (dates unknown).
Yuri: Um, Sasuke. Don’t you think that’s a weak thing to say? It’s interesting that this opponent is a hero. Let Saizô care about that.\footnote{Ibid.}

Saizô interrupts and explains the political consequences of attacking Inoue.\footnote{Ibid., 40:216.} At this time, we learn of the fate of Ishikawa Goemon (the ninja that Sasuke met earlier). Saizô tells Yuri how Goemon was caught stealing at Fushimi-momoya Castle. For his crime the thief was boiled alive in a vat of oil with his young son. Yuri heeds the warning, but says to not go would be an act of cowardice. Sasuke reconsiders and agrees to send Saizô to make an example of Inoue, with the provision that the legendary hero is not executed.\footnote{Ibid.}

Saizô steals back in to the Môri fort and finds Inoue on night watch. Inoue is about to fall asleep, however, he manages to rouse himself. Saizô notes that the lord has large eyes, which means he may be seen. The ninja decides to hide Inoue’s sword as a distraction. However, Inoue has his hands firmly on his pair of blades, making the task impossible. Saizô decides to take a nap and moves to a wall opposite. He conceals himself using a magic nine-syllable incantation. Inoue is aware of a disturbance; he repeats his vows not to fall sleep:

\textit{Saizô: [Fighting his own sleep] He is very much a hero.}

Saizô in mouse form circles Inoue’s feet, scurries up his back, and climbs onto his shoulders. Inoue brushes the mouse off and kicks it across the room. Saizô returns to his human form, causing Inoue to shout out:
Inoue: Ha, you thought you’d swindle me? I knew that you were no ordinary rat.\textsuperscript{1334}

Inoue vows to catch Saizô, who now realizes that he is in trouble. The warriors clash briefly. Saizô flees, taking refuge above one of the great door beams for safety:

\begin{displayquote}
Inoue: It’s amazing how foxes can take the form of humans. Do you think you’ll get away?\textsuperscript{1335}
\end{displayquote}

Saizô’s form flickers, making his position difficult to see. Inoue focuses his eyes. Saizô returns to his human form, gives a kick to Inoue’s shoulder, and then vanishes. Inoue regains his balance, only to find one of his swords has been taken.\textsuperscript{1336}

Inoue believes the intruder to be an animal spirit masquerading as a human. He decides to consult with Gosaburô, another noble also charged with capturing the interlopers.

Gosaburô praises Inoue for not having lost his hair in the fight. He decides that he will keep watch with Inoue the following evening.\textsuperscript{1337}

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{1334} Ibid., 40:217.
\textsuperscript{1335} Ibid., 40:218.
\textsuperscript{1336} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{1337} Ibid., 40:219.
\end{footnotesize}
Saizō escapes

Sasuke leaves a note (graffiti)

Yuri complains about the skill of his friends

Yuri finds a girl on the marsh

Saizō: That was painful. In the end I lost.

Sasuke: Oh, Saizō. What happened?

Saizō: I had to crawl to get out [of there] and escape back here.

Yuri: Ha, ha, ha, ha! So it's a risky place. However, [it's good] you weren't ignored.

Sasuke: Ha, ha, ha. Hence, I should go; my skills may find an opening with our opponent. I'll get in there and give [them] a surprise. 1338

Sasuke creeps back in to Mōri Castle via the small guards entrance. Inoue is again waiting on guard. Sasuke appraises the situation:

Sasuke: Ah, he's here. He's going to wilfully keep his eyes open all night till they fall out.

Sasuke has brought a free standing easel, a pen, and some very thick black ink. Sasuke paints a rose, underneath it he writes:

‘Sarutobi Sasuke Yukiyoshi, Yuri Kamanosuke Harufusa, and Kirigakure Saizō vassals of the House of Sanada in Shinshū province from Ueda Castle were here.’

Sasuke: Ha, ha, ha. Good! That'll shock them.

Sasuke leaves the sign for Inoue to see and leaves the castle, he then returns to the inn.

Sasuke: Right, well, that done, we should get going. 1339

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1338 Ibid.
1339 Ibid., 40.220.
Saizô: When that guy Gosaburô finds out, he’s going to turn bright red with anger, that’s for certain.\(^{1340}\)

That night the Braves leave the castle town.

Gosaburô, a commander at Môri Castle, finds the sign left by Sasuke. Astounded at the audacity of the intruder, Gosaburô wonders how and when the intruder gained access to the fortress. He reports the news of this to Inoue:

\[\text{Inoue: Look the ink has not yet dried on the sign. The previous attacker from the nights before must have also been from the Sanada clan. They were using ninjutsu}^{1341}\]

It is the middle of the night. Gosaburô goes directly from his meeting with Inoue to inform General Terumoto of what has occurred. The general is angry; however, nothing can be done. No one has been killed, and nothing of value — other than the hair and personal dignity of a number of the Môri warriors — has been damaged. To avoid embarrassment, the clan decide to keep quiet.

Sasuke, Yuri, and Saizô stop at an inn on their way out of the region. Sasuke puts forth the plan that they all travel at night. However, that the plan will not allow for stoppages to drink alcohol. Saizô dryly suggests drinking whilst travelling.\(^{1342}\) He would prefer to stay at an inn. Yuri also would rather have things to look at, meaning women. He argues that he would feel bored and lonely without proper respite:

\[\text{Yuri: It’s all right for you, ya’ bastard. Both you and our brother can see in the dark like cats and dogs can, your eyes light up, and so you have assistance. I can’t do any of that!}\]

\(^{1340}\) Ibid.
\(^{1341}\) Ibid., 40:221.
\(^{1342}\) Ibid., 40:222.
Saizō: Hah, you’re starting to complain again.1343

For safety, the three keep moving as they talk.

The Braves soon arrive at the Plains of Rôrô. The landscape is desolate, covered with thick grasses. Insects dart about in clusters. The vista leaves a frightening impression on the travellers.

The Braves care little for the place. They trample the grasslands, clearing a path. Suddenly there is a loud shriek:

Girl: Ah! I beg you, please help!

Yuri who is leading the group speaks first.

Yuri: Where is the woman’s call coming from?

Sasuke: Hmm. It has got to be the deed of a night thief. Right, let’s go!

The Braves rush towards the sound of the voice, but it changes from east to west with no focus.

Sasuke: It’s no use, the wind is moving the sound, I don’t know where it’s coming from.1344

Sasuke splits the team with each warrior taking an opposite direction to the other in search of the woman in distress.

Yuri sees something like a lamp flickering nearby. He finds a pond. Moonlight reflects off the water. At the edge of the water is a hall built from earth. Two silhouettes fight before it:

Yuri observes that the man has his arms wrapped around the woman.

Yuri: Hmm. He’s a fat guy.

Spirited thus, Yuri storms over to give aid.

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1343 Ibid.
1344 Ibid.
Yuri gives a shout. The man spins around. Yuri levels a blow that catches his shoulder. Angry, the man states that he needs no permission to act from a stranger; he then calls Yuri a ‘bastard’.  

The man quickly circles Yuri; he lunges forward to deliver a shoulder barge that knocks the Brave over. Yuri strikes back with his left hand (his strongest), but fails to make contact with his opponent. He manages to keep his balance, however. It is obvious that his opponent has received military training:

Yuri: With that kind of push you must be a warrior. So, to take a woman is all the more worse [from a noble like you.] What causes you to do such a thing!

Once again, the Yuri flies at the man. As he draws his sword, the unknown assailant states that it would take two good men to best him.

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Ibid., 40:224.
In front of the hall, under the moonlight Yuri fights hard against his opponent. Worried and fearful, the damsel moves around to avoid the entangled pair. Neither knight yields to the other; they clash blades over thirty times until the unknown opponent becomes agitated:

Unknown warrior: Yah! You’re a strong bastard. You’ve become an annoyance to me. A hand-to-hand fight will decide this.

The unknown warrior casts his sword aside. Yuri does likewise.

Yuri: Bastard! You’ll not tear my clothes. Right, come on then!

The two trade further blows, whilst shouting at one another. The noise attracts the attention of Saizō, who knocks both fighters down to the ground. Yuri carries on regardless, working away skilfully at subduing the unknown warrior. Saizō offers to take Yuri’s place but the ex-bandit tells him to wait and not interfere. Nevertheless, Yuri soon begins to tire. As he struggles, he asks Saizō for help:

Saizō: Ha, ha, ha, ha, ha! Isn’t that harsh, two against one?

Yuri: Uh? I [can’t believe] that you’d say such a thing! In this case, you’re [the one] who caught me off-guard. It’s dangerous!
Saizô: Ha, ha, ha. Well, even if you weren’t caught off guard, it’s still the same thing. Hmm, I guess it’s okay [under the circumstances].1348

Keeping the other unknown warrior on the floor, Saizô separates the fighting pair. The unknown warrior complains about Saizô’s intervention; it breaks all formal conventions of fighting. He accuses the two Braves of cowardice. Saizô admits that the man is very strong and he too struggles to control the fight.

Sasuke arrives, he laughs at the scene before him:

Sasuke: Oi! Yuri, Kirigakure, that’s enough, he’s an ally of mine. Don’t hit a kindred spirit like that.

Everyone stops and does a double take looking at Sasuke, whose words are unexpected.

Unknown warrior: You, Bastard! If it isn’t Sarutobi Sasuke!

Sasuke: Long time no see Anayama Iwachiyo!

Upon hearing the name Yuri and Saizô leap off the challenger.

Yuri: What? You mean this is the Anayama Iwachiyo?

Sasuke: Yep, this is the seventh Brave of the Sanada clan, the one and only.

Yuri: Well, if that’s the case you should have said something!1349

Anayama berates Sasuke for the company he keeps; Yuri and Saizô are ill mannered and do not have good characters. Sasuke introduces his two friends as brothers; he defends their behaviour whilst scolding Anayama for his. Sasuke tells Anayama that an attack on a woman is a smear on the Sanada clan. Sasuke then demands to know why the woman was calling for help.

1349 Ibid., 40:226.
Anayama begins to tell the tale of how he came to be lost on the treacherous plain, when nightfall forced him to take shelter in the earthen hall. Upon her return the woman was so shocked to find a stranger dozing in her home she cried for help. In shock Anayama awoke and instinctively caught hold of the women. It was at this point that Yuri arrived. Without stopping to ascertain the full particulars the noble launched his attack. Anayama was so outraged by the implication of Yuri’s actions that he fought with him rather than stopping to explain the situation. The woman confirms that this was the case: the entire fight was over a misunderstanding.\footnote{Ibid., 40:228.}

Anayama chides the three Braves for having been so impolite, but because they are allies, he grudgingly agrees to forgive them:

\begin{quote}
Anayama: Look, you thought I was a robber who was going to force [myself on] this woman. You bastards didn’t bother to see what was going on. Had it been anyone else, I wouldn’t be so lenient. Seeing as it’s you, I shall. Be careful from here on in.\footnote{Ibid.}
\end{quote}

Yuri grumbles that they have been on a dangerous mission and not just ‘sightseeing’ (it has made him reactive). Sasuke admonishes his companion for not exercising caution. The leading Brave then asks Anayama why he is so far from the Sanada stronghold.

Anayama reveals that the House of Sanada has fallen on difficult times. Under the orders of Tokugawa Ieyasu the clan has been forced to disperse. Sasuke wants to know what their leader the Prince Awanokami Masayuki intends to do next.\footnote{Ibid.}
Anayama tells them that as vassals of Sanada Yukimura, the Braves are compelled by duty to crush their enemies.\(^{1353}\) However, at present there is no opportunity to launch a counteroffensive. Therefore, the Sanada clan must wait, secretly biding their time until a suitable opportunity arises.

As the most senior officer present, Anayama gives the other men their instructions:

Anayama: We must travel as a group from now on to Mount Kyûdo, where all the Braves will gather under Lord Sanada Yukimura.

Sasuke: What do you know of his plans?

Anayama: I don’t know much of his true thoughts. I can tell you this, worried by the rise of the Sanada clan that old badger Tokugawa Ieyasu has ordered the Lords of Sanada to lower their standards and split into factions.

[Lord Yukimura’s elder brother] – the Honourable Awa no kami Nobuyuki – has been sent as a political hostage to live under the Tokugawa [in Edo]. There he hopes to aid his kin by making supplication on their behalf.

The rest of the clan first decamped to Mount Kôya, but there were problems with the Buddhist monks working there. This precipitated the move to Mount Kyûdo. One hundred women have been forcibly displaced by the move and now camp at the foot of the mountain. Lord Yukimura has requested that his dear brothers re-join him as soon as it is possible and convenient for them to do so. It is for this reason that I came, specifically to find you sons o’ bitches and accompany you back.

Upon hearing the news the three Braves cried with regret.

Sasuke: (crying) Oh, this grief. To throw away [our] long established home of Ueda Castle and run away to [the province of] Kishû. What will become of us? If I could alter the changes occurring in this world, [I would].\(^{1354}\)

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\(^{1353}\) Ibid., 40:229.

\(^{1354}\) Ibid., 40:230.
The four men shed more tears.

The young woman speaks. She tells them that because they are vassals of the House of Sanada she will hide them. The lady has family connections to the matriarch House of Ohata (she was a former maidservant of the Princess Chiyo, one of the military wives living at the Ueda Castle). The lady introduces herself formally as Wakaba (Young leaf). The men know of her by reputation, they ask why she is alone and so far from home:

Wakaba: At the time of my lady's journey to join the Sanada clan, I had some time [to myself]. I travelled to my hometown [because] my parents had just passed away that pervious month. My brother Tôkurô was happy at our parents dying. All he thought about was selling their belongings. I would have died rather than [let] that [happen]. [However, war broke out, so] I fled here.1355

Upon hearing Wakaba’s tale the four men are deeply moved. Sasuke offers Wakaba safe passage back to Kishû, and the woman accepts. Anayama gives his consent. The group travel quickly to their new home and are reunited with their master Yukimura.

Narration tells us that Yukimura was made the master of Osaka Castle. We are told that the Winter Campaign saw matchless battles. Sasuke, however, was dispatched to the Tokugawa headquarters at Mount Chyåsu to infiltrate the enemy camp, where he would gain fame [as a spy]. Yuri Kamanosuke became a cavalryman; with allies from the House of Tôdô, he kicked his way through two thousand of the enemy’s forces. Saizô became valued in his position as a bomb maker for the Sanada clan. Thus, the novel ends:

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1355 Ibid., 40:231.
The Chronicles of Naniwa (Osaka) are well known, and so this period shall be omitted (most humbly) from [our] tale. After [the Winter Campaign], the faces of [our] heroes would abide with Prince Toyotomi [Hideyori]. Under his banner they would again endeavour, but at the last would come to their end.

THE END
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