Kyokutei Bakin's *Eight Dogs* and Chinese Vernacular Novels

by

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ABSTRACT

Kyokutei Bakin's 曲亭馬琴 (1767-1848) magnum opus *Nansō Satomi Hakkenden* 南総里見八犬伝 (The Chronicle of the Eight Dogs of the Nansō Satomi Clan; hereafter, *Eight Dogs*, 1814-42) had been long overlooked by both Japanese and Western academia. Although *Eight Dogs* has recently received more attention, most scholars still hold an oversimplified view of its relationship with Chinese vernacular novels. They believe that the large number of Chinese fictional narratives Bakin incorporated in *Eight Dogs* can be divided into two parts: *Shuihu zhuan* 水滸傳 (J. *Suikoden*; Water Margin) and everything else. This claim seems to be plausible because Bakin was indeed obsessed with *Water Margin* and he did use *Water Margin* as one of the main sources for *Eight Dogs*. However, this claim overlooks the possibility of the existence of other Chinese sources which also strongly influenced the composition of *Eight Dogs*. This research aims to investigate this possiblity of other important Chinese sources and Bakin's motive and purpose in basing *Eight Dogs* on Chinese vernacular novels.

In order to discuss Bakin's use of Chinese vernacular novels in *Eight Dogs*, it is first and foremost important to identify all the crucial Chinese sources for *Eight Dogs*. Chapter One lays out *Eight Dogs*' three main story lines and its three groups of main characters, among which one story line and a group of main characters match those of *Water Margin*, and the other two pairs match those of *Sanguozhi yanyi* 三國志演義 (J. *Sangokushi engi*; Romance of the Three Kingdoms; hereafter, *Three Kingdoms*) and *Xiyou ji* 西遊記 (J. *Saiyūki*; Journey to the West). The analysis of the dissemination

processes of the three Chinese vernacular novels in China and Japan is done in Chapter Two. In addition, this chapter also discusses Bakin's extrinsic and intrinsic motivations for using the three Chinese novels as the main sources for *Eight Dogs*. Bakin did not merely imitate the Chinese novels, but reworked the writing techniques, main characters and storylines. Chapter Three explores how and why he revised/rewrote these Chinese vernacular novels in *Eight Dogs*.

The relationship between *Eight Dogs* and Chinese vernacular novels is much more complicated than that "*Eight Dogs* is a rough adaptation of *Water Margin*." Bakin based *Eight Dogs*' three main story lines and its main characters on *Water Margin*, *Three Kingdoms* and *Journey to the West*. As a commercial writer, he was confident that *Eight Dogs* would be a hit due to the popularity of the three Chinese novels in Edo Japan. Besides, as an admirer of Chinese vernacular novels and an ambitious writer, he aimed to create a work which could surpass them. Furthermore, he used the Chinese novels as a mirror to reflect his ideal world and his dissatisfaction with reality.

Preface

This thesis is an original work by Shan Ren. No part of this thesis has been previously published.

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Introduction

"Around two or three geniuses [early *yomihon* writers] secretly mixed Chinese vernacular novels with stories that happened in our great nation…"[1]

"However, none of these works are structured well enough to compete with the Chinese vernacular novels." [2]

- Kyokutei Bakin 曲亭馬琴 (1767-1848)

Yomihon 読本 (literary "books for reading") is a fiction genre that formed and flourished during the Edo period (1603-1868). Bakin, as one of the most famous *yomihon* writers, identified three features of *yomihon*: they were created in the Edo period; they were meant for entertainment; but had a generally higher literary value than other genres intended for entertainment such as picture books.[3] However, as indicated above, what

[1] Kyokutei Bakin, *Kinsei mononohon Edo sakusha burui* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 2014), 148. All translations of Japanese and Chinese texts, unless otherwise noted, are my own. "The two or three geniuses" here refer to early *yomihon* writers like Ueda Akinari 上田秋成 (1734-1809) and Tsuga Teishō 都賀庭鐘 (1718-94). Both adapted some Chinese short stories in their story collections. For instance, Akinari modeled *Jasei no in* 蛇性の淫 (A Serpent's Lust) on the Chinese story *Bainiangzi yongzhen leifengta* 白娘子永鎮雷峰塔 (Madam White Is Kept Forever Under Thunder Peak Tower). Teishō based *Eguchi no yūjo wo ikidōrite jugyoku wo shizumu hanashi* 江口の遊女薄情を憤りて珠玉を沈む話 (The Courtesan of Eguchi Sinking Her Pearls and Jades in Anger) on the Chinese story *Dushiniang nuchen baibaoxiang* 杜十娘怒沉百寶箱 (Du Shiniang Sinks Her Jewel Box in Anger). *Yomihon* first became popular in the Kyōto and Ōsaka area. During the Hōreki and Meiwa eras (1751-1772), Edo replaced them and became the center of *yomihon*.

[2] Ibid, 150. "These works" refer to not only works by early *yomihon* writers, but also some fictional works written by Edo writers.

[3] Ibid.,145-46.

distinguishes *yomihon* from other literary genres is its connection with Chinese vernacular novels. In Bakin's opinion, a good *yomihon* writer should be familiar with both Japanese and Chinese, and should be able to create his stories by combining Chinese vernacular novels with Japanese historical accounts.[4]

Nevertheless, Bakin was aware of the reality that few works could be described as good *yomihon*. In order to create a *yomihon* which could compete with the Chinese vernacular novels, Bakin combined the historical romance of the Satomi 里見 clan with a large number of Chinese vernacular novels in his *Nansō Satomi Hakkenden* 南総里見八犬伝 (The Chronicle of the Eight Dogs of the Nansō Satomi Clan; hereafter, *Eight Dogs*), a major *yomihon* in nine volumes (180 chapters)[5] written between 1814 and 1842. In this thesis, I identify three fundamental Chinese sources Bakin relied on when composing *Eight Dogs*, which are *Shuihu zhuan* 水滸傳 (J. *Suikoden*; Water Margin)[6], *Sanguozhi yanyi* 三國志演義 (J. *Sangokushi engi*; Romance of the Three Kingdoms; hereafter, *Three*

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[4] Asō Isoji, *Edo Bungaku to Chūgoku Bungaku* (Tōkyō: Sanseidō, 1955), 61.

[5] It is noteworthy that the book is longer than 180 chapters because some chapters are divided into several sub-chapters. For instance, Chapter CLXXX is subdivided into three chapter-length sections.

[6] There are two recensions of *Water Margin*: the "full recension" and the "simpler recension." Much evidence shows that the "full recension" first appeared in the sixteenth century. It is usually attributed to Luo Guanzhong 羅貫中 or Shi nai'an 施耐庵, but the authorship of both has been doubted. For more details, see Andrew H. Plaks, *The Four Masterworks of the Ming Novel* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 279-96. I will discuss the dating and authorship of the three Chinese novels in details in Chapter Two.

Kingdoms)[7] and *Xiyou ji* 西遊記 (J. *Saiyūki*; Journey to the West),[8] and explore the relationship between them and *Eight Dogs*. I hope this thesis will shed light on the use of Chinese literature in *yomihon*, a topic which to date has lacked critical attention.

The first scholar to discuss *yomihon* is, perhaps, Bakin himself. In his *Kinsei mononohon Edo sakusha burui* 近世物之本江戸作者部類 (Contemporary Stories and the Categories of Edo Authors, 1834), he not only defined the genre but also commented on nine *yomihon* writers and listed their representative works. In the twentieth century, one of the most influential works on this subject is Asō Isoji's (1896-1979) 麻生磯次 *Edo bungaku to Chūgoku bungaku* 江戸文学と中国文学 (Edo Literature And Chinese Literature, 1955), which explores the influence of Chinese ghost novels on Edo literature, the formation of *yomihon*, the influence of Chinese vernacular novels on Bakin, and the writing techniques and themes that are characteristic of *yomihon*. Asō's research methodology tends to be author-centered, focusing on how these writers adapted Chinese stories and their attitudes toward those stories, rather than on questions of readership, sociohistorical changes, and the reception of Chinese literature. He also discusses Edo

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[7] As with *Water Margin*, the dating and authorship of *Three Kingdoms* has also been disputed. The earliest existing texts of the prefaces to *Three Kingdoms* are dated 1494 and 1522, but many scholars doubt the reliability of these dates. Similarly, prevailing scholarly opinion attributes the work to Luo Guanzhong, but this is still debated. For details, see Chapter Two; also see Plaks, 361-65, and Moss Roberts, trans., *Three Kingdoms* (abridged version; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 409-13.

[8] This work was probably written in the mid-sixteenth century, possibly by Wu Cheng'en 吳承恩 (1506-82). However, like those of *Water Margin* and *Three Kingdoms*, the authorship of *Journey to the West* is disputed. For more details, see Chapter Two; also see Plaks, 183-99.

literature in general rather than *yomihon* in particular. Recently, more attention has been paid to the relationship between *yomihon* and Chinese vernacular novels. For instance, in *Kinsei kindai shōsetsu to Chūgoku hakuwa bungaku* 近世近代小説と中国白話文学 (*Early Modern Novels and Chinese Vernacular Literature*, 2004), Tokuda Takeshi 徳田武 explores not only the influence of Chinese vernacular literature on *yomihon* but also the different attitudes of the Japanese towards these novels compared to their Chinese counterparts. He believes that more work must be done to deepen our understanding of the relationship between *yomihon* and Chinese vernacular novels, and of the relationship between early modern novels and modern novels.[9] To date, western scholarship has not paid much attention to the relationship between *yomihon* and Chinese vernacular novels. *Early Modern Japanese Literature: An Anthology, 1600-1900* (2002), edited by Haruo Shirane, mentions the influence of Chinese literature on *yomihon*, but does not further the discussion because this is not the key topic of this book.

Bakin's *Eight Dogs* has also suffered from lack of critical attention for several reasons. *Yomihon* in general was criticized and dismissed as "outdated/old-fashioned" by many scholars in the Meiji period (1868-1912). As one of the most popular and famous *yomihon* works, *Eight Dogs* was similarly attacked, and such negative views strongly influenced later generations of scholars. For example, Tsubouchi Shōyō 坪内逍遥 (1859-1935) criticized *Eight Dogs* in *Shōsetsu Shinzui* 小説神髄 (*The Essence of the Novel*, 1885-86),

[9] Tokuda Takeshi, *Kinsei kindai shōsetsu to Chūgoku hakuwa bungaku* (Tōkyō: Kyūko shoin, 2004), 19.

claiming that the titular eight dog warriors are monsters embodying the eight Confucian virtues rather than real human beings. In his opinion, the fundamental problem of *Eight Dogs* is Bakin's neglect of the importance of *ninjō* 人情 (humanity). Shōyō used the novel as an example to spread his idea of *ninjō* to the readers, and he chose *Eight Dogs* as his example because of its popularity and its reputation as a typical novel.[10] As a result, it was overlooked for nearly a century, only recovering its popularity in the 1970s and 1980s, when the story of the eight dog warriors was adapted into movies, comic books, novels, games, and other media.[11]

Some studies of Bakin and *Eight Dogs* focus on his personal life and his career as a popular writer (see Mizuno and Nakamura; Takada; Tokuda). These studies have identified connections between Bakin's life and his works, especially his early life as a samurai and his later life as a commercial writer. Studies of *Eight Dogs* range from thematic appreciation to character analysis, from writing technique summarization to textual criticism (see Hattori; Kanda; Tokuda; Wang). Western scholarship also started to pay attention to Bakin and *Eight Dogs* at that time: Leon M. Zolbrod's *Takizawa Bakin* (1967) is an influential biography, and the most comprehensive analysis on *Eight Dogs* in English is perhaps Glynne Walley's *Good Dogs: Edification, Entertainment, and Kyokutei Bakin's Nanso Satomi hakkenden* (2017), which explores the balance between seriousness and

[10] Yanagita Izumi, *Shōsetsu shinzui kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Nihon Tosho Sentaa, 1990), 123-24.
[11] Kidoura Toyokazu, "Rensai Edo no asobi kekkō tanoshi ekorejaa o meguru wadai kara (2) yomutanoshimi", in *Kiboko* 31, No. 4 (2007): 18.

playfulness in *Eight Dogs*.

Although some studies of Bakin discuss the influence of Chinese literature on *Eight Dogs*, most of these focuses only on *Water Margin* and pay little attention to other Chinese vernacular novels. Although the popularity of *Water Margin* in the Edo period is undeniable, it is an oversimplification to regard it as the only or most important source for Bakin's *Eight Dogs*. A full discussion of the main Chinese sources Bakin relied on when composing *Eight Dogs* will be found in Chapter One. While *Water Margin* is the most obvious Chinese source for *Eight Dogs*, Bakin relied on many other sources, especially *Three Kingdoms* and *Journey to the West*. Traces of these books can be found throughout *Eight Dogs*, particularly in the story structure and main characters.

The second chapter discusses why Bakin used *Water Margin*, *Three Kingdoms* and *Journey to the West* as the main sources for *Eight Dogs*. It explores the sociohistorical environment that influenced the popularity of the three Chinese vernacular novels in the Edo period, including the expansion of the population, increases in literacy, the acceptance of Neo-Confucianism, the popularity of vernacular Chinese learning, and early Japanese adaptations of these novels in different media. Bakin's intrinsic motivations for creating *Eight Dogs* include his desire to reenter the samurai class, his pride as an intellectual, and his ambition to create a work equal to the three Chinese vernacular novels. Dissatisfied with his early life as a samurai and his later life as a townsman, Bakin used these three Chinese novels to create an ideal world for samurai in *Eight Dogs*. Disliking his identity as a commercial writer of popular literature, Bakin emphasized his status as an intellectual

by comparing himself to the great writers of Chinese vernacular novels. Furthermore, his admiration for and dissatisfaction with the three vernacular novels motivated him to create a work that he thought would be as good as or even superior to them.

Bakin admired these three novels, yet was often dissatisfied with them. He used them as tools to deal with his unsatisfactory everyday life, avoid government censorship, illustrate his understanding of samurai, and express his opinions on society. Chapter Three explores his adaptation and reworking of the three Chinese novels in *Eight Dogs* and the reasons for his decisions. Bakin's didacticism stemmed from Chinese vernacular novels, but his was stricter and more serious than that of his sources, reflecting his dissatisfaction with the Chinese novels and his desire to "correct" them by revising them in *Eight Dogs*. Furthermore, his didacticism of "encouraging good and chastising evil" was necessary to support the structure of his samurai utopia, and his understanding of *shi* 士 (another name for samurai) is different from the *shi* in Chinese vernacular novels. Comparing two similar episodes in *Eight Dogs* and *Three Kingdoms* demonstrates that the Chinese vernacular novels are vessels for Bakin to convey the shape of the story. In fact, his imitation of these novels is a disguise for his real intention: describing his understanding of samurai and criticizing contemporary Japanese society.

Examining Bakin's use of Chinese sources in *Eight Dogs* helps to dispel the misconception that *Eight Dogs* is merely a rough adaptation of *Water Margin*. The process of adaptation is much more complicated than such a simplistic reading suggests: in addition to the writer's taste, interest, and experience, the process is also influenced by the

sociohistorical background, readership, printing technology, and political environment in which the work is created. Bakin used his Chinese sources not as models for admiring imitations, but as mirrors to reflect Japanese realities.

Yomihon can be appreciated from many alternative perspectives, such as the use of Japanese classics and its relationship with other popular genres. Still, as long as *Eight Dogs* is read solely from the oversimplified perspective of its relationship with Chinese vernacular novels, a full understanding of the genre will not be achieved. My intention for this project is to provide a window into Japanese literary interaction with Chinese literature in the early modern period, allowing contemporary readers to appreciate this hitherto somewhat distorted history.

Chapter I *Eight Dogs*: A Japanese Adaptation of Chinese Vernacular Novels

1. Is *Eight Dogs* an Adaptation of *Water Margin*?

Many scholars and readers who are interested in *yomihon* know that *Eight Dogs* is a rough adaptation of *Water Margin*. For instance, in *Edo literature and Chinese literature*, Asō claims that the far-reaching influence of *Water Margin* on Bakin can be seen in many of Bakin's works including *Eight Dogs*, *Kaikan kyōki kyōkyakuden* 開巻驚奇侠客伝 (The Extraordinary Legend of the Swordsmen, 1832), and *Chinsetsu Yumiharizuki* 椿説弓張月 (Strange Tales of the Crescent Moon, 1807-11).[12] He also refers to other sources Bakin used in *Eight Dogs*, including *Three Kingdoms*, *Fengshen zhuan* 封神傳 (J. *Fūjinden*; Creation of the Gods),[13] and *Journey to the West* among others, but does not discuss them in detail.[14] Other scholars, including Mizuno Minoru 水野稔 (1911-97), Nakamura Yukihiko 中村幸彦 (1911-98), Tokuda Takeshi, and Kanda Masayuki 神田正行 similarly agree that *Water Margin* is Bakin's most important and most frequently cited source for *Eight Dogs*, though the influence of *Three Kingdoms* and *Journey to the West* are occasionally noticeable, and Bakin also borrowed stories from many other Chinese books.[15]

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[12] Asō, *Edo bungaku*, 144, 191-205.

[13] This work dates from the late sixteenth century or early seventeenth century, and its authorship is disputed, with Xu Zhonglin 許仲琳 (?-?) and Lu Xixing 陸西星 (1520-1606) the most likely candidates. For more details, see *Creation of the Gods*, translated by Gu Zhizhong (Beijing: New World Press, 2000), 32-35.

[14] Asō, *Edo bungaku*, 206-16.

[15] For instance, Mizuno Minoru compared *Eight Dogs* to the Japanese version of *Water*

Western scholars have similar opinions on this issue. In the sixth chapter of his biography, *Takizawa Bakin*, Leon M. Zolbrod notes, "In terms of structure, however, Bakin owes a special debt to *Water Margin*,"[16] and lists several examples of the structural similarity between both works. He also refers to Bakin's adaptation of episodes from *Three Kingdoms* in *Eight Dogs*, but does not include other sources because he devotes only two pages to this topic. In *Good Dogs: Edification, Entertainment, and Kyokutei Bakin's Nanso Satomi hakkenden*, Walley claims that "the sources on which Bakin drew in writing *Hakkenden* [*Eight Dogs*] can be broken into two broad categories: *Shuihu zhuan* [*Water Margin*] and everything else."[17] Like Zolbrod, Walley believes that Bakin was strongly obsessed with *Water Margin*, but unlike Zolbrod, he argues that Bakin made many changes when adapting episodes from *Water Margin* in order to increase the playfulness of the book and to support his didactic ideal.[18]

I agree that *Water Margin* strongly influenced Bakin's *yomihon* composition, but it is dangerous to regard *Eight Dogs* as merely a rough adaptation of *Water Margin* because this claim neglects the possibility of the existence of other important Chinese sources and

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Margin in *Akinari Bakin* (Tokyō: Kadokawa Shoten, 1993), 195. Tokuda Takeshi argues that Bakin was strongly inspired by *Water Margin*, and in his discussion of the outline of *Eight Dogs* he refers several times to the influence of *Water Margin*. See Tokuda Takeshi, *Takizawa Bakin* (Tokyo: Shinchosha, 1991), 50-68. Kanda Masayuki also confirmed the influence of *Water Margin* on Bakin, and Bakin's complicated attitude toward *Water Margin*, in his essay "*Suikoden no shohon to Bakin*," in *Fukkōsuru Hakkenden*, edited by Suo Haruo and Takada Mamoru (Tokyō: Bensei Shuppan, 2008), 249-85.

[16] Leon M. Zolbrod, *Takizawa Bakin* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1967), 115.

[17] Glynne Walley, *Good Dogs: Edification, Entertainment, and Kyokutei Bakin's* Nanso Satomi hakkenden (New York: Cornell University East Asia Program, 2017), 106.

[18] Ibid., 117.

oversimplifies Bakin's writing process. It is true that *Water Margin* is the most obvious source Bakin used for *Eight Dogs*, and that identifying all the Chinese sources he used is difficult. However, such evidence is not sufficient to lead us to the conclusion that the Chinese sources Bakin used should be divided into *Water Margin* and everything else. Even Bakin himself clarified in his commentary on *Eight Dogs* that, although many readers know that he had modeled *Eight Dogs* partially on *Water Margin*, these readers did not know that his intention had diverged from *Water Margin* from the beginning.[19] I speculate that Bakin wrote this when the story was close to its ending to remind his readers of the existence of other important sources that they failed to identify. Because Bakin was fond of the idea of *inbi* 隠微 (subtlety, hidden intent)[20], he did not provide his readers directly with the names of the other important sources, but instead informed them of the possibility of other Chinese sources in hopes that someone in the future could identify these unnamed sources by themselves.[21] Although this is an inviting challenge for a reader, it is necessary to choose an approach to the study of Bakin's Chinese sources carefully. One possible approach is to identify every source by close reading, but this approach is not practical because, as many scholars have noted, Bakin relied on a great number of sources, both obviously and indirectly, and listing all of them would be too time-consuming. Similarly, such a large

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[19] Kyokutei Bakin, *Nansō Satomi Hakkenden* (Tōkyō: Shinchōsha, 2003), 11: 13.

[20] Translation of *inbi* cited from Walley, *Good Dogs*, 398. I will discuss Bakin's hidden intent in details in Chapter Three.

[21] In the preface to the second part of Volume IX, Bakin wrote, "*Inbi* indicates the deep meaning beyond the writer's text, [and I] wait for a *chiin* 知音 (here it means a reader who appreciates and understands Bakin's *inbi*) who can decipher it [my *inbi*] after a hundred years." See Kyokutei, 7: 16.

number of sources might distract us from our main purpose, which is to answer the questions of how and why Bakin imitated, reimagined, and challenged Chinese popular literature in *Eight Dogs*. For instance, although the identification of a possible source adds to our understanding of *Eight Dogs,* such identification could overlook the source being only a minor one.

Another approach is to use contextual external evidence to identify the influence of other Chinese vernacular novels than *Water Margin* on Bakin. This approach will be applied in Chapter Two and Three, but it is problematic to use this method to identify important Chinese sources for *Eight Dogs* here because it might mislead us to overemphasize the importance of some minor sources while overlooking the significance of some major inspirations. Therefore, I choose to stick to the text and use internal evidence from the texts themselves to find similarities between *Eight Dogs* and Chinese vernacular novels.

Due to the limited length of this project, it is unnecessary to identify every single source Bakin used, and finding criteria to help us categorize his complex use of Chinese sources is sufficient. Just as Mendeleev created the periodic table without discovering every single chemical element, I would also like to explore how Bakin used these Chinese sources in *Eight Dogs* through the analysis of the structure/patterns of *Eight Dogs* instead of enumerating all of sources.

The first method for identifying Bakin's important Chinese sources is how frequently he adapted them in *Eight Dogs*: the more frequent the references, the more important the

source. Although this method seems simple and direct, it is an effective and efficient way of screening dozens of sources, as Bakin's use of *Water Margin* and the story of Panhu 槃狐 (J. Hanko)[22] demonstrates.

Eight Dogs begins with the story of Princess Fuse 伏姫, the daughter of Satomi Yoshizane 里見義実, the ruler of Awa 安房 Province (modern Chiba Prefecture). During a time when Awa was experiencing a famine, a neighbouring province attacked, and Yoshizane could not find a solution to this crisis. When he walked in the garden, he saw his family dog Yatsufusa 八房. Yoshizane promised Yatsufusa that if he could bring back the head of the enemy's general, he would grant him Princess Fuse. The dog does return with the enemy's head, and then carries Princess Fuse to a cave in Mount To 富山. Although Yatsufusa and Princess Fuse did not have a physical relationship, Princess Fuse becomes pregnant sometime afterward. Out of embarrassment, she persuades Yatsufusa to commit suicide with her, but they are both accidentally shot by one of Yoshizane's retainers. On waking up and finding out that her father came to the mountain to see her, Princess Fuse cuts her belly to prove her chastity, revealing that she has no babies inside her, and releasing a white mist that envelops her eight rosary beads. The beads, representing the eight Confucian virtues in Bakin's view[23]—*jin* 仁 (benevolence), *gi* 義 (righteousness),

[22] Ibid., 1: 12, 226-7, 231. Bakin mentioned that this story could be found in *Wudaishi* 五代史 (History of Five Dynasties) and *Soushen ji* 搜神記 (Inquiries into the Divine). However, he seemed to have made a mistake here because the story of Panhu cannot be found in *History of Five Dynasties*, although a similar story appears in *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (Book of the Later Han). See Walley, *Good Dogs*, 128-9.

[23] This is Bakin's version. There are other lists of different numbers of Confucian virtues

rei 礼 (propriety), *chi* 智 (wisdom), *chū* 忠 (loyalty), *shin* 信 (fidelity), *kō* 孝 (filiality), and *tei* 悌 (fraternity) —fly away in eight different directions.[24]

This scene is similar to the beginning of *Water Margin*, in which Marshal Hong Xin 洪信 (J. Kō Shin) opens the sealed door of the "Hall of the Vanquished Demons" in the Temple of Holy Purity on Dragon-Tiger Mountain and releases the 108 spirits that fly away in different directions in Chapter I.[25] The similarity here is very clear. Both stories feature a person opening a closed space (in Princess Fuse's case, it is her own belly, while in Marshal Hong's case, it is a hall) to let out a mysterious power. Both episodes include other similar details: for instance, both Princess Fuse and Marshal Hong meet a boy on a cow's back, with a flute in hand, who foretells their fate.

In the Chinese preface to Volume I, Bakin informed his readers that the episode of Princess Fuse was based on another Chinese story: Gao Xin's 高辛 (J. Kōshin) giving his daughter to Panhu. He also included the original story under one of the illustrations in Volume I, and had Yoshizane refer to Gao Xin's story.[26] In order to subjugate a prince who is a threat to him, Emperor Gao Xin declared that he would give a large amount of gold, territory and his daughter to the one who could kill the general of the prince's army. His

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which circulate in other contexts.

[24] For more details about this episode, see Haruo Shirane, *Early Modern Japanese Literature: An Anthology, 1600-1900* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 896-901.

[25] For more details about this episode, see John Dent-Young and Alex Dent-Young, trans., *The Broken Seals: Part One of the Marshes of Mount Liang* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1994), 7-24.

[26] Kyokutei, 1: 12, 226-27, 231.

dog Panhu succeeded in killing the enemy and brought back his head to the emperor. Gao Xin had no other choice but to grant his daughter to Panhu. The dog carried the princess to a cave to which human beings had no access. Three years later, the princess gave birth to six sons and six daughters, who became the later *Man* 蛮 (J. *Ban*) barbarians.[27]

Both stories feature a lord offering his daughter to the one who kills an enemy, a dog who succeeds at this task, and a princess who agrees to marry him. In both, the dog and the princess live in a cave and have many children, though in the case of Princess Fuse, her pregnancy resulted from mystical means, known as *butsurui sōkan* 物類相感 (the mutual affinities between disparate classes of things).

From this single episode, it appears that the story of Princess Fuse and Yatsufusa is more of an adaptation of the story of Panhu than than *Water Margin.* However, Bakin does not mention the story of Panhu again in *Eight Dogs*, while traces of *Water Margin* are present throughout his novel. For instance, similar episodes in both works include Wu Song's 武松 (J. Bu Shō) tiger killing and Inuta Kobungo's 犬田小文吾 bear killing, Wu Song's revenge on General Zhang Mengfang 張蒙方(J. Chō Monhō) and Inusaka Keno's 犬坂毛野 revenge on Makuwari Daiki 馬加大記, and the rescue of Song Jiang 宋江 (J. Sō Kō) and the rescue of Inukawa Sōsuke 犬川荘介.[28] Therefore, it is obvious that the influence of *Water Margin* on *Eight Dogs* is much stronger than that of the story of Panhu.

[27] Walley conducts a comprehensive comparison between the story of Princess Fuse and the story of Panhu. For more details, see Walley, *Good Dogs*, 127-34.
[28] Asō has listed many similarities between *Water Margin* and *Eight Dogs* in *Edo Literature and Chinese Literature*, of which these are but a few. See Asō, *Edo bungaku*, 191-205.

The second method to categorize Bakin's Chinese sources is whether the source influences the whole story structure of *Eight Dogs*, as *Water Margin* and the story of Panhu once again demonstrate. Although the prologue of *Eight Dogs* shares similarities with both *Water Margin* and the story of Panhu, the influences of these two works on the development of Bakin's story are significantly different, as Bakin himself acknowledged in the preface of Chapter I:

> From the eighth chapter in which Horiuchi Kurōto Sadayuki 堀内蔵人貞行 found a puppy in Inukake 犬懸 village to the tenth chapter about Yoshizane's daughter Princess Fuse entering Mount To is the opening of the whole story. However, it is a complete story with its own beginning and ending. Volume II and III will tell the story of the eight [main] characters.[29]

This passage points out that the story of Princess Fuse and Yatsufusa is only the beginning of the whole story, the main bulk of which is the adventures of the eight dog warriors, who possessed the eight beads as proof of their heritage as the children of Princess Fuse and Yatsufusa. After overcoming many difficulties, these warriors finally gathered in the land of Awa and fought for their lord Satomi Yoshinari 里見義成, Yoshizane's son and Princess Fuse's younger brother. In *Water Margin*, the spirits who flew away from the temple became the hundred and eight heroes who are the main characters. They had many

[29] Kyokutei, 1: 13. Although this was Bakin's original plan, he revised the story to include more of the dog warriors' adventures when *Eight Dogs* became popular among readers.

adventures, finally gathering in Liangshanpo 梁山泊 (J. Ryōzanpaku), and later surrendered to the government and fought for the Emperor.[30] By contrast, Panhu's children were called barbarians and lived in mountains and fens. Because they are not the main characters in the story, their experiences are not fully told.

Even if a source is repeated many times in *Eight Dogs,* sources that inspired several independent episodes are not as significant as those that continuously influence the flow of the story. *Creation of the Gods* is a good case in point, as its references in *Eight Dogs* suggest. In Chapter II, Jin'yo Mitsuhide 神余光弘, lured by Tamazusa's 玉梓 charm, forgoes his duty as the Lord of Awa, while in *Creation of the Gods*, King Zhou 紂 (J. Chū) is so obsessed with the beautiful Daji 妲己 (J. Dakki) that he neglects his duty as the king. In Chapter III, Bakin used the story of Taigong Wang 太公望 (J. Taikōbō) fishing as inspiration for Yoshizane's fishing. In Chapter VI, Yoshizane occupied Takida 滝田 Castle and caught the beautiful Tamazusa; after hearing her eloquent begging for mercy, Yoshizane almost approved her request, but his retainer, Kanamari Hachirō 金碗八郎, persuaded him to kill her. Similarly, in *Creation of the Gods*, Daji begged for life after being caught by Taigong Wang. Some warlords pitied her and were willing to give her a chance to live, but Taigong Wang refused her pleading and executed her. In Chapter LV, it took three years for Keno's mother to give birth to him, an allusion to the birth of

[30] In some versions, the chapters following the amnesty were not considered part of the original text and were therefore deleted. However, Bakin believed that the novel was incomplete without the last part. The second and third chapters discuss the different versions of *Water Margin* and Bakin's attitude toward these versions.

Nezha 哪吒 (J. Nata), who was in his mother's belly for three years and six months. These examples demonstrate that although the references to *Creation of the Gods* appear many times in *Eight Dogs*, they only influenced one single episode each time, and the sum of these episodes does not change the main story's development. Although the story of Yoshizane's occupation of Awa shares similarities with *Creation of the Gods* to some extent, it is still one episode in a long story.

The last approach is to analyze whether the source influenced the depiction of the core features of the main characters, as shown in a comparison of the dog warriors with the heroes of *Water Margin*. The most notable characteristic of the dog warriors is their brotherhood and camaraderie, illustrated many times throughout the story. For instance, in Chapter XLI, when Kubungo and Inukai Genpachi 犬飼現八 learned that Sōsuke was framed for murder, they decided to risk their lives helping Inutsuka Shino 犬塚信乃 to rescue him because they were spiritual brothers, even though they had never met him. Similarly, in *Water Margin*, when Chao Gai 晁蓋 (J. Chō Gai), Wu Yong 吳用 (J. Go Yō), and others learned that Song Jiang would be executed for writing a poem against the government, they rescued him because of their faith in brotherhood.[31] The dog warriors

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[31] It is noteworthy that the meaning of brotherhood in *Eight Dogs* is slightly different from that in *Water Margin*. The dog warriors are the spiritual children of Princess Fuse; in this sense, they are real brothers. On the other hand, although the outlaw heroes in *Water Margin* are the hundred and eight spirits, their karmic connection is not structured as clearly and neatly as that of the dog warriors. The brotherhood in *Water Margin* is more like camaraderie among friends;, this is one of the many changes Bakin makes when he reworks the outlaw heroes into the dog warriors. I will explore this issue in the third chapter.

show loyalty to their lord Yoshinari, as in the final climax in which they gather in Awa and swear to protect the Satomi clan from invasion. In the final climax in *Water Margin*, Song Jiang accepts amnesty from the Emperor and he and his sworn brothers fight other rebels for the sake of the Emperor. The dog warriors possess great valour, as exemplified by Kobungo killing a bear bare-handed and Inue Shinbei 犬江親兵衛 killing a tiger on his own. Similarly, Wu Song kills a ferocious tiger, and Lu Zhishen 魯智深 (J. Ro Chishin) kills the butcher Zhen Guanxi 鎮關西 (J. Chin Kansai), who was notorious for his exploitation of Buddhist monks. These illustrations of camaraderie, loyalty, and valour provide strong evidence that *Water Margin* is an important source for Bakin. In contrast, although Princess Fuse is similar to the princess in Panhu's story to some extent, she is not the main character. By the same token, we may argue that *Creation of the Gods* cannot be considered a main source for *Eight Dogs* because Tamazusa is not the main character of the latter, despite sharing similarities with Daji.

In summary, in order to determine whether a source Bakin used in *Eight Dogs* is one of his major sources, we must consider the frequency of the source's appearance, the source's influence on the story's development, and the similarities between the main characters in the source and *Eight Dogs*. If a source meets all three criteria, we can consider it one of the major sources. Conversely, by analyzing *Eight Dogs*' story structure and main characters, we might identify some potential candidates for its major sources and validate the frequency of those sources' references in *Eight Dogs*. If they are repeated frequently, we can identify them as the main sources for *Eight Dogs*. Bakin's commentary can also be

used as indirect evidence to support and enhance the accuracy of my conclusion. The next section applies these three rules to works other than *Water Margin*.

2. Two Other Major Sources: *Three Kingdoms* and *Journey to the West*

In order to identify all the main Chinese sources Bakin used, we must question who the main characters are and what their stories are. Many will say that the main storyline is the adventures of the eight dog warriors. However, it is not the only one; Walley argues that the fundamental outline of *Eight Dogs* is the story of the rise of the Satomi clan of Awa, beginning with Yoshizane's escape to Awa and ending with Yoshinari's successful defense of Awa from the attack by its neighbour.[32] If his claim is right, then the father and son of the Satomi clan should also be considered main characters in addition to the eight dog warriors. Bakin's commentary on *Eight Dogs* identifies the number of main characters in his story:

> In this book [*Eight Dogs*], I made a good plan at the beginning. To be more specific, I . . . only kept the "eight" [from the number 108 which represents the number of the heroes in *Water Margin*] as the eight dog warriors. Besides, there are eight dog ladies, the father and son of the Satomi clan, and the monk Chudai ヽ大. They add up to nineteen main characters in this book, no more no less. It is not like *Water Margin*, which has too many, or *Journey to the West*, which has too few.[33]

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[32] Walley, *Good Dogs*, 375.
[33] Kyokutei, 7: 15-16.

Bakin's main argument in his comparison of *Eight Dogs* to *Water Margin* and *Journey to the West* is that the number of the main characters in *Eight Dogs* is more reasonable than those of the latter two works. He lists his main characters as the eight dog warriors, eight dog ladies, the father and son of the Satomi clan, and the monk Chudai. This claim is partially problematic; for example, most of the dog ladies only appeared in the ending,[34] so it might not be proper to count them as the main characters. However, they are significant because their marriage to the dog warriors represents the harmonization between *yin* 陰 and *yang* 陽, and also implies the dog warriors becoming Yoshizane's true grandsons as their karmic retribution ends.[35] Therefore, we can consider them secondary characters who complete the eight dog warriors' story.

Aside from the eight dog ladies, the rest of the characters Bakin lists are indeed main characters. The first group consists of the eight dog warriors, the second includes Yoshizane and Yoshinari, and the third is the monk Chudai. While it is clear that the eight dog warriors are modelled on the hundred and eight heroes of *Water Margin,* it is difficult to identify prototypes for the other two groups of characters. Therefore, it is possible that, if Bakin did intend to model *Eight Dogs* on Chinese narratives, he used two Chinese works other than *Water Margin* as his inspiration. The key to identifying these works lies once again in the

[34] There is one exception. Princess Hamaji 浜路, one of the dog ladies, appeared several times in the story. For instance, she played an important role in the story of Hikita Motofuji 蟇田素藤. The other seven ladies only appeared in the ending.

[35] The dog warriors' peony-shaped birthmarks gradually become lighter after the warriors' marriage to the dog ladies, and disappear after several years. This implies the end of their karmic retribution as the descendants of a dog, and their new lives as the grandsons (in-law) of Yoshizane and the retainers of Yoshinari.

questions of who they are and what their stories are. If there are Chinese works with similar storylines, these books may be considered sources; however, if we cannot find any similar tale in Chinese novels, then Bakin most likely created these characters and their stories on his own or relied on Japanese sources.

As Walley argues, the story of the Satomi father and son is more like a historical romance: Yoshizane started his journey as an escapee from the Battle at Yūki 結城. When he arrived at Awa, he met Kanamari Hachirō, an ex-retainer of Jin'yo Mitsuhide, the former ruler of Awa, and learned that Mitsuhide was killed in a trap set up by his retainer Yamashita Sadakane 山下定包 and his concubine Tamazusa. Out of benevolence and righteousness, Yoshizane fought the usurper Sadakane and became the ruler of Awa. However, his land was threatened by his neighbouring warlords. With the help of the eight dog warriors and other loyal retainers, his son Yoshinari successfully repelled these enemies. The story seems to end here, but the final chapter of *Eight Dogs* tells of the Satomi clan's decline, beginning with Yoshinari's grandson, because the rulers did not show benevolence, and the Satomi clan finally perishes in the tenth generation.

Readers who are familiar with the Chinese vernacular novel can find connections between this storyline and *Three Kingdoms*, because the rise and fall of the Satomi clan is reminiscent of the story of the Shu 蜀 (J. Shoku) State in *Three Kingdoms*. Liu Bei 劉備 (J. Ryū Bi), an arguable descendant of the imperial clan, first appears in the story as a commoner who sells grass shoes. Whether out of benevolence and righteousness, or merely seizing an opportunity, he and his two sworn brothers fight to protect the commoners from

the Yellow Turban Rebels and other warlords. In 194, he acquired Xüzhou 徐州 (J. Joshū) from its former ruler Tao Qian 陶謙 (J. Tōken), but faced successive attacks by Lü Bu 呂布 (J. Ryo Fu) and Cao Cao 曹操 (J. Sō Sō). With the help of Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 (J. Shokatsu Ryō) and other followers who were attracted by Liu Bei's benevolence and righteousness, Liu Bei finally escaped to the South and obtained the land of Yizhou 益州 (J. Eki shū), but still faced threats from other warlords including Cao Cao. After his death, his son Liu Shan 劉禪 (J. Ryū Zen) inherited the throne. However, Liu Shan lacked the ideal qualities of a ruler, which, according to the principles of Confucianism, led to the fall of Shu.

Both Yoshizane and Liu Bei are benevolent rulers who have experienced many hardships; both were assisted by talented retainers who are attracted by their good virtue; and both were threatened by stronger warlords. In both stories, their offspring did not rule their territories according to Confucian teachings, and both stories ended with the fall of the ruling house. This list of similarities suggests that *Three Kingdoms* is a possible major source for *Eight Dogs*, but to justify this claim, we must examine the frequency of references to the former in the latter.

Asō Isoji argues that the battle at Suzaki 洲崎 in *Eight Dogs* is an adaptation of the battle of Red Cliff in *Three Kingdoms*.[36] Another such example can be seen in Chapter II, in which Jin'yo Mitsuhiro was killed at *Ochibagaoka* 落羽が岡, which can be

[36] Asō, *Edo bungaku*, 206-14.

alternatively translated as Fallen Horse Hill.[37] This is a bad omen, implying that Mitsuhiro would fall from his horse and die. In chapter LXIII of *Three Kingdoms*, Pang Tong 龐統 (J. Hō Tō) enters a twisted path and asks one of his soldiers where they are; the soldier answers, "This is *Luofengpo* 落鳳坡 (J. Rakuhōha)". *Luofengpo* can be translated as Fallen Phoenix Slope, foreshadowing the death of Pang Tong, whose Taoist name was Young Phoenix (*fengchu* 鳳雛, J. Hōsū). In Chapter IX, when Yoshizane finally solves a riddle, he thinks to himself:

> I do not have a man of great talent like Yang Xiu 楊修 (J. Yō Shū), who mocked Cao Cao for riding another thirty *li* 里 to realize the answer of the riddle which Yang had already solved, so who can I ask? Many years have passed, and I solved it by chance today.[38]

This passage is a direct reference to Yang Xiu mocking Cao Cao in *Three Kingdoms*. Similarly, Chapter XX features a scene of Shino and Sōsukei swearing to be brothers, which recalls the Peach Garden in which Liu Bei, Guan Yu 關羽 (J. Kan U) and Zhang Fei 張飛 (J. Chō Hi) became sworn brothers. This scene provides two hints toward its source: Sōsukei's father drew an oracle in a Guandi temple, a place of worship for Guan Yu, foretelling Sōsukei's and Shino's encounter; and Shino describes their friendship as *suigyo no omoi* 水魚の思ひ (the feeling of a fish in the water), which echoes *yushuizhijiao* 魚水之交 (the relationship between fish and water), an idiom describing

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[37] In Japanese, the pronunciations of "feather" (*ba* 羽) and "horse" (*ba* 馬) are the same.
[38] Kyokutei, 1: 230.

the friendship between Liu Bei and Zhuge Liang. In Chapter CXL, Shinbei has a weapon that is similar to Guan Yu's. After referring to the story of Zhang Liao 張遼 (J. Chō Ryō), Bakin notes that Hosokawa Masamoto 細河政元 rewarded Shinbei with gold and clothes, but Shinbei did not accept the treasure, preferring instead to wear clothes he received from his lord, in a show of friendship similar to that between Cao Cao and Guan Yu.[39]

The similarities between the father and son of the Satomi clan and Liu Bei, the respective rises and falls of the Satomi clan and the Shu state, and several other similar incidents in both *Three Kingdoms* and *Eight Dogs,* such as those discussed above, are but a few examples of references to *Three Kingdoms* that appear in *Eight Dogs.*

Chudai's original name was Kanamari Daisuke 金碗大輔, son of Kanamari Hachirō. After his father died, Yoshizane took Daisuke under his protection and promised to give Princess Fuse to him as a wife when he became older. However, Fuse died at Mount To. After witnessing her death, Daisuke changed his name to Chudai and became a monk. He told Yoshizane that he would go on a journey to search for the eight Confucian virtues, embodied in eight beads, as atonement. Here, Bakin implies that if Chudai succeeds in gathering the eight virtues and bringing them back to Awa, Satomi's rule would be enhanced and the land of Awa would become a utopia.[40] On his journey, he meets the half-human/half-dog warriors and decides to guide them to Awa on learning that they are the

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[39] I compare the two episodes in detail in the third chapter.

[40] Walley argues that Bakin depicted the Awa under the Satomi as an ideal domain ruled by wise, just, and merciful lords. See Wally, *Good Dogs*, 341-42.

spiritual children of Princess Fuse. After many difficulties, he finally brought them back to Awa, achieves enlightenment, and disappears in front of Princess Fuse's cave.

This summary of Chudai's journey is reminiscent of Xuanzang's 玄奘 (J. Genzō) journey to India in *Journey to the West*. Xuanzang fell into the water when he was still an infant, and was rescued by a monk. When he turned eighteen, he went to the capital, where he met the Emperor and the bodhisattva Guanyin 觀音 (J. Kannon; Avalokiteshvara). Guanyin suggested he take a journey to the West (India) to seek the Buddhist scriptures. On this journey, he meets his three half-human/half-animal disciples. With their protection, he finally reaches India (the utopian world) and returns to Tang with the Buddhist scriptures. In the end, Xuanzang returns to India and gains enlightenment there.

The protagonists of both stories became monks after childhood misfortunes. Both went on a journey for a special purpose: one sought the eight Confucian virtues, and the other the true Buddhist scriptures. Both are inspired by a female deity[41] and meet half-human/half-animal characters. Both characters brought what they were seeking back to their own countries; both gained enlightenment; and most importantly, both possessed the qualities of kindness, persistence and benevolence.[42] Even Bakin himself argued in

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[41] Although most commoners in both Japan and China regarded the bodhisattva Guanyin as female, in Buddhism Guanyin possesses both male and female qualities. Similarly, although Princess Fuse is physically a woman, she possesses many male qualities, as Walley discusses in "Gender and Virtue in *Nansō Satomi hakkenden*," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 72, no. 2 (December 1, 2012): 337-71. Here I use the words "goddess" and "she/her" for convenience.

[42] Chudai and Xuanzang do have different personalities. For instance, Xuanzang would not be able to achieve his goal without the help of his disciples, while Chudai is the one who helps the dog warriors many times. Xuanzang has a tendency to believe strangers

Chapter CXXX that Chudai's achievement is no less than Xuanzang's.

Traces of *Journey to the West* can be found throughout *Eight Dogs*. As a goddess, Princess Fuse protected the Satomi clan and the eight dog warriors. For instance, in Chapter XL, Kajikurō 舵九郎 tries to beat Shinbei, the youngest dog warrior, to death, but his arm is suddenly paralyzed. Then, Shinbei is enveloped in a cloud that comes down from the sky accompanied by lightning and strong winds. When Kajikurō sees this, he raises his hands and tries to grasp Shinbei, but he is torn in half by something inside the cloud. Fuse saves Shinbei and decides to raise him herself after he lost his parents.[43] Fuse also directly saved the Satomi clan from crises, such as returning many of their soldiers to life in Chapter CII,[44] and giving Shinbei an elixir to save the soldiers' lives in Chapter CLXXI.[45] These behaviors echo those of Guanyin in *Journey to the West*, who is the protector of Xuanzang and his three disciples, even though she also creates trials for them. For example, in Chapter XLII, in order to save them, she subdues Honghaier 紅孩兒 (J. Kōkaiji) and keeps him by her side; she also grants Xuanzang and his three disciples elixirs and magical tools many times to help them overcome various dangers.

After allowing Princess Fuse to marry the family dog Yatsufusa, Yoshizane realizes that this tragic event may be connected to the curse of Tamazusa because the pronunciation of Tamazusa is similar to "*tamazura* 玉面," an ancient name for *tanuki* 狸 (fox), and it

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easily, but Chudai could set up a trap for his lord Yoshinari. These changes are most likely deliberate, and will be discussed in the third chapter.

43 Kyokutei, 3: 67.

44 Ibid., 6: 321-29.

45 Ibid., 11: 361-62.

was said that Yatsufusa was raised by a fox. Bakin uses these three similar terms — Tamazusa (Jinyo Mitsuhiro's mistress), *tamazura* (Chinese characters 玉面), and fox (a common type of magical animal)—as references to a character in *Journey to the West*: Princess Yumian 玉面 (J. Gyokumen), a fox lady who is the Demon Bull King's mistress, and whose name also includes the same Chinese characters 玉面.

Other traces of *Journey to the West* that occur in *Eight Dogs* include the story of the cat monsters, the fox lady Myōchin 妙椿, and Chudai saving a village from an evil monk, which will be further discussed in the third chapter. Furthermore, Bakin himself refers to *Journey to the West* and compares these two works many times in his commentary. For instance, he once compared the main characters in *Eight Dogs* with both *Water Margin* and *Journey to the West*, and, as noted above, he argued that there are too many characters in *Water Margin* and too few in *Journey to the West*. Bakin also criticized *Journey to the West* for its repetitiveness: bad things happen to Xuanzang and his three disciples, and then they overcome these things. He argues that the events in *Eight Dogs* are more complicated and have fewer clichés so that the readers will not feel bored. However, the implication of his commentary is that the basic structures of both books are very similar.[46]

The story of Yoshizane and Yoshinari is a historical romance of the rise and fall of the Satomi clan, while the story of Chudai is a monk's search for eight beads carved with eight Confucian virtues. The analysis above of the similarity in plots and characters

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[46] Ibid., 7: 15-16.

strongly suggests that there is a link between *Eight Dogs* and *Three Kingdoms*, and also that *Journey to the West* might be an important inspiration for Bakin. If Bakin modeled the adventure of the dog warriors on *Water Margin*, he might also have based the historical romance of the Satomi clan on *Three Kingdoms*, and Chudai's journey on *Journey to the West*. This leads us to a further question: Why did Bakin choose to model *Eight Dogs* on these works? I will explore this question in the next chapter by analyzing the sociohistorical environment Bakin lived in and his struggle between his several pairs of identities.

Chapter II. *Eight Dogs*: The Localization Process

1. The Formation and Importation of the Three Chinese Vernacular Novels

Once we have identified the three main sources Bakin used for *Eight Dogs,* we must also ask why he chose these three works as his models. This chapter seeks to answer that question by examining the historical environment, the readers, and the authors of those works. However, before we start discussing the historical environment of Edo Japan, we must also present a general chronological explanation of the content and formation of the three Chinese vernacular novels and a brief summary of their dissemination in Japan.

Three Kingdoms is a historical romance about the internal disorder of the Chinese empire that was present from the end of the Eastern Han 漢 (J. *Kan*) dynasty (25-220) to the beginning of the Western Jin 晋 (J. *Shin*) dynasty (266-316). The story begins with Liu Bei, Guan Yu and Zhang Fei swearing brotherhood in the Peach Garden. The main part of the novel describes Liu Bei's experience as he rises from the status of a commoner to king of the Shu state, one of the three most powerful states in the Central Plain, with the help of many loyal retainers. *Three Kingdoms* is usually considered a culmination of the process of reception of the stories of Three Kingdoms in various genres. Chen Shou's 陳壽 (J. Chin Ju, 234-299) *Sanguozhi* 三國志 (J. *Sangokushi*, Records of the Three Kingdoms, the third century) and Pei Songzhi's 裴松之 (J. Hai Shōshi, 372-451) annotations to *Records of the Three Kingdoms* provided a rich source for later creations and adaptations. Famous poets like Li Shangyin 李商隠 (J. Ri Shōin, 813-858) and Su

Shi 蘇軾 (J. So Shoku, 1037-1101) were inspired by the history of Three Kingdoms and composed poems drawing on popular episodes like the fire at the Red Cliff. When it came into the Yuan 元 (J. *Gen*) dynasty (1271-1368), the legends of Three Kingdoms obtained new forms including drama and storytelling, which contributed to the formation of *Three Kingdoms* as a work of fiction. Thus it is difficult to determine an exact date for the composition of *Three Kingdoms*. Shen Bojun 沈伯俊 lists five possible timeframes: the "Song 宋 (J. *Sō*) dynasty (960-1279) or even before […], the middle to late Yuan dynasty […], the end of the Yuan dynasty […], the early Ming 明 (J. *Min*) dynasty (1368-1644) […], or the middle Ming dynasty."[47] He suggests that "the Song dynasty or even before" is unlikely, but there is evidence for each of the other four possible dates. Through analysis of the evidence, he claims that the book may have been completed either at the end of the Yuan dynasty or the early Ming dynasty, with the early Ming dynasty the greater possibility. Many Western scholars hold similar opinions: Andrew Plaks, for example, argues that a conservative estimation of the first appearance of *Three Kingdoms* should be at the beginning of the sixteenth century because the earliest extant text of *Three Kingdoms*, the Jiajing 嘉靖 (J. *Kasei*) version, bears two prefaces: one signed with the year 1494 and the other signed with 1522.[48] However, these dates contradict the most common authorship theory of *Three Kingdoms,* as Luo Guanzhong 羅貫中(J. *Ra Kanchū*) lived in the

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[47] Shen Bojun, *Sanguo yanyi xintan* (Sichuan: Sichuan People Press, 2002), 5-10.
[48] Plaks, 361-62. Other scholars, such as Moss Roberts, share similar opinions. See Moss Roberts trans., *Three Kingdoms: A Historical Novel* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1999), 409-13.

fourteenth century.[49] Wang Ping 王平 proposes a hypothesis from the perspective of dissemination. Luo Guanzhong might have written the "original" *Three Kingdoms*, but there are differences between this version and the later Jiajing version, resulting from continuous hand-copying and reprinting.[50] During this process, some parts may have been altered, some new episodes may have been created, and some annotations may have been added. Although tracing the development of *Three Kingdoms* is difficult, it is clear that the novel *Three Kingdoms* enjoyed great popularity in Ming and Qing China.

Although we do not know when *Three Kingdoms* was first disseminated in Japan, Nakamura Yukihiko notes that the title *Three Kingdoms* had already appeared in Hayashi Razan's 林羅山 (1583-1657) catalog of the books which he had read in 1604.[51] By the 1700s, at least five different versions of *Three Kingdoms* were circulating in Japan.[52] According to Tokuda Takeshi, the first partial translation of *Three Kingdoms* appeared in Nakae Tōju's 中江藤樹 (1608-1648) *Ijin shō* 為人鈔 (1662).[53] The first complete

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[49] Luo's accepted dates are 1330?-1400?. However, some studies have convincingly limited his date of birth to the period 1315-18. See Roberts, 412.
[50] Wang Ping, *Ming Qing xiaoshuo chuanbo yanjiu* (Shandong: Shandong University Press, 2006), 30-33.
[51] Nakamura Yukihiko, "Tōwa no ryūkō to hakuwa bungakusho no yu'nyū", in *Nakamura Yukihiko chojutsu shū* Vol. 7, (Tōkyō: Chuō Kōronsha, 1984), 31-32.
[52] Ueda Nozomu, "Nihon ni okeru *Sangoku engi* no juyō (zenpen)-honyaku to sashie wo chūshinni-," *The Kanazawa Daigaku Chūgoku-gogaku Chūgoku-bungaku Kyōshitsu kiyō*, vol. 9 (2006): 3.
[53] Tokuda Takeshi, *Kinsei kindai shōsetsu*, 51-54. According to Takeshi, the translation in *Ijin shō* is very similar to *Three Kingdoms*' eighth chapter, "Wang Yun Shrewdly Sets a Double Snare; Dong Zhuo Starts a Brawl at Phoenix Pavilion." This story cannot be found in the historical records, and although there are Yuan dramas that tell a similar story, these were rare in Edo Japan.

Japanese translation, *Tsūzoku Sangokushi* 通俗三国志 (Records of the Three Kingdoms in Plain Words) was prepared by a monk named Konan Bunzan 湖南文山 (?~?) in 1689-92.[54] Buzan based his translation on the Li Zhuowu 李卓吾 (J. *Ri Takugo*; 1527-1602) version, which was widely disseminated in China at the end of the Ming dynasty.[55] Rather than simply translating *Three Kingdoms* word for word, he made several changes, particularly rearranging the story's structure and condensing the original 120 chapters into 50, in part to make the story simpler for Japanese readers to follow.

As *Three Kingdoms* gradually gained popularity, many popular literary forms including picture books, adapted books, *kabuki* 歌舞伎 (a classical Japanese dance-drama), puppet theaters, and *ukiyo-e* 浮世絵 (a genre of Japanese art which flourished from the 17th through 19th centuries, literally "pictures of the urbane life") incorporated stories from the text.[56] The popularity of *Three Kingdoms* reached its peak in 1841 with the publication of *Ehon Tsūzoku Sangokushi* 絵本通俗三国志 (Records of the Three Kingdoms in Plain Words with Illustrations).[57]

Water Margin is based to some extent on the history of the Northern Song dynasty (960-1127), but the story contains more fictional elements than *Three Kingdoms* and shifts its focus from the public sphere (the rise and fall of the country) to the private sphere (people's

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[54] This is the second translation of *Three Kingdoms*. The first translation was conducted by the Manchus, mainly for political and military purposes.
[55] Ueda, 3.
[56] Ueda, 10-20. Ueda Nozomu listed seven examples of the popularity of *Three Kingdoms* in Edo culture.
[57] For more details of the importation of *Three Kingdoms* in Japan, see Zakō Jun, *Sangokushi to Nihonjin* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2002), 80-83.

behaviors and emotions). It tells the story of the hundred and eight outlaw heroes, most of whom were wanted by the government for their crimes. The main bulk of the novel describes the adventures of these heroes, sometimes with one hero alone and sometimes with several heroes as a group, and how all of them were forced to go to Mount Liang 梁 (J. *Ryō*). Once they all gathered together, they formed a brotherhood with Song Jiang 宋江 (J. Sō Kō) as their leader, which the government saw as a threat. Later, Song Jiang accepted amnesty from the government and decided to fight (other) rebels and intruders for the Emperor. Although they took the path of loyalty, the story still ends in tragedy, as many of them were killed for the Emperor's sake.[58]

Like *Three Kingdoms*, *Water Margin* is also the culmination of a lengthy development process, and thus its dating and authorship are similarly debatable. Furthermore, the existence of many different recensions of *Water Margin* further complicates the process of its dissemination. All versions can be approximately divided into the "full recension" (*fanben*; J. *hanbon* 繁本) and the "simpler recension" (*jianben*; J. *kanbon* 簡本).[59] The discovery of several fragments of *Water Margin* implies the existence of a Jiajing version;[60] however, no complete Jiajing version has been found yet. The Li Zhuowu version of *Water*

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[58] Notice that some versions have different endings. For instance, Jin Shengtan 金聖歎 (J. Kin Seitan) deleted the last part of the story beginning with Song Jiang's accepting amnesty from the government, because he believed that this part was a later addition and was not written by the original author.
[59] Although the "full recension" features lengthier passages than the "simpler recension," some versions contain different plots than others or may lack certain parts altogether, while the "simpler recension" generally contains all the plots of the whole story.
[60] Plaks, 280-86.

Margin became popular in the 1610s, but it was soon replaced by Jin Shengtan's 金聖歎 (J. *Kin Seitan*) seventy-one-chapter abridgement, which was first published in 1644. Both Luo Guanzhong and Shi nai'an 施耐庵 (J. *Shi Taian*) have been suggested as authors of *Water Margin,* but scholars have not reached a definitive conclusion as to the work's author.

The introduction of *Water Margin* to Japan differs from that of *Three Kingdoms* mainly due to the difficulty of understanding vernacular Chinese. In the preface of *Tsūzoku Kōmin eiretsuden* 通俗皇明英烈伝 (Stories of the Heroes of Ming, 1705), translated by Okajima Kanzan 岡島冠山 (1674-1728), one of his disciples wrote:

> Now, in our kingdom of Japan, there are only a handful of learned scholars who try to read Luo Guanzhong's two texts. And even though they attempt to read them, they are only able to decipher *Sangoku engi* [*Three Kingdoms*] and are unable to make out *Suikoden* [*Water Margin*].[61]

In other words, the use of vernacular Chinese in *Three Kingdoms* occupies only a small part of the text, so Japanese readers who had been trained in classical Chinese could grasp the main points of the story. However, the exotic vernacular Chinese in *Water Margin* prevented many Japanese readers from enjoying it. Even though the title *Water Margin* had appeared in some book records as early as the 1630s, *Water Margin* was popularized only after the appearance of Okajima Kanzan's partial translation which was published in 1728

[61] Translation cited from William C. Hedberg, "Separating the Word and the Way: *Suyama Nantō's Chūgi Suikodenkai* and Edo-Period Vernacular Philology," *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, Vol. 41, Number 2 (2015): 361.

and 1759,[62] and the complete translation which was published from 1757 to 1790.[63] In the wake of its popularity, many reference books and adaptations in different media were published, contributing to *Water Margin*'s further popularity in Edo Japan.

Like *Three Kingdoms* and *Water Margin*, *Journey to the West* is based on a historical event; in this case, the story of Xuanzang's pilgrimage to India to recover a sacred text. However, over time, the story took on various magical and fantastic elements. On his journey, Xuanzang met his four disciples Sun Wukong 孫悟空 (J. Son Gokū), Zhu Bajie 豬八戒 (J. Cho Hakkai), Sha Wujing 沙悟淨 (J. Sa Gojō) and the white dragon prince, and with their help, overcame many difficulties and finally accomplished his mission. After they brought the scriptures back to the Tang, they returned to India and obtained enlightenment there. Attentive readers may note the development of historical to fictional narrative from *Three Kingdoms* to *Water Margin* to *Journey to the West*. *Three Kingdoms*, as a historical romance, seems relatively more plausible than *Water Margin*, an adventure story about a group of heroes, and *Water Margin* than *Journey to the West*, a travel narrative featuring gods and immortals.

Like those of *Three Kingdoms* and *Water Margin,* the dating and authorship of *Journey*

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[62] Salmon, 113-14. This partial translation was based on the first twenty chapters of Li Zhuowu's hundred-chapter version. It is noteworthy that there is doubt about its authorship. Most scholars agree that the translation of the first ten chapters was indeed Kanzan's work, but the latter ten chapters might be not. See Takashima Toshio, *Suikoden to nihonjin* (Tōkyō: Chikuma shobō, 2006), 62-69.

[63] Although the author of the complete translation usually contributes to Okajima Kanzan, he had already passed away by then. Besides, the poor quality of the translation further casts doubts on Kanzan's authorship. For more details, see Takashima, 91-110.

to the West are uncertain. The earliest existent version is the Shide tang 世德堂 (J. Setoku dō) version dated 1592, but we do not know whether the date refers to the completion of the work, or if this edition is a reprint. Furthermore, from the perspective of literary development, the transition between early simple narrative and the fully developed vernacular novel is uncertain due to the lack/loss of a transitional *pinghua* 平話 (J. *heiwa*; a story in plain words) version.[64] The author is most often identified as Wu Cheng'en 吳承恩 (J. *Go Shōon*; 1506-1582), but this is supported only by circumstantial evidence such as the dialect used in the book, and Wu Cheng'en's reputation for wit and interest in supernatural elements.[65]

The spread of Xuanzang's journey to Japan can be traced back to the Asuka 飛鳥 period (592-710) when many Japanese monks went to Tang China to study Buddhism. The novel *Journey to the West* was likely brought to Japan in the early Edo period. Its appearances in government records and in the book lists of Hayashi Razan and Tenkai 天海 (1536-1643) indicate that it had already existed in Japan before 1639.[66] Nishida Korenori 西田維則 (?-1765) created the first Japanese translation, the first part of which, *Tsūzoku Saiyūki Shohen* 通俗西遊記 初編 (Popular *Journey to the West* I), was

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[64] *Pinghua* is the written version of oral storytelling. Both *Three Kingdoms* and *Water Margin* have *pinghua* versions, which are the proofs of their development from storytelling to fictional narratives. However, there is no evidence to prove that *Journey to the West* also has a *pinghua* version.

[65] Plaks, 188. Other scholars have argued that the book was written by Qiu Chuji 丘處機 (1148-1227), a famous Taoist in the late Song dynasty. See Plaks, 194.

[66] Isobe Akira, *Tabiyuku Son Gokū higashi Ajia no Saiyū ki* (Tōkyō: Hanawa Shobō, 2011), 185-86.

published in 1758 and includes Chapters I to XXVI. The translation was left unfinished at the translator's death in 1765. Twenty-six years later, Ishimaro Sanjin 石磨呂山人 (?-?) published the second part of the translation, including Chapters XXVII to XXXIX; he also published the third part, consisting of Chapters XL to XLVII, in 1768. Ishimaro decided not to continue the translation after this, and left few traces of his personal life and career as a translator. Thirteen years later, in 1799, Ogata Teisai 尾形貞斎 (?-?), published the fourth part, consisting of Chapters XLVIII to LIII. Gakutei Kyūzan 岳亭丘山 (?-1848) translated Chapters LIV to LXV, which were published in 1831, but his translation project remained unfinished. However, a simplified version of *Journey to the West*, *Ehon Saiyūki* 絵本西遊記 (*Journey to the West* with illustrations) was finished in 1837.[67] Both translations helped increase Japanese readers' interest in the work.

The creations of *Three Kingdoms*, *Water Margin* and *Journey to the West* are not only viewed as separate histories of literary development but also as a unified and continuous development, a process of shifting the focus from description of reality/history/country to fantasy/fictional creations/individuals.[68] Jin Shengtan, the first scholar to rank Chinese vernacular novels, listed "six books by and for geniuses" (*liu caizi shu* 六才子書; J. *roku*

[67] Isobe, 192-98.
[68] This does not mean that *Three Kingdoms* contains no supernatural elements, because some of Zhuge Liang's strategies largely rely on supernatural power. Similarly, *Water Margin* also contains magic elements, but compared to *Journey to the West*, the other two are more believable. For instance, some readers mistook *Three Kingdoms* for genuine historical records; by contrast, readers will immediately realize that *Journey to the West* is a fantasy story.

saishi sho)[69], including the *Zhuang zi* 莊子 (J. *Sōshi*) by Zhuang Zhou 莊周 (J. Sō Shū; 369?-286? B.C.), the *Li Sao* 離騷 (J. Risō; Encountering Sorrow) by Qu Yuan 屈原 (J. Kutsu Gen; 340?-278? B.C.), *Shi Ji* 史記 (J. *Shiki*; Records of the Historian) by Sima Qian 司馬遷 (J. Shiba Sen; b. 145 B.C. or 135 B.C.), the poetry of Du Fu 杜甫 (J. To Ho; 712-770), the *Xixiang ji* 西廂記 (J. seisōki; Romance of the Western Chamber) by Wang Shifu 王實甫 (J. Ō Jippo; 1260-1336) and *Water Margin*.[70] Later, Mao Lun 毛綸 (J. Mō Rin; in the seventeenth century) and Mao Zonggang 毛宗崗 (J. Mō Sōkō; 1632-1709) used Jin Shengtan's name to declare *Three Kingdoms* the "seventh book by and for geniuses" (*diqi caizi shu* 第七才子書; J. *daishichi saishi sho*).[71] Liu Yiming 劉一明 (J. Ryū Ichimei; 1734-1820?) argued that *Journey to the West* was better than the "books by and for geniuses."[72] By the seventeenth century, the term "four masterworks" (*sidaqishu* 四大奇書; J. *shidai kisho*) to refer to the three Chinese vernacular novels and *Jin Pingmei* 金瓶梅 (J. *Kin Binbai*; *The Plum in the Golden Vase*)[73] was well known among readers. Li Yu 李漁 (J. Ri Gyō; 1610-1680) wrote in his preface to a commentary on *Three Kingdoms:* "Feng Menglong 馮夢龍 (J. Fū Muryū; 1574-1646) also had a list of the four

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[69] David L. Rolston translated *caizi shu* 才子書 into "books by and for geniuses." See David L. Rolston, *How to Read the Chinese Novel* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 125.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Ibid., 146-47.

[72] Ibid., 299-300. Liu's reasoning was that the "books by and for geniuses" seem to tell the truth, but actually they are fictional, while *Journey to the West*, a book of gods and immortals, seems to be false but was actually true.

[73] The dating and authorship of *The Plum in the Golden Vase* are uncertain. A portion of this book had already been circulated by the mid-1590s. The author's pseudonym *Xiaoxiao sheng* 笑笑生, but his real identity is still a mystery. See Plaks, 55-62.

masterworks, including *Three Kingdoms*, *Water Margin*, *Journey to the West* and *The Plum in the Golden Vase*."[74] Therefore, it is reasonable to suggest that Bakin, who was familiar with Li Yu and with Chinese literature,[75] also noticed this development, and this was one of the reasons why he adapted them in *Eight Dogs*. The three Chinese vernacular novels were also very popular among different groups of Japanese readers, which may also account for Bakin's use of them as sources.

2. The Readership, Sociohistorical Environment, and Early Adaptations

The key to understanding the readership of the three Chinese vernacular novels in Edo Japan lies in its sociohistorical development. Before the Edo period, Manuscripts of literary texts were controlled by and shared among monks and social elites through limited quantities of handwritten manuscripts.[76] A small group of monks went on a trip to China and brought back many Chinese classics with them, which became the repository of Chinese scholarship. Many noble families had close relationships with powerful Buddhist clergy and gradually came to control the power of knowledge by using that knowledge, obtained from Chinese classic texts dated back to Southern Song or even earlier in some

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[74] Plaks, 5.

[75] Bakin showed his respect to Li Yu in many ways. For instance, he adapted Li Yu's works and also based one of his pseudonyms, *Saritsu gyoin* 蓑笠漁隠, which he used for the prefaces to his fiction, on Li Yu. The word *gyo* 漁 echoes Li Yu's first name *yu* 漁, and *ritsu* 笠 implies Li Yu's courtesy name *liwen* 笠翁. He also expressed his affinity with Li Yu in his epitaph. See Zolbrod, 48.

[76] Matthias Hayek and Annick Horiuchi, *Listen, Copy, Read: Popular Learning in Early Modern Japan* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 3.

cases and Chinese models, to maintain their social status and their superiority over other groups of people. In other words, access to knowledge was limited to a certain group of social elites before the Edo period. The dissemination of the three Chinese vernacular novels in Edo Japan, as discussed in section 1, further confirms this claim. *Three Kingdoms* is the earliest of these three Chinese vernacular novels to be brought to Edo Japan, so that the influence of monks and noble families on its reception is more obvious than those of *Water Margin* and *Journey to the West*. The earliest records of *Three Kingdoms* in the Edo period are book lists of social elites, such as Hayashi Razan, and the first complete translation of *Three Kingdoms* was finished by Konan Bunzan, a monk. However, several social changes in the Edo period expanded the readership of Chinese novels.

The peaceful Edo period led to a dramatic population increase and urban growth. By the seventeenth century, almost all samurai were equipped with literacy skills.[77] With the introduction of a currency-based economy, a knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic became essential for farmers, artisans, and merchants.[78] As a result, more and more schools were established to meet the increasing need for education. In the early Edo period, schools were mainly concentrated in the three largest cities, Kyōto, Ōsaka, and Edo, and the students were mainly from samurai families or rich townsmen's families. As time passed, more people, men and women, learned to read. During the early seventeenth

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[77] Literacy here includes both *kanji* 漢字 and *kana* 仮名.

[78] See Shirane, *Early Modern Japanese Literature*, 11. Also see Richard Rubinger, *Popular Literacy in Early Modern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 82-85.

century, village headmen became literate in order to “perform a wide range of functions necessitating high literacy—tax collections, explanation of edicts, financial accounting, maintenance of population registers, and so forth.”[79] By the eighteenth century, literate people in rural areas “extend[ed] their reading and writing capabilities beyond matters of village administration into scholarly areas such as Confucianism, Buddhism, Chinese and Japanese poetry, medicine, and science.”[80] In the nineteenth century, new types of literate people emerged, including “highly literate and cultured commoners from remote parts, political activists, women whose literacy skills supported their family businesses, and merchants who had become more or less full-time men of culture.”[81] Furthermore, a relatively high percentage of the urbane commoners might be able to at least read text written in *kana*.[82] These social changes contributed to the expanding readership of Chinese vernacular novels in Edo Japan.

Edo Japan’s acceptance of Neo-Confucianism as the official ideology is another social change that encouraged the popularity of Chinese vernacular novels. During the Japanese invasions of Korea (1592-1598),[83] Korean Neo-Confucianism was transmitted to Japan along with books and captives. Fujiwara Seika 藤原惺窩 (1561-1619) first considered Neo-Confucianism as an independent philosophy,[84] helping to popularize it in Japan.

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[79] Richard, 5.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid., 135.
[82] Ibid., 160.
[83] For more details of the Imjin War’s influence on Edo Japan, see Kinugasa Yasuki, *Kinsei Nihon no Jukyō to Bunka* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 1990), 108-09.
[84] Seika met Kang Hang 姜沆 (1567~1618), a Korean scholar who was taken prisoner

Faced with uprisings by lower-level samurai, Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1543-1616), the first *shōgun* of the Tokugawa shogunate, realized he could use the teachings of Neo-Confucianism to consolidate his political power.[85] Thanks to Ieyasu, Neo-Confucianism quickly became Edo Japan's official state ideology, and in such a social environment, Chinese novels such as *Three Kingdoms,* whose themes support Neo-Confucianism, were disseminated widely in Japan with little government intervention.

The popularity of vernacular Chinese study, which is closely related to the acceptance of Neo-Confucianism, also accounted for the wide readership of Chinese vernacular novels. Most Chinese books were imported from China to Japan through Nagasaki 長崎. Although literate Japanese could use written Chinese to communicate with Chinese people, professional interpreters, called *tōtsūji* 唐通事, helped to improve the efficiency of such communication.[86] For example, Okajima Kanzan, the supposed translator of *Water Margin*, played an important role in the dissemination of Chinese novels. His *Tōwa san'yō* 唐話纂要 (Essentials of Vernacular Chinese, 1716), *Tōwa benyō* 唐話便用 (Use of

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by the forces of Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1537~1598), in 1597, and discussed Neo-Confucianism with him, inspiring his enthusiastic admiration of Neo-Confucianism. See Kinugasa, *Kinsei Nihon*, 110.

[85] For instance, Neo-Confucianism emphasizes benevolence 仁 (C. *ren*; J. *jin*) and righteousness 義 (C. *yi*; J. *gi*). By using this teaching to require samurai to be highly moralistic and self-sacrificing, the government declared the samurai uprisings immoral and illegitimate, restrained the samurai's political ambitions, and enhanced the stability of the Tokugawa Bakufu. For more details on Confucianism in early modern Japan, see Kinugasa, *Kinsei Nihon*, 111-17.

[86] Nan Ma Hartmann, "From Translation to Adaptation: Chinese Language Texts and Early Modern Japanese Literature." (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2014), 3-4, https://doi.org/10.7916/D8PK0DFW.

Vernacular Chinese, 1725) and other works became reference bibles for translators and for later *yomihon* writers.[87] Kanzan showed a great interest in Chinese vernacular literature and he devoted himself to translating many such works. In addition to *Water Margin*, he also translated several other Chinese vernacular novels, including *Stories of the Heroes of Ming* and *Taiheiki engi* 太平記演義 (Romance of The Great Peace, 1719).[88] In short, his reference books and translations helped Japanese readers access the exotic and sometimes complex Chinese stories, contributing to the acceptance of Chinese vernacular novels in Edo Japan.

The translations of the three Chinese vernacular novels expanded their readership, but the various adaptations of these stories made them further available to commoners and even to the illiterate. Ueda Nozomu 上田望 argues that the readership of *Three Kingdoms* can be divided into four groups: those who read the original text of *Three Kingdoms* while learning vernacular Chinese; those who read the original text without knowledge of vernacular Chinese; those who read the translation or adaptations under the influence of the popularity of vernacular Chinese learning, vernacular novels, or China in general; and those who had no contact with either the original text or the translation, but enjoyed *Three Kingdoms* through other artistic forms such as *kabuki*, puppet theater, and storytelling.[89] These categorizations can also be applied to *Water Margin* and *Journey to the West,* though

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[87] Ibid., 45-51.
[88] Hartmann, 24-29.
[89] Ueda, 9-10.

the original texts were too complex for readers who did not know vernacular Chinese. However, this fact has little influence on using Takada's framework to discuss these three Chinese vernacular novels, as long as we consider the first and second groups of readers as a whole. Takada argues that these readers, including *kangakusha* 漢学者 (scholars of Chinese studies), monks, translators, and people from high-ranking samurai families only represented a small portion of the whole population. With this in mind, we can say that adaptations in literature, *kabuki*, puppet theater, and paintings were extremely important in disseminating *Three Kingdoms* to non-elite classes,[90] and this can also be said of *Water Margin* and *Journey to the West*. These adaptations allowed those who could not read to enjoy the stories of these Chinese heroes.

In short, although the three Chinese vernacular novels were brought to Japan by people from the elite classes, the dissemination process was influenced by the increase in population, the increase in literacy, the official acceptance of Neo-Confucianism, the translators in Nagasaki, the encouragement of Chinese studies, and the adaptations of the three novels in various popular artistic forms. In Bakin's time, even illiterate commoners, women, and children were familiar with several episodes from the three Chinese vernacular novels. Bakin, as a commercial writer, would not have overlooked such a trend and would not have missed such an opportunity to attract more readers. His role in the adaptation history of the Chinese vernacular novels was inevitable, and he was the writer who reached

[90] Ibid., 10.

the peak of this history.[91] With the possible external reasons for Bakin's decision to use *Three Kingdoms*, *Water Margin* and *Journey to the West* as the main sources for *Eight Dogs* in mind, the next section discusses possible internal reasons, especially Bakin's struggle with different identities.

3. Authorship

As previously noted, the social changes that occurred in Edo Japan complicated the concept of personal identity. Bakin is a case in point, having experienced various misfortunes in his life and having had to deal with the conflict between his different identities, which are categorized here as his life, his career, and his ambition.

Bakin's life as a former samurai turned townsman is one such struggle of identities. Bakin was born into a low-ranking samurai family in Edo in 1767.[92] In his childhood, he attended Confucianism lectures and learned Chinese classics, which later benefited his career as a *yomihon* writer. Unfortunately, his father died when he was only nine years old (1775). The absence of a father figure made the Takizawas' life more challenging. In his early years, Bakin led a somewhat unrestrained life, never holding onto one position for long. After his mother's death in 1785, Bakin spent several years wandering about Edo and

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[91] Bakin's generation can be viewed as the last generation of *yomihon* writers in Edo period, because he died in 1848, approximately twenty years earlier than the Meiji Restoration, which put an end to the Tokugawa shogunate.

[92] My analysis of Bakin's life is largely based on Leon M. Zolbrod, *Takizawa Bakin* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1967); Asō Isoji, *Takizawa Bakin* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbun kan, 1959); and Takada Mamoru, *Takizawa Bakin* (Kyōto: Mineruba Shobō, 2006).

its peripheral regions. His mother's last words to him were to demand him to respect his elder brothers. However, he failed his mother because he resigned his service with the lord[93] that his brother Keichū 鶏忠 recommended to him, and left in the spring of 1786. That September, Keichū died unattended, and Bakin felt guilty because if he had heeded his brother's words and stayed with him, he would have been at least able to nurse and accompany him.

In 1788, Bakin became seriously ill and left his samurai post. His eldest brother Rabun 羅文 took care of him and even sold his few belongings to buy him medicine. Bakin was deeply moved by Rabun's kindness, and this attitude was confirmed in his diary and works. After his recovery, he started to learn medicine but found it distasteful. He tried his hand at being a Confucian scholar, comic poet, calligrapher, and even fortuneteller, but all these efforts failed. The turning point in his life and career came when he met Santō Kyōden 山東京伝 (1761-1816) in 1790. With Kyōden's help, he published his first chapbook, *Tsukai hatashite nibu kyōgen* 尽用而二分狂言 (A Night at the Hachiman Shirine, 1791). Later, he lived with Kyōden and ghostwrote two stories for him. In 1792, Tsutaya Jūsaburō 蔦屋重三郎 (1750-1797), a publisher and patron of young talent, asked Kyōden whether he should hire Bakin or not. Kyōden praised Bakin and recommended him to Tsutaya, and Bakin stayed with Tsutaya for a year and a half. Kyōden and Tsutaya both taught Bakin skills that would help him as a writer.

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[93] Zolbrod used the word "lord" to describe the master Bakin served. See Zolbrod, 20.

Kyōden also helped to arrange Bakin's marriage to O-Hyaku お百, daughter of a merchant. Because O-Hyaku was neither attractive nor educated, the marriage seemed more for financial support than for love. After his marriage, Bakin abandoned his samurai title and became a merchant/townsman, and helped his wife's family business for some time, but never gave up his career as a writer. In the following years, his fame increased to the point that he was able to support his family as a commercial writer.[94] However, just as his life was improving, tragedy struck again with Rabun's death in 1797. After the death of both his brothers,[95] Bakin, who had lived a free life as the third son, had no other choice but to shoulder the responsibility to maintain the Takizawa family line and regain the family's glory. He spent the rest of his life trying to bring his family back to the samurai class but failed, due to the early death of his only son Sōhaku 宗伯 and his only grandson Tarō 太郎.

The outline of Bakin's life above shows that he continuously struggled between his former social status as a samurai and his later social status as a townsman. The lack of the father figure and the gap between the education he received at a young age and the reality he lived in contributed to his rebellious, unruly, and even somewhat arrogant characteristics, and these characteristics led him to challenge his samurai title. However, he was largely

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[94] Asō Isoji argues that Bakin may be the first commercial writer to earn a living chiefly from manuscript fees. See Asō, *Takizawa Bakin*, 1.

[95] Keichū never married and had no descendants. Rabun had two daughters, but both died in childhood. As a result, Bakin became the last hope for the continuity of the Takizawa family. However, by that time, Bakin had already given up his samurai title to become a townsman. For more details, see Takada, 151-57.

confined by what he learned as a samurai as well. For instance, he was strongly influenced by the Confucian teaching of filiality and fraternity. The most important thing in filiality is to continue the family's bloodline, and this was what Bakin tried to accomplish after Rabun's death. Unfortunately, he spent fifty years trying to restore his family name, and even though he almost succeeded, he still failed in the end. He also believed that the social status of townsman was lower than samurai according to the rule of *shinōkōshō* 士農工商 (four categories of people: samurai, farmers, artisans, and merchants). As an expression of his dissatisfaction with his merchant identity, he was unwilling to run his wife's family business, and preferred to write books instead. Because he was too old to reenter the samurai class, he put his hopes on his son and grandson, but his efforts became meaningless after his grandson's death. His identity conflict between samurai and townsman was never resolved, and he thus had to moderate this conflict in other ways, one of which was writing stories. For instance, in the fictional world he created in *Eight Dogs*, all the dog warriors succeeded in (re)entering the samurai class and restoring their family name; they also married princesses and had many descendants, unlike Bakin himself.

Bakin hoped to restore his family name in reality by making his son and grandson samurais, and he also tried to achieve this goal in fantasy by depicting the perfect samurai and the ideal society for them through writing. Although his efforts to restore his family name failed, the latter dream was fulfilled to some extent. He started his career as a *kibyōshi*

黄表紙[96] writer, but he later shifted his focus to *yomihon*. As mentioned above, one important feature of *yomihon* is its unique "mixed Chinese-Japanese writing style" (*wakan konkō buntai* 和漢混合文体) that merged classical and vernacular diction and alluded to Chinese and Japanese texts. Bakin showed great interest in Chinese narratives; his first *yomihon* novel *Takao Senjimon* 高尾船字文 (The Ciphers of Takao), published in 1796, mixed *Water Margin* with the Japanese *kabuki* drama *Meiboku Sendai Hagi* 伽羅先代萩 (The Precious Incense and Autumn Flowers of Sendai, 1777). His 1803 *yomihon* novel *Kyokutei Denki Hanakanzashi* 曲亭伝奇花釵児 (Kyokutei's Legend: Flower Hairpin) was an adaptation of Li Yu's Chinese drama *Yusaotou* 玉搔頭 (J. *Gyoku Kanzashi*; Jade Hairpin Legend, early seventeenth century). Bakin also used a large number of Japanese classics as references: for instance, in *Geppyō Kien* 月氷奇縁 (A Strange Affinity between Moon and Ice, 1803), he used material from Chikamatsu Monzaemon's 近松門左衛門 (1653-1725) *jōruri* 浄瑠璃 drama *Tsunokuni Myōto Ike* 津国女夫池 (Pool of Husband and Wife in Tsunokuni), while *Strange Tales of the Crescent Moon* was based on the legend of the hero Minamoto no Tametomo 源為朝 and also borrowed the storyline of *Shuihu hou zhuan* 水滸後傳 (J. *Suiko kōden*; *After Water Margin*, early Qing dynasty).[97] Bakin's *yomihon* creation reached its peak in *Eight Dogs*, with its adaptation of *Three Kingdoms*, *Water Margin*, *Journey to the West,* and other Chinese sources.

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[96] *Kibyōshi* is a genre of picture books for adults with yellow-back covers. It belongs to *kusazōshi* 草双紙, a genre of illustrated fiction that was popular in the middle of the Edo period.
[97] Takada, 175-76.

There are two possible reasons for Bakin's shift from *kibyōshi* to *yomihon*. First, Bakin was aware of the power of censorship. Many popular genres including *kibyōshi* were banned by the government during the Kansei reform 寛政の改革 (1787-93). Seeing that Kyōden was punished with fifty days' confinement in handcuffs, Bakin, who wrote to make a living, realized that it was not wise to irritate the government, so he turned to *yomihon* and emphasized the didactic meaning of his works. However, given the number of popular genres of the time, Bakin's choice to write *yomihon* may have had a more fundamental reason than censorship alone. His decision may have been based on the struggle between his identities as an intellectual and as a commercial writer. In the preface of Volume VII of *Eight Dogs*, Bakin expressed his struggle between these two identities:

> I do not admire fictional text, and I prefer classics, historical records, ancient records, and authentic records. However, I keep writing fictional stories every year. Why? Book publishers want to gain profit from my writing. They do not want to print the books I want to write. As a result, I had to write unhelpful books.[98]

As a member of the literary circle, he admired the *ga* 雅 (elegant) culture and he hoped that book publishers and readers would appreciate the value of his work and take it seriously. However, as a commercial writer who needed money to support his family, he had to consider what kinds of books were popular and in demand by publishers. Knowing that the majority of readers bought/borrowed books for entertainment rather than for

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[98] Kyokutei, 4: 111-12.

serious literary value, Bakin found a balancing point between his identities as an intellectual and a commercial writer, and this balancing point was *yomihon*. *Yomihon* is a sub-genre of *gesaku* 戯作 (popular fiction created in Edo), which was characterized as "playful" or "frivolous."[99] However, *yomihon* differs from other sub-genres of *gesaku* including *kibyōshi,* because as its name, which means "books for reading," suggests, it was considered to have higher literary value than other genres; although *yomihon* was popular (*zoku* 俗) literature, it was seen as more elegant than the others.[100] In my opinion, as a former samurai who received education in both Japanese and Chinese classics (which belonged to *ga* literature), Bakin could at least to some degree satisfy his desire for *ga* culture by creating *yomihon*. In addition, *yomihon* also provided him with attention from readers and with money to support his family.

However, although *yomihon* was considered more elegant than other popular literature, it still belonged to *gesaku*. Many *yomihon* writers emphasized the playful aspect of the genre rather than its literary value, and some wrote *yomihon* purely for fun or for money. As a former samurai and an intellectual, Bakin did not want to be considered one of those writers. One method Bakin used to distinguish himself from his peers was to compare himself with authors of Chinese vernacular novels, which he believed contained higher literary value and didactic meaning than most popular fiction. For instance, Kyōden, townsman and merchant, once told Bakin that his main business was his shop, and writing

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[99] Walley, *Good Dogs*, 2.
[100] Ibid., 53

was no more than a hobby to him. Although Kyōden was like a teacher to Bakin and helped Bakin start his writing career, Bakin often criticized Kyōden for his conservatism and compared himself with Chinese authors of vernacular novels in order to demonstrate his superiority over Kyōden.[101] Adapting Chinese vernacular novels was an important strategy for Bakin to show his superiority and deny his actual social status.

Bakin's third identity conflict was between his roles of reader and writer. He was famous for his love for books; in *Chosakudō zakki* 著作堂雑記 (Notes of *Chosakudō*, 1804-48), he wrote, "Since I was young, I have saved money from food and clothing to buy Japanese and Chinese books. My books are collected in around fifty to sixty boxes, among which there are rare books I had searched for many years and finally acquired recently…."[102] He once read twenty-six books, including several versions of *Water Margin*, in one year (1832).[103] The books Bakin read range from Chinese novels, Japanese and Chinese classics to Buddhism/Taoism-related books and others.

As an enthusiastic reader of Chinese vernacular novels, Bakin was deeply impressed by their complex plots, their grand background settings, their unexpected developments, their characters' various personalities, and their didactic message of *kanzen chōaku* 勧善懲悪 (encourage good and chastise evil). As a Japanese *yomihon* writer, Bakin realized

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101 Ōtaka Yōji, "Development of the late yomihon: Santō Kyōden and Kyokutei Bakin," in *The Cambridge History of Japanese Literature*, edited by Haruo Shirane, Tomi Suzuki, and David Lurie, translated by Michael Emmerich, 546. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015. doi:10.1017/CHO9781139245869.057.
102 Asō, *Takizawa Bakin*, 80.
103 Ibid., 151.

the deficiency of the *yomihon* genre, and tried to alleviate this feeling of inferiority to Chinese vernacular novels by criticizing others. He criticized his contemporary *yomihon* writers for their neglect of didacticism and literary value, and also criticized some Chinese scholars for their failure to discover the real meanings of Chinese vernacular novels. For instance, Bakin mentioned several times in his commentary on *Eight Dogs* that Jin Shengtan failed to understand *Water Margin*'s author's real intention:

> Jin Shengtan criticized *Three Kingdoms* [for it containing unrealistic elements], but he argued that there was no supernatural power in *Water Margin*. This is ridiculous. . . . [From Chapter LXX to the end] is about the hundred and eight demons becoming Song's loyal fighters. If the story ended in Chapter LXX without the following plots, then the hundred and eight characters were only bandits gathering in Mount Liang. How can such a story teach people to pursue good and chastise evil? Through this analysis, the hundred and twenty chapters were all written by Luo Guanzhong without question. However, Jin [Shengtan] slanderously claimed that the text after Chapter LXX was Xu shuihu zhuan 續水滸傳 (J. *Zoku Suiko den*; after *Water Margin*), and assaulted it recklessly.[104]

Bakin continued to express his dissatisfaction with the Chinese vernacular novels themselves. In his opinion, the biggest problem of *Water Margin* is that the didacticism in

[104] Kyokutei, 10: 14. It is noteworthy that this is only Bakin's opinion on *Water Margin*. He used his understanding of "encouragement and chastisement" to justify *Water Margin* elsewhere. I will discuss it in the third chapter.

it is so obscure that it is too easy for most people to miss it or misread it; *Three Kingdoms*'s problem is that although it is a fictional story, many people had mistaken it for an actual historical record; and *Journey to the West* is too repetitive and one of its main characters, Xuanzang, shows weakness as a leader.[105] Both his admiration of and dissatisfaction with vernacular novels contributed to Bakin's desire to further develop *yomihon* and increase its status by creating a great work that equals or even surpasses the three vernacular novels.

Bakin's life, career and ambition demonstrate three conflicts of identities. The first conflict is between his identities as a samurai and as a townsman. The education he received led to his dissatisfaction with his samurai position. However, when he lost his samurai title and became a townsman, he could not accept his life as a lowly merchant. Furthermore, after his eldest brother died, he became the only son in the Takizawa family. He blamed himself for demoting his family from samurai class to commoner class, and he regretted indulging himself and losing his samurai title. Although he spent the rest of his life trying to return his family to the samurai class, he never achieved that goal. Disappointed by his reality, he used writing to relieve his pain. However, writing itself became a source of conflict for Bakin: as an intellectual, he preferred *ga* culture to *zoku* culture, but as a commercial writer, he was connected to *zoku* culture. He would downplay his social status by comparing himself to the authors of the great Chinese vernacular novels, but his attitude toward the Chinese authors was more than simply praise. As a reader, Bakin admired the

[105] I will further discuss Bakin's dissatisfaction and his modification in the next chapter.

three Chinese vernacular novels, but he also expressed his dissatisfaction with them. This dual attitude led him to incorporate material from *Three Kingdoms*, *Water Margin,* and *Journey to the West* in *Eight Dogs*.

Bakin's motivations for choosing *Three Kingdoms, Water Margin,* and *Journey to the West* as sources for *Eight Dogs* can be classified as extrinsic and intrinsic. The extrinsic motivations stem from the popularity of the three Chinese vernacular novels in the Edo period, which were due to many sociohistorical changes, including the expansion of the population, the increase in literacy, the acceptance of Neo-Confucianism, the popularity of vernacular Chinese learning, and the early adaptations of these novels in different media. The intrinsic motivations are Bakin's desire to reenter the samurai class, his pride as an intellectual, and his ambition to create a work equal to the three Chinese vernacular novels. In reality, he was a townsman and a commercial writer of popular literature. However, in his heart, he wanted to write like an intellectual and live like a samurai. He chose to achieve this dream by creating a *yomihon* work that could be a counterpart to the great Chinese vernacular novels such as *Three Kingdoms*, *Water Margin,* and *Journey to the West*, and depicting ideal samurai characters in it.[106] By comparing his work with these Chinese vernacular novels, Bakin wanted to express his determination that he would one day reenter the samurai class. He also sought to claim that, despite being a commercial writer who wrote for money, he was still an intellectual. Furthermore, his admiration for and

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[106] Bakin's understanding of ideal samurai will be discussed in Chapter Three in details.

dissatisfaction with the three Chinese vernacular novels motivated him to create a work that would be superior to them.

Chapter III: *Eight Dogs*: A Japanese *Yomihon* Work

As discussed in Chapter Two, Bakin's attitude towards Chinese vernacular novels is complicated. On the one hand, he admired *Water Margin*, *Three Kingdoms* and *Journey to the West* and wanted to compose a *yomihon* by imitating them. On the other hand, he criticized the deficiencies of these Chinese works and tried to create a *yomihon* that could surpass them. This chapter explores how Bakin incorporated the three Chinese vernacular novels in *Eight Dogs* and how the tensions between imitation and subversion, assimilation and otherization, deconstruction and reconstruction are united in *Eight Dogs*. My analysis starts from Bakin's imitation and assimilation by exploring his writing techniques and didactic intention. In the second section, his dissatisfaction with the three Chinese vernacular novels and his subversion will be discussed by comparing the differences between the original Chinese stories and Bakin's adaptations in *Eight Dogs*. The final section will discuss Bakin's deconstruction and reconstruction of his sources by analyzing two episodes through the lens of gender.

1. Inspired by the Three Chinese Novels

1.1 The Seven Rules for Unofficial History

Bakin did not simply borrowed stories and character settings from *Water Margin*, *Three Kingdoms,* and *Journey to the West*. He also learned writing techniques and the purpose of vernacular novels from them. This section focuses on comparing Bakin's writing

techniques with that of his Chinese counterparts.. Bakin referred to his writing techniques as *haishi shichihōsoku* 稗史七法則[107] (seven rules for unofficial history[108]), including *shukaku* 主客 (host and guest), *fukusen* 伏線 (foreshadowing), *shinsen* 襯染 (pre-dyeing), *shōō* 照応 (parallelism), *hantai* 反対 (contrasts), *shōhitsu* 省筆 (abbreviation to avoid redundancy), and *inbi* 隠微 (subtlety, hidden intent).[109] Asō notes that Bakin was inspired by Chinese novelists, but does not provide us with any names.[110] Hamada Keisuke 浜田啓介 speculates that Jin Shengtan's commentary on *Water Margin* might be an important inspiration for Bakin, but he also admits that Jin's commentary cannot cover all seven of Bakin's rules.[111] Tokuda Takeshi argues that Bakin modeled his seven rules on Mao's *Du Sanguo zhi fa* 讀三國志法 (How to Read *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*) rather than on Jin Shengtan's commentary on *Water Margin*.[112] Bakin did indeed speak highly of Mao, commenting that Mao's talent was superior to Jin's, and that Mao's opinions coincided with his own.[113] At least six of Bakin's seven rules can be found in

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[107] Kyokutei, 7: 16-18.
[108] Bakin considered *Eight Dogs* a *haishi* work. The word *haishi* derives from Chinese and was usually used to refer to unofficial historical records. See Anthony C. Yu, "History, Fiction and Reading of Chinese Narrative," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 10.1-2 (July 1988), 1. Also see Gu Mingdong, *Chinese Theories of Fiction: A Non-Western Narrative System* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006), 18.
[109] The translation of the seven rules is taken from Walley, *Good Dogs*, 135.
[110] Asō, *Edo Bungaku*, 446.
[111] Hamada Keisuke, "Bakin no iwayuru haishi shichihōsoku ni tsuite," *Kokugo kokubun* 25 (August 1959): 476-82.
[112] Tokuda Takeshi, "Bakin to Chūgoku shōsetsu," in *Zusetsu Nihon no koten 19-Takizawa Bakin* (Japanese classics with illustrations 19-Takizawa Bakin; Tōkyō: Shūeisha, 1989), 137-38. Tokuda argues that Bakin regarded Mao's commentary on *Three Kingdoms* as better than Jin's commentary on *Water Margin*. See Tokuda Takeshi, "Hakkenden to Ienari jidai jō," *Bungaku*, Vol. 49 (1981): 66.
[113] Kyokutei, 12, 462.

Mao's *How to Read the Romance of the Three Kingdoms,* as Bakin's definition of "host and guest" suggests:

> [The rule of] host and guest is similar to the protagonist and the supporting role in Japanese *nō* 能 plays. The whole book has its host and guest, and every chapter has its own host and guest. Sometimes, the host might become the guest, and the guest might become the host. As in Japanese chess, in order to capture the rival's chess piece, one needs to attack that piece with his own chess piece, but he might also lose his own piece. The reversal (*hen* 変) has no limits.[114]

This explanation echoes two of the techniques Mao describes in his commentary. First, "[o]ne of the marvels of *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms* is the technique of using the guest as a foil for the host,"[115] the same analogy Bakin used in his discussion of protagonists and supporting characters. Mao further noted that "[one] of the marvels of *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms* is the technique of making the stars move and the dipper revolve and causing rain to inundate things and wind to overturn them." Bakin's explanation of the reversal of the host and guest roles is very reminiscent of this description.

Bakin pointed out that "foreshadowing" and "pre-dyeing" are similar but different concepts. "Foreshadowing" refers to giving hints of what is to come later in the story several chapters ahead, while "pre-dyeing" indicates preparation for important future

[114] Ibid., 7: 16.
[115] Rolston, 166.

plots.[116] It is not easy to distinguish these two rules according to Bakin's short explanation; however, knowledge of Mao's commentary is useful in comprehending these ideas. According to Mao:

> One of the marvels of *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms* is the technique of making sleet appear when it is about to snow and thunder reverberate when it is about to rain. . . One of the marvels of *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms* is the technique of sowing seeds a year in advance and making preliminary moves to set up later strategies.[117]

The first technique is similar to "pre-dyeing," as Mao explains: "[e]very significant passage is preceded by an inconsequential one that serves to lead up to it, [and e]very major passage is preceded by a minor passage."[118] The preceding passage does not have to be the reason for the later event; it is nothing more than a story that is similar to the main story, but on a much smaller scale, that leads the readers smoothly into the main story. By contrast, "foreshadowing" means that the preceding passage is the reason, or one of the reasons, for the subsequent events. In Mao's words, "[g]ood gardeners sow their seeds in the ground and wait for them to come up at the proper time, [and g]ood players of encirclement chess make seemingly inconsequential moves many plays in advance, the significance of which only becomes apparent many moves later."[119]

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[116] Kyokutei, 7: 16-17.
[117] Rolston, 179-80, 183.
[118] Ibid., 179.
[119] Ibid., 183.

Bakin's rules of "parallelism" and "contrasts" echo Mao's technique of "balancing one striking peak against another and placing brocade screens face-to-face."[120] Mao indicates that "in this technique, things may be juxtaposed either to bring out their similarities or to emphasize their differences." Similarly, for Bakin, "parallelism" refers to different stories about the same thing, while "contrasts" refer to different stories about the same person. What Bakin calls "abbreviation to avoid redundancy" is similar to what Mao describes as "meticulously rendering the hills in the foreground and lightly sketching the trees in the distance."[121] Bakin indicates that such abbreviation is meant to reduce repetition and maintain the reader's interest in the story.

Although the rule of "hidden intent," referring to the author's deeper intent beyond the text, does not directly appear in Mao's commentary, Tokuda argues that "hidden intent" is equivalent to the discussion of legitimacy in *Three Kingdoms*.[122] He further notes that because Bakin "learned that a novel must seek to correct political ethics" from Mao, the hidden intent present in *Eight Dogs* is Bakin's way of criticizing the Tokugawa government while avoiding censorship, just as legitimacy is one of the hidden intents in *Three Kingdoms*.

However, *Water Margin* engages in more hidden intents than merely political criticism, and Bakin himself stated that even great Chinese scholars such as Li Zhuowu and Jin

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[120] Ibid., 188.
[121] Ibid., 186-87.
[122] Tokuda, "Hakkenden to Ienari jidai jō," 64.

Shengtan had been unable to decipher all of the hidden intents in the work. He outlined the three main hidden intents in *Water Margin* in *Suikoden sōhyō* 水滸伝総評 (General Comments on *Water Margin*, 1833), the first of which was the progression of the 108 heroes throughout the story from good people to depraved criminals to loyal subjects, in order to teach the reader about righteousness and to praise good and chastise evil. Second, Bakin also argued that *Water Margin* depicts 110 evils rather than 108; the two additional evils are Hong Shin and Wang Jin 王進 (J. Ō Shin). Third, he identified Hong Shin and Wang Jin, and Wang Jin and Shi Jin 史進 (J. Shi Shin), are doppelgangers of each other.[123] Obviously, the three hidden intents do not belong to political critics, and this implies that Bakin's use of hidden intents is more complicated than merely political criticism.

From approximately thirty examples, Hattori Hitoshi 服部仁 identifies two patterns of hidden intent in Bakin's work: hidden intent for "encouragement and chastisement" and hidden intent for "story development." He further divided the latter into five sub-patterns.

a. Story structure or karmic retribution;

b. Hidden intents for/against *myōsen jishō* 名詮自性 (the name expresses the nature of the thing/person);

c. The source of the story;

d. "Host and guest";

e. "Parallelism" and "contrasts."

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[123] Hattori Hitoshi, "Bakin no inbi to iu rinen," *Kinsei bungei*, Vol. 25-26 (1976): 60-61.

In Bakin's opinion, hidden intent has two main functions: to teach "encouragement and chastisement" through interesting stories, and to make the stories interesting by organizing the story structure in a subtle way and using appropriate writing techniques. The first hidden intent present in *Water Margin* belongs to Hattori's first pattern, since the behavior of the 108 outlaw heroes fits with Bakin's understanding of "encouragement and chastisement". The second and third belong to *myōsen jishō* in the second category, which means that the meaning of the character's name gives hint to his personality and his story.[124] For instance, the pronunciations of Hong Xin and Wang Jin in Japanese (Kō Shin and Ō Shin) are similar[125] and even though Hong Xin's name *xin* 信 (J. shin) means "believe" or "trust," he opens the door that releases the evil spirits out of "distrust"; similarly, Wang Jin's name *jin* 進 (J. shin) means "progress" or "promote," which contrasts with his retirement, a way to "retreat" from society. Through this observation, Bakin concluded that Hong Xin and Wang Jin are doppelgangers. Similarly, Wang Jin and Shi Jin are also doppelgangers, and Bakin believed that these imply that Hong Xin and Wang Jin should also be considered as outlaw heroes in *Water Margin* and this increases their total number to 110.[126]

Even though Bakin largely modelled his seven rules for unofficial history on Chinese scholars' commentaries, especially Mao's commentary on *Three Kingdoms*, he did not

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[124] The hint either matches or contrast to the character's behaviors.
[125] This is Bakin's opinion. He read *Water Margin* in Japanese and made this comparison, but the two names are not similar in Chinese, so this observation might be invalid.
[126] Hattori, 52-53.

merely repeat the techniques summarized by those scholars, but had his own interpretation of the rules of hidden intent.[127] This term loosely refers to the hidden intent of the author, which encompasses correct political ethics, narrative structure, *myōsen jishō* and other elements. Bakin may be using this technique not only to escape government censorship, but also to play with his readers.

1.2 Bakin's Didacticism: Encouragement and Chastisement

Bakin learned his writing techniques mainly from the Mao's commentary on *Three Kingdoms*, but he had his own interpretation of them, especially the idea of hidden intent. Similarly, his understanding of a novel's didactic purpose came from Chinese vernacular novels, but developed into a different version. "Encouragement and chastisement" was a theme to which Bakin returned many times in the prefaces to the various installments of *Eight Dogs,* including the foreword to Volume III:

> The ancients reasoned as to karmic causes and elucidated their effects, used vulgar stories to entice the public and encouragement and chastisement [*kanchō*] to awaken them. Their conceptions were exquisite, and their writing marvellous. They made expedient means their warp and allegory their woof, and with them wove a beautiful brocade. The sweetness of their work is as of candy or honey that sticks to the ignorant as to an ant so that they cannot escape it, but his sufferings, where it

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[127] Although the Chinese word *inbi* first appeared in *Zhong Yong* 中庸 (Doctrine of the Mean), Bakin gave new meaning to this word when he used it as the name for one of his writing techniques.

has attached, are converted to excrement and finally eliminated through the anus, so that all unknowing he has arrived within the precincts of good, and become, for a spell, a person cleansed of the filth of the world . . . When it comes to encouragement and chastisement, I will not rate any of my works lower than the ancients'. I desire to help women and children enter the precincts of good. This is my whole reason for writing the Lives of the Eight Dog Warriors.[128]

Bakin argued that the main value of his works lay in his didactic intention, which he put forth as equal to that of the ancients. The concept of *zen* 善 (Ch. *shan*) and *aku* 悪 (Ch. *e*), and their opposite but complementary relationship, can be seen in many Chinese classics, such as the Chapter of Lord Cheng 成 (J. Sei, 590-573 BC) in *Zuo zhuan* 左傳 (J. *Saden*, Zuo Tradition), a commentary on *Chunqiu* 春秋 (J. *Shunjū*, Spring and Autumn Annals):

> In the ninth month, Qiaoru, bringing our lord's wife, Lady Jiang, arrived from Qi. The lineage name of Qiaoru is left out to honor the lord's wife. That is why the nobleman said, "Such is the way that the Annals articulate judgment: subtle yet pointed, clear yet indirect, restrained yet richly patterned, exhaustive yet not excessive, chastising evil and encouraging goodness."[129]

Lady Jiang 姜 (J. Kyō) is Lord Cheng's mother. Shusun Qiaoru 叔孫僑如 (J.

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[128] Translation cited from Walley, *Good Dogs*, 33. For the Japanese original text, see Kyokutei, 2: 11-12.

[129] Stephen W. Durrant, Wai-yee Li, and David Schaberg, *Zuo Tradition / Zuozhuan : Commentary on the "Spring and Autumn Annals"* (Seattle: University of Washington Press), 815.

Shukuson Kyōjo) plans a political advantage for himself by manipulating Lord Cheng through his secret lover Lady Jiang. The commentary notes that in *Spring and Autumn Annals*, the lineage name of Qiaoru (Shusun) is omitted, while Jiang is called "Lady." This demonstrates to the readers that Shusun Qiaoru is an evil man, while Jiang, as the mother of Lord Cheng, deserves respect. The author of *Zuo Tradition* uses the phrase "chastising evil and encouraging goodness" in reference to *Spring and Autumn Annals*, and this term can also be found in other ancient texts. For example, Wang Chong 王充 (J. Ō Jū, 27-?) argues in *Lungheng* 論衡 (J. *Ronkō*, Disquisitions) that since writers record good and evil, people should do good things in order to be remembered as good, and restrain their desire to do bad things so that they will not be remembered as evil.

The Chinese characters *zen* and *aku* are generally translated as "good" and "evil," but their meanings are more complex, and novelists use them in their works in many different ways. *Zen* is usually translated as "kind," "virtue," or "good," while *aku* is often translated as "evil," "vice," or "bad." *Zen* is often combined with *ryō* 良 (Ch. *liang*; good, beauty, or lucky) as a phrase that implies that behaviors of *zen* will bring one good luck, while *aku* is often followed by *kyō* 凶 (Ch. *xiong*; calamity, unlucky, or baneful) to suggest that behaviors of *aku* will bring one bad luck or even calamity. However, in reality, evil people often lead happy lives, while good people can and do experience difficulties, unfairness, sickness, or even death. Many Chinese vernacular novelists used the mechanism of karmic retribution in Buddhism to solve this moral dilemma and to satisfy the public's desire for

justice and equality.[130] According to the logic of karmic retribution, a person who does bad things will eventually be punished, but will not know when or where it will happen. Sometimes, a bad person will be punished immediately after he/she commits evil deeds, but sometimes the retribution will not come until he/she is reborn, or in other cases, his/her descendants will pay the price instead. Similarly, good people may experience ill fortune because of the misdeeds of their ancestors or themselves in their previous lives. Therefore, for some writers, "encouragement and chastisement" and karmic retribution are convenient tools to structure stories. However, Bakin took these principles seriously, emphasized their moral aspects and believed that his readers would benefit from the didacticism. In his view, if a book fails to encourage its readers to do good things and dissuade them from doing evil, it cannot be considered to have great aesthetic value, and if an author misuses the mechanism of karmic retribution, he/she is not a qualified writer.[131] With regard to Bakin's understanding of encouragement and chastisement, *Water Margin*, *Three Kingdoms,* and *Journey to the West* are problematic in different ways. He was unsatisfied with their didactic messages and so chose to remodel the main characters and/or rework the endings when adapting them for *Eight Dogs*.

[130] Paolo Santangelo, "The Concept of Good and Evil Positive and Negative Forces in Late Imperial China: A Preliminary Approach," *East and West* 37, no. 1/4 (1987): 378-80, 385.
[131] See Walley, *Good Dogs*, 165-66. Walley explores the evolution of Bakin's attitude about encouragement and chastisement.

2. Bakin's Remodeling of the Chinese Vernacular Novels' Main Characters

2.1 From Outlaws to Dog Warriors

According to Bakin's paradigm of encouragement and chastisement, the eight Confucian virtues are embodied by the eight dog warriors for whom Chudai is searching.[132] The dog warriors, as noted previously, were modeled on the hundred and eight outlaws in *Water Margin*. According to Bakin's definition of good, the outlaws are not heroes, at least not in the first seventy chapters, and so he reworked them in *Eight Dogs* into symbols of the eight Confucian virtues, unlike the outlaw heroes in *Water Margin* who represent the hundred and eight demon spirits. Although the dog warriors have experienced betrayal, framing, danger, and many other difficulties just as the outlaw heroes did, they never fail to act righteously. They never hurt innocent people, only punish evil men and women, and even show mercy to their enemies in certain situations.

One example of the difference between the dog warriors of *Eight Dogs* and the outlaw heroes of *Water Margin* can be seen by comparing Inusaka Keno's revenge on Makuwari Daiki to Wu Song's revenge on General Zhang Mengfang.[133] In Chapter LVII of *Eight Dogs*, Keno disguises himself as a dancing girl and is invited to Makuwari's Cow and Bull Bower, where he slaughters both Makuwari, who framed his father for robbery, and his

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[132] The dog warriors also represent the "dogs of the passions of this world," similarly to the three disciples in *Journey to the West* who symbolize different types of desire.
[133] Wang Xuan, "Hakkenden no Suikoden ni taisuru hon'an to sono hikaku," in *Kinsei no geibun to Chūgoku* (Tōkyō: Research Institute for Oriental Cultures Gakushuin University 1986), 86-90.

retainers. Before leaving, he writes on the wall: "Revenge for my father and elder brothers; eliminate the traitors for their former lord. From now on, learn to rule like a ruler, and don't repeat the Battle of *Xuge* 繻葛 (J. *Jukatsu*)."[134] Similarly, Wu Song plans revenge on Zhang for framing him for robbery. He climbs the Duck and Drake Bower and brutally kills Zhang, his guests, and his wife. Before leaving, he writes on the wall: "The slayer is Wu Song the tiger-killer."[135]

In both of these scenes, Wu himself and Keno's father were framed for robbery; both Wu and Keno brutally killed their enemies; and before departure, both left their names on the wall. However, there are four significant differences between Keno's revenge and Wu's. Wu and Keno have different reasons for their killing their opponents. Walley argues that Wu kills Zhang and his guests to avenge his own mistreatment.[136] Although it is true that he was framed for the robbery, he is not a good man; he is introduced as a fugitive murder suspect, responsible for many crimes, including killing Ximen Qing 西門慶 (J. Seimon Kei) and Pan Jinlian 潘金莲 (J. Han Kinren). Conversely, Keno kills Makuwari in revenge for the death of his father, which is legal and acceptable according to the Confucian

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[134] Kyokutei, 3: 513. The Battle of *Shuge* was a battle between the State of Zheng 鄭 (J. Tei) and the Eastern Zhou 周 (J. Shū) Dynasty (770-256 BC). Zhou's army was defeated in this battle, an important factor that led to the fall of the Zhou dynasty. Keno cited this battle here to suggest that Makuwari plotted treason against his lord Chibanosuke Yoritane 千葉介自胤 just like Lord Zheng rebelled King Zhou. If Keno did not kill Makuwari, Yoritane might be killed by Makuwari instead and his clan might perish like the fall of the Zhou dynasty.

[135] Sidney Shapiro, trans., *Outlaws of the Marsh*, (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1999), 903.

[136] Walley, *Good Dogs*, 120.

ideal of filial piety.[137]

Wu kills everyone in the building, including Zhang's innocent wife, where Keno is more restrained, not in terms of brutality, but because he has a specific target in mind. For instance, he is not responsible for the death of Makuwari's wife and daughter, who are mistakenly killed by one of Makuwari's retainers.

Wu only writes his name and his title "tiger-killer" on the wall, which demonstrates his bravery, courage, and valour. Keno, on the other hand, explains the two reasons for his killing: he demonstrates filial piety by seeking revenge for the death of his father and brothers, and he shows loyalty by wanting to help his father's former master rule his land better.

The brutal killing scene in *Water Margin* is narrated directly to the readers, so that the readers may feel as though they are at the scene of the massacre. However, Bakin describes his equivalent scene indirectly, through the conversation between Keno and Kobungo, in order to distance the reader "further from the bloodiness of the scene."[138]

In short, Wu kills Zhang and the others, some of whom are innocent, in the building for his own sake, in a scene that is narrated directly to the readers, while Keno kills Makuwari and his retainers out of filial piety and loyalty, with this brutal killing told to Kobungo, and

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[137] In Edo Japan, vendetta was legal. A successful avenger was often celebrated as an exemplar of filial piety. For details of the history of Japanese vendetta practices, see David Atherton, "Valences of Vengeance: The Moral Imagination of Early Modern Japanese Vendetta Fiction" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2013), 3-4.

[138] Walley, *Good Dogs*, 121. Walley argues that this indirect narration also provides "an interesting contrast with the straight presentation of events in *Shuihu zhuan*."

the readers, by Keno. This comparison underscores the differences between Bakin's intention in designing the dog warriors and that of the author of *Water Margin*. Unlike the outlaw heroes in *Water Margin,* who commit many crimes over the course of the story, the eight dog warriors have never crossed over into the realm of evil. For Bakin, the karmic retribution in *Water Margin* is tragic and negative, with the outlaw heroes paying for their misdeeds with their lives, while the dog warriors are self-restrained and behave according to Confucian teachings, and so their karmic outcome is positive.

2.2 From Liu Bei to the Satomi Father and Son

Bakin's creation of the father and son of the Satomi clan also involved fundamental changes to their counterparts in the Chinese vernacular novels. Liu Bei is an ambitious and benevolent young man in the first half of the work, whose positive qualities bring him good luck. Warriors and commoners alike decide to follow him, and the people of Shu welcome him as their ruler. However, Liu Bei is strongly motivated by his emotions, as seen in Chapter XXIV when he cries over gaining weight:

> Xuande [Liu Bei] himself realized that he had said more than he ought and rose to excuse himself. Doing so, he noticed the extra weight around his middle. Suddenly he found tears welling in his eyes. When Xuande resumed his place, Liu Biao asked what was distressing him. "I used to spend all my time in the saddle," Xuande replied with a deep sigh. "Now it has been so long since I have been riding that I am growing thick around the waist. Time is passing me by. My years come on but

> my task languishes, and it grieves me."[139]

A reader might be surprised by Liu's weeping because it is strange to see a hero weeping about gaining weight, but weeping is characteristic of him.[140] Because of his strong emotions, he forgets his goals of restoring the House of Han and his people's welfare, and starts a war to avenge his two sworn brothers. According to the rule of righteousness, Liu Bei seems to be making the right decision, but he is lost in fury, and so his revenge is both morally and politically wrong.

Both Guan Yu and Zhang Fei died because of their own misdeeds; Guan Yu's death is related to his arrogance and conceit. C. T. Hsia argues that Guan Yu's tragedy is rooted in "his sheer ignorance of policy, his childish vanity and unbearable conceit."[141] In Chapters LXXIV to LXXVII, Guan Yu, having reached the peak of his fame, has become headstrong and foolish, leading to his death in battle against Wu's and Wei's united army.[142] Wu betrays his ally Shu and joins with Wei due to the conflict between Wu and Shu over Jingzhou 荊州 (J. Keishū). In Chapter LII, Lu Su 魯肅 (J. Ro Shuku) meets Zhuge Liang and asks Liu Bei to return Jingzhou to Sun Quan 孫權 (J. Son Ken):

> Lord Sun Quan and his chief commander, Zhou Yu 周瑜 (J. Shū Yu), have sent me to communicate their emphatic view to the imperial uncle. When we first undertook this campaign, Cao Cao had command of a million men and threatened

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[139] Roberts, 105.
[140] Ibid., 414.
[141] C. T. Hsia, *The Classic Chinese Novel: A Critical Introduction* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), 41.
[142] Hsia, 48.

> to descend on the Southland. His real objective, however, was the imperial uncle, whom by fortune's grace the Southland saved in a massive campaign that drove back the northerners. Jingzhou's nine imperial districts should now properly become part of the Southland. But the imperial uncle has used a subterfuge to seize and hold the area, handily reaping a benefit for which the Southland has vainly expended its coin, grain, and men. I doubt that this is consonant with accepted principles.[143]

Lu claims that Sun Quan should be the owner of Jingzhou because Sun saved Liu Bei from Cao Cao. However, Zhuge argues that Liu Qi 刘琦 (J. Ryū Ki)[144] is the rightful ruler of Jingzhou and promises Lu that Jingzhou will be returned to Sun Quan after Liu Qi dies. However, in Chapter LIV, after Liu Qi's death, Zhuge refuses to give Jingzhou back to Sun Quan. He says, "I can have Lord Liu give it to you in writing that we are borrowing the province as our temporary base, and that once Lord Liu has completed his arrangements for taking another, he will return Jingzhou to the Southland."[145] However, even after Liu Bei obtains his own land, he still refuses to give Jingzhou back and orders Guang Yu to guard it instead. There are political and military reasons for the "borrowing of Jingzhou": its location is crucial to the military expansions of Sun and Liu. However, we cannot deny that Liu admits that the land was borrowed from Sun and he has no intention of returning

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[143] Roberts, 285.

[144] Liu Qi's father Liu Biao 劉表 (J. Ryū Hyō) was the former ruler of Jingzhou. By that time, Liu Biao has already died, so Zhuge argues that his son should be the legal ruler of Jingzhou.

[145] Roberts, 288-89.

it. Therefore, Liu actually does not have grounds to avenge his brother, because he himself is in the wrong; similarly, he has no reason to take revenge on Sun for Zhang's death because Zhang was killed by his subordinates for his irascibility. The killers chopped off Zhang's head and brought it to the Wu state as a gift for refuge.

Many of Liu's subjects try to dissuade him from starting a war with Sun. For instance, Zhao Yun 趙雲 (J. Chō Un) reminds Liu of his political ideal: "Cao Cao is the traitor, not Sun Quan. Cao Pi 曹丕 (J. Sō Hi) [Cao Cao's son] has usurped the Han throne, to the common indignation of gods and men. Let Your Majesty first make the land within the passes your target."[146] Seeing that Liu is unwilling to abandon his revenge, Zhao continues to remind him that public responsibility, such as war against Cao, takes priority over personal matters, such as war against Wu. Because Liu's revenge is not only morally wrong but also politically wrong, his failure is foreseeable, and the Shu state begins its decline.

By contrast, the story of the Satomi father and son begins with wrongdoing, but ends in the prosperity of their land, at least in their generation. In Chapter VI, after Yoshizane conquers the land of Awa, how to handle the sinners, including Tamazusa, must be determined. When Tamazusa is brought to the room, Yoshizane's lieutenant Kanamari first enumerates her crimes:

> Tamazusa, you were the concubine of the former lord of this province - there are none who do not know of this. You grew proud in his favor and charmed him from

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[146] Ibid., 359.

> his senses: you stretched out your hand even unto the Way of Governance and violated his loyal retainers - this is your first crime. You swathed yourself in twills and gauzes, made meals of jewels and fires of katsura-wood - all in all, you pursued luxury and amusement to the farthest extremity, and even this did not satisfy you, so you took up a secret correspondence with Sadakane. This is your second crime. These things I, Takayoshi, know for myself - I had no need for others to inform me of them. Then Yamashita Sadakane's rebellious conspiracy was realized, and he usurped the two districts: from that day you became his wife, displaying neither shame nor restraint - it is karmic retribution for the evil you have worked that your life was spared until the castle fell. Alive, you are to be bound with fetters of punishment; dead, you will be an unhallowed spirit. Consider this the punishments of Heaven and the state![147]

Hearing this, Tamazusa claims her innocence for three reasons. First, a woman in this society must rely on a man to live; after her lord's death, she has no other choice but to serve Sadakane. Second, she claims that she has never meddled in politics. Third, even great men changed their lords after Mitsuhiro's death, so it is unfair to punish her, a woman, for disloyalty. She claims that she has done nothing wrong as a woman, and then argues that even if she did do something wrong, it is because she is a weak woman. Even men who made similar mistakes are not severely punished; therefore, Yoshizane should show

[147] Kyokutei, 1: 152. Translation cited from Walley, "Gender and Virtue," 347.

mercy to her as well. However, Kanamari responds and insists on killing her. Then she turns to Yoshizane and begs him:

> I am indeed a sinner. However, Lord Satomi [Yoshizane] is a lord with benevolence. I heard that you emphasize reward more than punishment in Tōjō 東条 and here. If soldiers from the enemy's castle decide to surrender, you do not kill them but hire them instead. I admit my guilt, but I am only a woman of little matter. I hope you can forgive me. I will appreciate it greatly if you allow me to return to my hometown. . .[148]

Her words move Yoshizane, so that he shows sympathy to her and tells Kanamari to give her a light sentence. However, Kanamari convinces Yoshizane to sentence her to death. Hearing this, Tamazusa bursts out in rage:

> Despicable, Kanamari Hachirō, to reject your Lord's command to be merciful and slay me instead - if you do this, you yourself will ere long be but rust on a blade, and your house shall long be ruined! And Yoshizane - your deeds hardly bear speaking of! Your tongue would not rest once it had bade mercy: overcome by Takayoshi's 孝吉 [Kanamari Hachirō] persuasions, making a plaything of a person's life, you are a foolish commander, not at all like what I had heard. Kill me if you will! I shall lead your descendants along the way of beasts - I shall make them dogs of the passions of this world![149]

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[148] Kyokutei, 1: 155.
[149] Ibid., 157. Translation cited from Walley, "Gender and Virtue," 349.

Tamazusa blames Yoshizane for his indecisiveness, foolishness, and untrustworthiness. Her curses do come true, as Fuse marries her family dog and bears eight spiritual children who are half-human and half-dog. Thus, Yoshizane's lack of positive qualities and inability to be a good ruler cause the misfortune of the Satomi clan. However, even though the story of the Satomi clan begins as tragedy, it ends happily, as Yoshinari succeeds Yoshizane as the ruler of Awa. Yoshinari is a benevolent ruler, and even though he does make mistakes, he admits to his faults when he realizes them. For example, when he suspected that Shinbei had an affair with one of his daughters, he expelled Shinbei. However, when he realized that he had misjudged Shinbei due to the enemy's trick, he recalled Shinbei and apologized to him. When the eight dog warriors who represent the eight Confucian virtues unite in the land of Awa, Yoshinari finally draws a conclusion to the tragic past of his clan and becomes the ideal ruler.

Liu Bei's story is a process of losing virtues, while that of the Satomi family is one of regaining/enhancing virtues. This is yet another example of Bakin's positive interpretation of karmic outcomes in contrast to that of his source: in *Three Kingdoms*, Liu's failure as a lord leads to negative karmic retribution, while in *Eight Dogs*, Yoshinari's good behaviours and virtues contribute to the prosperity of his clan.

2.3 From Xuanzang to Chudai

The difference between Chudai and Xuanzang is more obvious than other points of

comparison discussed so far: Chudai is a hero while Xuanzang is an Everyman.[150] Xuanzang is a pious monk who made a difficult decision to go on a journey for the precious scripts, but he is depicted as a relatively negative character. C. T. Hsia reads Xuanzang as an ordinary man who would become nervous facing even a minor inconvenience; he is irritable and dull and does not realize that he is a bad leader. He is a hypocrite who insists on avoiding eating meat and dodging women, but there is no sincerity in his behaviour. Knowing that the monsters want to eat his flesh or marry him, he neither resists nor surrenders, but watches helplessly.[151] Hu Guangzhou 胡光舟 (J. Ko Kōshū) recognizes some of Xuanzang's good qualities, but also expresses his dissatisfaction with his other characteristics:

> He has confidence and faith in acquiring the scripts and he even risks his life for this purpose—although he feels frustrated sometimes facing the long journey and countless monsters. In order to reach enlightenment, he strictly observes the commandments, so he has never been lured by money, profit, beauty, or power. He has the good virtues of benevolence and kindness, and sometimes shows great compassion. . . However, in terms of characteristics, . . . he is craven and incapable, as timid as a rabbit, easily deceived; he cannot distinguish right from wrong; he is selfish, indecisive, and fatuous; he hardly mends his way despite repeated education (lessons). On the team, he is not a spiritual leader, nor an actual warrior.

[150] Hsia, 126.
[151] Ibid, 126-27.

He is one-hundred-percent cumbersome.[152]

Compared to the naughty but brave Sun Wukong, the lazy but interesting Zhu Bajie, and the calm and reserved Sha Wujing, Xuanzang in *Journey to the West* projects a much more negative image, as hypocritical, dependent, indecisive, easily-deceived, and craven. Obviously, such a character does not fit in with Bakin's mechanism of encouragement and chastisement, so in creating Chudai, Bakin makes three obvious changes from the model of Xuanzang.

Chudai's decision to become a monk and go on a journey is more reasonable, and more significant, than Xuanzang's. Xuanzang was a disciple of the Buddha but suffered for his lack of interest in the Buddha's talk.[153] All the misfortunes and difficulties Xuanzang experiences are retribution for his transgressions in his former life. However, the cause of his misfortune is insignificant compared to the effects he suffers for it. Similarly, Zhu Bajie was born a pig monster for flirting with Chang'e 嫦娥 (J. Jōga),[154] and Sha Wujing for breaking a jade crystal glass at the Peach Festival.[155] All of them pay great prices for their small mistakes, a phenomenon that Plaks regards as one of the ironies of *Journey to the West*.[156]

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[152] Hu Guangzhou, *Wu Cheng'en he Xiyou ji* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1980), 115.
[153] For more details about the former life of Xuanzang, see Anthony C. Yu, trans., *The Journey to the West* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 1: 263.
[154] Yu, 380-82.
[155] Ibid., 433.
[156] Plaks argues that the irony in *Journey to the West* is "any discrepancy between surface meaning and underlying intent in a text to allow it to take in the more fully articulated disjunction of meaning that materializes in allegory." See Plaks, 221. The irony of the

However, such irony is not compatible with the world in *Eight Dogs*. Therefore, Bakin gives Chudai a more reasonable motivation for his journey: his father Kanamari Hachirō persuaded Yoshizane to kill Tamazusa, and she curses both of them before her death. Her curse on Hachirō works, as he commits suicide soon after her death, and his only son Kanamari Daisuke (Chudai's secular name) mistakenly shoots Princess Fuse and Yatsufusa with a gun. Out of guilt, he decides to cut off his connection with the secular world and become a monk, so that in his generation, his clan comes to ruin. By changing the cause of his character's misfortune from lack of concentration to the curse of a dead woman, Bakin increases the significance and seriousness of the cause, such that it is reasonable for Chudai and the dog warriors to experience many ordeals.

Unlike Xuanzang, who largely relies on his three disciples on his journey to India, Chudai travels mainly by himself. Bakin combines the "disciples" (dog warriors) with the "script" (beads with the Confucian virtues) in *Eight Dogs*, so that gathering the dog warriors becomes the purpose rather than the method of Chudai's journey, forcing him to travel independently. Like Xuanzang, Chudai meets difficulties on his journey, but he faces them by himself and conquers them with courage and wisdom. For instance, Chapters LXXXVI and LXXXVII tell the story of Chudai saving a village from an evil monk. On his way to Yūki 結城, he plans to seek shelter in a village, but finds that no one in this village is willing to let him inside. One villager tells him that the village head ordered them

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sins of Xuanzang's three disciples seem like three jokes, but in fact, what they imply is serious; it is a criticism of a corrupted and inefficient government.

to refuse him because they do not have extra money to help travelers. Many years prior, the village suffered from severe inundation. A traveler named Chiu Rōshi 知雨老師, whose name means "the master of rain," came to the village and told the villagers that they had irritated the monster in the huge lake, and if they wanted to stop the rain, they would have to make regular sacrifices to him. After hearing this, Chudai goes to see the head and introduces himself as Chifū Dōjin 知風道人, or "the master of wind," the disciple of Chiu Rōshi. He tells the village head that his master requires them to guard the lake tonight because some thieves had recently stolen their sacrifices. That night, the villagers do discover five thieves; two of them run away, two are killed by the villagers, and one is caught alive. According to the captive, one of the two dead men is their leader, Chiu Rōshi, whose real identity is an evil monk named Gazen 鵞鱓, who had cast a spell of rain on the village and then required the villagers to offer sacrifices to the lake monster, which he had invented. The thieves would come every time in the middle of the night and steal the sacrifices; Gazen would also secretly take girls from the village. All the remaining sacrifices and the girls are kept in his cave. Chudai then reveals his real identity and leads the villagers to the cave. On their way, they meet an old couple who tell them the location of the cave. Carefully examining their appearance, Chudai concludes that they must be monsters. Under serious questioning, they admit that they are shapeshifting badgers who used to live in the cave but were driven away by Gazen. Learning that Gazen is dead, they return and kill the remaining two thieves.

The above story demonstrates Chudai's wisdom and bravery. He knows how to gather

information from the villagers; he can see the truth through the surface; he is wise enough to set a trap to catch the thieves; and he has the courage to face the monsters directly. In the commentary at the end of Chapter LXXXVII, Bakin informs his readers that these two chapters were meant to display the qualities that make Chudai an ideal husband for Princess Fuse and a harbinger of the dog warriors.[157]

Bakin modelled this episode on the story of the River of Heaven in *Journey to the West*. In the original story, Xuanzang and his disciples take shelter in a village near the River of Heaven. The villager tells them that the Great King of Miraculous Response can send rain to the farms, but he asks them to offer young boys and girls as sacrifices to him every year.[158] In this episode, the heroes are Sun and Zhu, who change themselves into a little boy and a little girl to deceive the monster. After the monster escapes, Sun visits Guanyin to ask for help. Xuanzang does little to help, merely waiting for his disciples to capture the monster and then receiving appreciation from the villagers. By recreating the image of Xuanzang in this episode, Bakin promotes his version of encouragement and chastisement by pointing out that people should not be encouraged to take credit for good deeds that were done by others.

Bakin increased the status of human beings in his fictional world when creating Chudai. Xuanzang is depicted as an Everyman who cannot use magic or see through monsters'

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[157] Kyokutei, 1: 421.
[158] For more details of the story, see W.J.F. Jenner, trans., *Journey to the West* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 2000), 1536-56.

disguises, and who is selfish and loves compliments. Faced with various types of monsters, he has no other method to protect himself than relying on his disciples, who also belong to the realm of monsters. He needs their help, especially Sun's, to continue his journey, but at the same time he shows his fear of their power. The author grants him the power to control the monkey by chanting the incantation of the Golden Hoop. However, every time he chants this incantation, the reader shows more and more compassion to Sun instead of him. According to Hu, "How can he have the heart to torture the disciple who risks his life to protect him?"[159] In the world of gods and monsters depicted in *Journey to the West*, Xuanzang seems to be the only ordinary person, but from a different perspective. Although he appears to be an Everyman, he is not an ordinary man to begin with, but was a disciple of the Buddha in his former life. In this sense, his story is a former Bodhisattva's journey back to the world to which he once belonged. Either way, Xuanzang's image does not fit Bakin's monk ideal.

Eight Dogs is a historical romance, although it does include some supernatural elements. Bakin's purpose is to teach the general public about encouragement and chastisement, so that the story features a human protagonist. People like Chudai in the world of *Eight Dogs* are not inferior to monsters or gods in terms of power or morality. Chudai was an ordinary person at the beginning of the story. After he mistakenly shot Princess Fuse, he became a sinner. When he decides to become a monk, he changes his name to Chudai. The two

[159] Hu, 116.

Chinese characters that make up his name (丶大) together create the Chinese character that means "dog" (犬). According to the rule of *myōsen jishō*, his new name expresses his karma with dogs, which can also be viewed as the influence of Tamazusa's curse. Chudai goes on his journey for salvation. After he successfully gathers the eight dog warriors and brings them back to Awa, his sin is cleansed and his bad karma ends. At the end of the story, Chudai restores the Kanamari house by adopting the eight dog warriors as his sons. Many years later, Chudai disappears in front of Fuse's cave in Mount To. In the illustration of this episode, he reunites with Princess Fuse (his fiancée) and becomes a god. In short, the story of Chudai is a human being's struggle with karmic retribution. His enlightenment, in the end, is the outcome of encouragement and chastisement, which Bakin continued to promote in *Eight Dogs*.

3. Eight Dogs: A Japanese *Yomihon*

By far, it seems that Bakin still largely relied on or was limited by the three Chinese novels. He learned how to structure the story and make it more interesting from them, and he depicted his characters according to "encouragement and chastisement," which he learned from the Chinese novels though he interpreted it in a different way. He seems to be confined by the three Chinese novels, but in my opinion, this is not actually the case. In fact, the Chinese stories, writing styles, techniques, and the ideas of encouragement and chastisement and karmic retribution are all auxiliary tools that Bakin uses to tell his story, organize his plot, promote his ideal, and express his criticism. This section also uses

understandings of gender and specifically of masculinity to illustrate how Bakin viewed the culture of Edo society and the personalities of its people.

First, Bakin's understanding of *shi* is different from *shi* as portrayed in the three Chinese vernacular novels. Edo Japan had a strict social hierarchy of *shinōkōshō*, in which *shi* indicates the samurai (warrior) class. This idea of *shinōkōshō* comes from China, but in Chinese, *shi* usually refers to scholar-officials.[160] Interestingly, the same Chinese character *shi* signifies two different groups in Japan and China. The samurai class, as its other name, *bushi* 武士, suggests, is proud of its *bu* 武 (Ch. *wu*; the physical or martial), while the scholar-officials are represented by their quality of *bun* 文 (Ch. *wen*; the mental or civil). Although the ancient Chinese believed that it is important for a man to harmonize *bun* and *bu*, such harmony is no more than an ideal status. In fact, the relationship between *bun* and *bu* was not always an equal one in China. *Bun* was often considered a "more elite masculine form" while *bu* was associated with "nonelite masculinity,"[161] and this tendency is also related to the flourishing of the imperial examination system.

However, Edo Japan's political structure was different from China's. There was no system similar to the imperial examination that granted people the opportunity to enter the *shi* class. In addition, the actual ruling classes in Edo Japan were the Shōgun, Daimyō, and

[160] In the Zhou Dynasty, *shi* usually referred to men with *wu* expertise, but after Confucianism dominated the political ideology, *wen* became more dominant, and gradually, *shi* was associated with "scholar-officials." See Kam Louie, *Theorising Chinese Masculinity: Society and Gender in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 10-11.
[161] Ibid., 18. For instance, according to the *Analects*, *bun* was considered superior to *bu*.

the samurai class. In Japanese culture, *bu* is the most basic requirement for a samurai, with *bu* a higher priority than *bun*. If one sought to become an ideal samurai or scholar-official, one had to master both *bun* and *bu*. However, in late imperial China, the status of *bun* was higher than *bu*. The difference between the Chinese and Japanese understandings of *shi* is also expressed in *Eight Dogs*, with Keno as a particular example.

Keno is a brave warrior who kills a house of people to revenge his father. Bakin stresses his valour by basing Keno's revenge on Wu Song's revenge. On the other hand, Keno is the dog warrior who possesses the bead of wisdom, which suggests that he is closest to the *bun* quality. For instance, in Chapter CLIII, at a military conference, Keno suggests the tactic of "eight hundred and eight people" (*happyaku hachinin* 八百八人) to his lord Yoshinari. Yoshinari asks the other six dog warriors if they can solve this word puzzle, but no one answers, so he gives them one day to think. When they meet again on the next day, Yoshinari asks them to write the answer on their palm and then show their answers together. Among them, three (including Inuyama Dōsetsu 犬山道節, Genpachi, and Kobungo) wrote the Chinese character "fire" (*hi* 火) while the other three (including Shino, Inumura Daikaku 犬村大角, and Sōsuke) and Yoshinari himself wrote "wind and fire" (*kaze to hi* 風と火). Keno then explains to them that the Chinese characters of "eight" and "hundred" can create the character "wind," and those of "eight" and "people" create the character "fire."[162]

[162] Kyokutei, 10: 234-37.

The characters' various reactions illustrate their different personalities. On one hand, Dōsetsu, Genpachi, and Kobungo are brave warriors, but are not good at strategy. On the other, Shino, Daikaku, and Sōsuke are well versed in literature and good at military affairs. However, Keno is the smartest among them because he is the one who creates this puzzle. This episode is reminiscent of a similar episode in *Three Kingdoms*: in Chapter XLVI, Zhou Yu summons Zhuge Liang to his camp to discuss the military strategy they should adopt for the coming battle. They write their thoughts on their palms and then show their answers to each other at the same time. Both Zhou Yu and Zhuge Liang write the same Chinese character, "fire" (*huo* 火).[163]

The similarity between the two episodes is obvious, and Keno's tactic is directly modeled on Zhuge Liang's.[164] However, the difference between the two characters is also apparent: although both are extremely smart, Keno is a brave samurai (a typical Japanese *shi*), while Zhuge Liang is physically weak (a typical Chinese *shi*). In *Three Kingdoms*, most of the heroes who possess great valour are either foolish or smart, but not as smart as the *bun* officials. For instance, the strongest warrior is Lü Bu 吕布 (J. Ryo Fu), but he was lured by Diaochan 貂蝉 (J. Chōsen), who was part of a trap set by Wang Yun 王允 (J. Ō In) and killed his adopted father Dong Zhuo 董卓 (J. Tō Taku). Another great warrior,

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163 Roberts, 232-42.

164 It is also possible that in this episode, Bakin modelled Keno on Zhou Yu. However, in the original story, Zhou Yu's function is mainly to demonstrate Zhuge Liang's wisdom and broad mind. Keno is also the military counsellor of the Satomi clan, which is the Japanese version of the Shu state, so Bakin was more likely to have modelled Keno on Zhuge Liang than on Zhou Yu.

Guan Yu, is honored for both military prowess and wisdom, but still his wisdom does not equal the smart literatus Zhuge Liang. Before Zhuge Liang joined Liu Bei's camp, Guan functioned as a military counselor, but Zhuge replaced Guan as Liu Bei's most important counsellor. It is difficult to find a character in *Three Kingdoms* like Keno, who possesses both *bun* and *bu* equally. Another point of difference between Keno and his counterparts in *Three Kingdoms* is Keno's status as a *bishōnen* 美少年 (beautiful youth). When he first appears in the story, he disguises himself as a female dancer. Unlike Wu Song, who enters the Duck and Drake Bower directly, Keno is invited to the Cow and Bull Bower as a dancer by Makuwari. The term *bishōnen* indicates young men whose beauty transcends the boundaries of gender,[165] an expression of masculinity that is not present in the three Chinese novels Bakin used as sources. Shinbei, another *bishōnen* who appears in Bakin's novel, further illustrates the difference between Japanese and Chinese ideals of masculinity.

In Chapter CII, Bakin describes Shinbei's appearance as "three *shaku* 尺 and four or five *sun* 寸[166] tall; his face like a light pink peach blossom, and skin white."[167] The illustration following this description also expresses Shinbei's beauty.

Shinbei's image also refers to another concept of masculinity, *wakashū* 若衆 (male youth), which is not present in Chinese texts. According to Joshua S. Mostow, this word

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[165] Gregory M. Pflugfelder, *Cartographies of Desire: Male-Male Sexuality in Japanese Discourse, 1600-1950* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 225-26.
[166] Both *shaku* and *sun* are units of length. One *shaku* is around 30 centimeters, and one *sun* is approximately 3 centimeters. Therefore, Shinbei is around 102-105 centimeters tall.
[167] Kyokutei, 6: 383.

has at least three meanings in Edo-period popular discourse: an adolescent male in general, the young male object of an older male's affection, and a boy prostitute, related to the custom of *nanshoku* 男色 (male-male eroticism).[168] In the episode of Shinbei's tiger killing, Bakin refers to, and expresses disdain for, the popularity of *nanshoku* in the Capital (modern Kyoto).[169]

Yoshinari dispatches Shinbei to the capital to receive permission for the eight dog warriors to be adopted into the house of Kanamari (Chudai's family name). Shinbei soon discovers that the Shogun is still very young, and the political power is actually held by Kyōto *kanrei* 管領 (overseer) Hosokawa Masamoto 細川政元 and Hatakeyama Masanaga 畠山政長. He has difficulty finding the right person to ask permission in such a complicated political structure, especially amid rumours of the Satomi clan planning a revolt in the capital. As a result, Shinbei is held by Masamoto, who asks him to fight against six strong men in order to prove his and Satomi's innocence. Shinbei defeats all the warriors,[170] and Masamoto is so deeply impressed by Shinbei's *bu* that he decides to

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[168] Joshua S. Mostow and Ikeda Asato, *A Third Gender: Beautiful Youths in Japanese Edo-period Prints and Paintings (1600-1868)* (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 2016), 19.

[169] Bakin points out that *nanshoku* are more popular than female prostitutes in the Capital; in Chapter CXXXIX, Hosokawa Masamoto 細川政元 loves *nanshoku* and is interested in Shinbei. See Kyokutei, 9: 235-36.

[170] In the battle, Masamoto gives Shinbei an iron rod weighing eighty-two *kin* 斤 (unit of weight, 1 *kin* equals 600 grams, so 82 *kin* is around 49.2 kilograms), which is modelled on Guan Yu's Green Dragon crescent-moon blade that also weighs eighty-two *jin* 斤 (although the Chinese characters of *kin* and *jin* are the same, they represent different weights. 1 *jin* equals approximately 225 grams in the Han dynasty, so Guan Yu's blade should be around 18.45 kilograms. However, because *Three Kingdoms* was probably written in the Ming dynasty, and 1 *jin* in the Ming dynasty equals 596.8 grams, which is

believe in him. However, he still has Shinbei held for two reasons: he wants Shinbei to serve him as a retainer because of his *bu,* and he also hopes that Shinbei will become his lover because of his beauty. Masamoto gives Shinbei many gifts, including silk, silver, gold, weapons, and clothes, but Shinbei only keeps them temporarily and plans to give them back to Masamoto in the future. One day, when Masamoto complains that Shinbei has never worn the clothes or weapons he gives him as gifts, Shinbei answers:

> You have your point, but the precious swords and clothes with your family crest are usually given where credit is due. I appreciate your kindness for giving these gifts to me, a low official in the East with no credit. However, my short sword is granted by a goddess, and my long sword is given by my lord in Awa. . . The clothes I wear are also gifts from my lord in Awa. Even they are worn out, I still want to wear them because by doing so, I can feel his grace, and this will relieve my nostalgia. . .[171]

Shinbei's loyalty to Yoshinari is identical to Guan Yu's loyalty to Liu Bei. When held by Cao Cao, Guan Yu also receives many gifts from him, including silk, silver, gold, and the famous horse Red Hare. One day, Cao Cao notices that Guan Yu's combat garb is badly worn, so he gives him a new one, which Guan Yu only wears underneath his old one. When Cao Cao teases him for being frugal, he answers, "It is not frugality. The old dress was a

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similar to 1 *kin* in the Edo period). See Kyokutei, 9: 271. This might be a hint of Bakin's hidden intent in modelling Keno in this episode on Guan Yu.

[171] Ibid., 281-82.

gift from Imperial Uncle Liu [Liu Bei]. I feel near him when I wear it. I could never forget my elder brother's gift on account of Your Excellency's new one. That is why I wear it underneath."[172]

It is obvious that Masamoto shows sexual interest in Shinbei; the relationship between Guan Yu and Cao Cao can be similarly explained. For instance, Kam Louie reads the triangular relationship of Guan Yu, Liu Bei and Cao Cao from a homosexual point of view and he believes that there is a sexual attraction between Cao Cao and Guan Yu.[173] However, Guan Yu is depicted as a macho warrior while Shinbei is a beautiful youth: Guan Yu is described as "a man of enormous height, nine spans tall, with a two-foot-long beard flowing from his rich, ruddy cheeks. He had glistening lips, eyes sweeping sharply back like those of the crimson-faced phoenix, and brows like nestling silkworms. His stature was imposing, his bearing awesome."[174] His extraordinary height, long beard and red face are further indicators of his manliness, as red is considered the most *yang* (male) colour. By contrast, Shinbei is a beautiful young boy who looks somewhat feminine. Masamoto is attracted by Shinbei's beautiful appearance, while Cao Cao is more interested in Guan Yu's masculinity. Masamoto loves *nanshoku* and has male lovers, while Cao Cao has no such tendency, showing interest only in women, especially married women. In order to keep Shinbei by his side, Masamoto even plans to turn this beautiful youth into his lover.[175]

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[172] Roberts, 82.
[173] Louie, 36-41.
[174] Roberts, 8.
[175] Kyokutei, 9: 284.

Bakin evaluates Masamoto at the end of Chapter CXL:

> Alas! Is Masamoto a good man or an evil man? It is understandable for him to appreciate Shinbei's *bu*, but he is captivated by Shinbei's beautiful appearance and secretly desires to have sex with him. He does not understand Shinbei's personality, and he is a monster in human clothes. . .[176]

Although Bakin based this episode on Guan Yu's temporary stay in Cao Cao's place, his hidden intent does not relate to Masamoto's appreciation of great talent, but to his interest in *nanshoku*. At the beginning of the story, Bakin notes that *nanshoku* was popular in the Capital (modern Kyoto), which may be an ironic commentary on the Tokugawa Shogunate. At the end of the story, he expresses his attitude towards *nanshoku* through his characterization of Masamoto as a "monster in human clothes," which is to say that he regards *nanshoku* not as something to be praised, but as something to be criticized.

These episodes further demonstrate Bakin's use of *Three Kingdoms* in *Eight Dogs,* but his intention here is not to comment on *Three Kingdoms,* but rather to discuss his understanding of *shi* and his disapproval of *nanshoku.* This may also be one of his hidden intent, as on the surface, he appears to be imitating *Three Kingdoms*, but in fact, this imitation is a disguise for his real intention of commenting on Edo-period Japanese society and its people.

It is true that both Bakin's seven rules for unofficial history and his didactic intention

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[176] Ibid., 285.

were formed under the influence of Chinese vernacular novels, but he had a somewhat different interpretation. He argued that the technique of hidden intent is his creation and underlined that none of the Chinese commentators could recognize the hidden intents in *Water Margin*. Similarly, he also believed that the purpose of the three Chinese novels was to teach people "encouragement and chastisement," but in a negative or ironic way which commoners (or even some literati) might not be able to understand. Dissatisfied with this "deficiency," he recreated the main characters and rewrote the ending of the three Chinese novels in *Eight Dogs*. The outlaws born from evil spirits in *Water Margin* become the dog warriors with Confucian virtues; Liu Bei who lost virtues in *Three Kingdoms* contrasts with the Satomi father and son who regained virtues; and the Everyman Xuanzang in *Journey to the West* is replaced by the wise and brave Chudai. It seems that Bakin largely relied on or was limited by Chinese vernacular novels to compose *Eight Dogs*, but in fact these Chinese sources are only his tools to illustrate his understanding of the ideal samurai and to express his dissatisfaction towards the society he lived in, both of which are related to his identity struggles. *Eight Dogs* is a Japanese *yomihon* rather than simply an adaptation of Chinese vernacular novels.

Conclusion

"This [book] (*Eight Dog Chronicle*) was written in such an epic way by Mr. Saritsu (Bakin) that it can compete with *Water Margin* and *Three Kingdoms*."

- Ishikawa Jōsui 石川畳翠[177]

"The exquisite language and ingenious intent are better than *Water Margin*; the fable of dogs and the story of cats transcend *Journey to the West*."

- Kimura Mokurō 木村默老[178]

Eight Dogs is a product of the spectrum of Japanese responses to Chinese vernacular literature: admiration, rejection, imitation, subversion, assimilation, otherization, deconstruction, and reconstruction. The official acceptance of Neo-Confucianism, the increase in literacy, and the development of printing technology created an environment in which Chinese vernacular literature could be accepted by Japanese readers. In the early Edo period, the intellectual class initiated the trend, but this relationship was later reversed and late *yomihon* writers were greatly influenced by the reading market, which expressed a strong interest in Chinese novels.

Bakin was no exception. Many of his *yomihon* works, particularly *Eight Dogs,* are hybrids of Chinese and Japanese literature. *Eight Dogs* was mainly modeled on three famous Chinese vernacular novels: *Water Margin*, *Three Kingdoms,* and *Journey to the*

[177] See Kyokutei, 7:29. Ishigawa was one of Bakin's close friends.

[178] Ibid., 9:138. Kimura was also Bakin's friend.

West. To name several specific cases, the adventures of the eight dog warriors are based on those of the 108 outlaw heroes in *Water Margin*; the rise of the Satomi clan is similar to that of the Shu state in *Three Kingdoms*; and the journey of Chudai resembles that of Xuanzang in *Journey to the West*. However, Bakin did not merely imitate the Chinese novels, but reworked the main characters and storylines in order to express his understanding of "encouraging good and chastising evil," the fundamental principle behind his dream of the ideal samurai and the ideal society.[179]

During the Meiji period, the *yomihon* genre represented by Bakin's *Eight Dogs* was criticized by scholars, including Tsubouchi Shōyō, who regarded *Eight Dogs* as a cliché from a bygone era in his *The Essence of the Novel* in 1885. As a story about monsters and the supernatural, *Eight Dogs* was seen to fail as a "novel," whose primary purpose, according to these critics, should be the depiction of people.[180] However, a careful reading of *Eight Dogs* reveals that Bakin used his Chinese sources and the supernatural elements in his story to represent his understanding of human beings. Shōyō, who enjoyed reading *yomihon* and *zōshi* in his childhood, must have noticed this. In fact, Shōyō expressed respect and affection for Bakin's works in his essay "Kyokutei Bakin no hyōban 曲亭馬琴の評判," published in 1886, in which he praised Bakin and Murasaki Shikibu 紫式部 (ca. 973 or 978-1014 or 1031) as the two greatest novelists in Japanese

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[179] In the preface and at very end of *Eight Dogs,* Bakin noted that the story was merely a dream. See Kyokutei, 1: 11-12; 12: 481.
[180] Walley, *Good Dogs*, 66-68.

literary history, and further argued that the greatness of Bakin's achievements is no less than that of the English literary giants.[181]

Shōyō's unstable view of Bakin might be related to the heavy influence of Western models. I believe that his critical comments on *Eight Dogs* show rather his feeling of Japanese novels' "inferiority" to the "advanced" Western novels than the value of *Eight Dogs* itself. In the late Heian and early medieval periods, the Japanese literary genre hierarchy ranks religious or philosophical texts, histories, and poetry most highly while fiction is at the bottom.[182] This contempt of fiction continues in the Edo period. However, in the Meiji period, the Western notion of the "novel" as a genre with high literary value started to influence the Japanese hierarchy. This nationalists' need to match Europe's novelistic tradition contributed to the canonization of *Eight Dogs*.

Due partly to Shōyō's negative evaluation, *Eight Dogs* had been largely belittled since the Meiji period. Nevertheless, it is now canonized as a Japanese literary classic in response to Western influence and its recession into the past. Such a situation leads to its dual position in Japanese academia: a Japanese classic novel to which little academic attention had been paid.

If Bakin was still alive, I am afraid that he would be disappointed with *Eight Dogs*' current status, because in his view, *Eight Dogs* is popular fiction for entertainment rather

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[181] Suwa Haruo and Takada Mamoru ed., *Fukkōsuru Hakkenden* (Tōkyō: Bensei Shuppan, 2008), 2.

[182] Haruo Shirane, "Introduction: Issues in Canon Formation," in *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity, and Japanese Literature*, ed. Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2000), 4.

than a classic, and a serious work with hidden intent rather than a work to which little attention need be paid. Perhaps he would be satisfied with the fact that *Eight Dogs* has been adapted into modern novels, comics, cartoons, games, dramas, movies, and plays, and is also a source of inspiration for popular works such as Toriyama Akira's 鳥山明 manga series *Doragon bōru* ドラゴンボール (*Dragon Ball*, 1984-95),[183] the anime series *Yoroiden samurai torūpā* 鎧伝サムライトルーパー (*Ronin Warriors*, 1988-89),[184] the *shōjo manga* 少女漫画 (comics targeting teenage female readers) *Fushigi yūgi* ふしぎ遊戯 (*The Mysterious Play*, 1992-96),[185] and many others. At least 150 modern novels and 60 comics have been modelled either completely or partially on *Eight Dogs*.[186] The concept of "encouraging good and chastising evil" is present in several of these works, albeit revised to meet modern moral and aesthetic standards.

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[183] Toriyama's plotline of gathering the seven dragon balls is generally believed to have been inspired by Chudai's search for the eight beads. See Ono Yasuo, "Monogarari no naka no kuesuto – *Doragon bōru* to *Nanso Satomi hakkenden*," *Nichibun essei* 141 (July 1, 2015), http://www.ndsu.ac.jp/department/japanese/blog/2015/07/141.html.

[184] Each of the five protagonists of *Yoroiden samurai torūpā* holds a bead inscribed with a Chinese character that represents a Confucian virtue, analogous to the eight dog warriors.

[185] The heroine of *Fushigi yūgi* is drawn into a fantasy world in an old Chinese book, in which she searches for seven young men, represented by seven stars, in order to save the country from its neighbors.

[186] This number is based on the data listed on the *Eight Dogs* specialized website "Fusehimeyashiki." Every novel or comic listed on the site is accompanied by a short account of its relationship to *Eight Dogs*. For details, see Yūka, "*Hakkenden* ga moderu na sakuhin (shōsetsu)," accessed February 8, 2019, http://fusehime.la.coocan.jp/model.htm and "*Hakkenden* ga moderu na sakuhin (komikku)," accessed February 8, 2019, http://fusehime.la.coocan.jp/model2.htm. This page lists only novels and comics; for works in other genres, see http://fusehime.la.coocan.jp/model3.htm.

In short, although *Eight Dogs* had not received much attention from academia by the 1970s to 1980s, its influence on Japanese popular fictional narratives has never ceased. Its borrowing from and reworking of Chinese vernacular literature is paralleled by its many adaptations in modern Japanese literature and culture. This thesis serves as a window onto this continuous process of literary development, but many aspects of this discussion require further study. For instance, the complex formation process of *yomihon* has not been fully explored, and the differences between various *yomihon* writers has not been thoroughly illustrated in this thesis. Discussions of the status of *yomihon* in modern Japan and its effects on modern Japanese literature, and of the influence of Japanese classics on *yomihon,* are also outside the scope of this thesis, but would be useful to enrich our understanding of *yomihon.* Nonetheless, I hope that this thesis has shed some light on this overlooked and misunderstood literary genre, and its importance in both Japanese literary history and the history of literary exchanges between Japan and China.

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