From the beginning, the life of Terakado Seiken (1796-1868) was marked by uncertainty. Though born to a family of reasonable means, auditors for the Mito fief household accounts in Edo, Seiken lost both parents by age thirteen, and depended on his mother’s indifferent relatives for support. His early brilliance could not be denied: study as a disciple of Yamamoto Ryokuin (1777-1837), the son of Yamamoto Hokuza (1752-1812), and later at the Kan‘eiji temple in Ueno developed his knowledge of the Confucian canon and honed an appreciation of Chinese verse. Later attempts to find suitable employment for his talents, however, met with little success. Seiken’s efforts around 1829 to reinstate himself in the Mito bureaucracy apparently fell on deaf ears. All avenues of secure support denied, Seiken launched his own juku or private Confucian academy in Edo. Even when his institution was most flourishing, however, the revenue from instruction was more spiritual than financial, and for the major part of Seiken’s life, existence was a struggle with penury.

Edo hanjō ki [An Account of the Prosperity of Edo] is far and away the most celebrated of the twenty-odd titles to flow from Seiken’s pen. Conceived during a brief illness in the summer of 1831 and first published in 1832, the work is an album of whimsical, satirical, or straightforward sketches in Kanbun of the key concentrations of Edo spirit—the sumō arena, Asakusa, the Yoshiwara pleasure quarter, lotteries and theaters, Ueno, the Tomizawa old clothing bazaar and Nihonbashi fish market. The "prosperity" (hanjō) of Edo, in Seiken’s definition, is not primarily the economic superabundance of the metropolis, but rather the conspicuous affluence and ostentatious leisure culture made possible by the radiation of wealth. This same "prosperity," Seiken notes, extends even-handedly to the lowliest members of the social hierarchy, for streetwalkers, pickpockets, night soil dealers, even scavenger birds at garbage heaps are indirect beneficiaries of the unprecedented extravagance. Urban problems—congestion, fires, short tempers, unsavory tenements—figure equally in Edo hanjō ki, for they testify no less vigorously to the heroic dimensions of the urban colossus.

Seiken candidly admits that his primary motive in composing Edo hanjō ki was to make money. Somewhat surprisingly at least from the viewpoint of the modern observer, for whom the reading of Edo hanjō ki borders perilously on cryptanalysis—the whimsical pedantry of the original installment touched a receptive chord, and sales were brisk. A second installment appeared in 1833, and three additional chapters followed by 1835. Not surprisingly, the author’s bold denunciations
of all pockets of vested privilege—haughty samurai, hypocritical clerics, above all self-righteous, inert Confucian authorities—offended as many as they delighted. His paeans to the splendors of Edo assumed an increasingly ironic cast as the ravages of the Tenpō Famine gave rise after 1833 to a ring of miserable refugee camps around the seat of shogunal authority. Even after a formal ban and condemnation of the work by Dean Hayashi Jussai (1768-1841) of the Shōheizaka Academy in 1835, Seiken persisted in composing and publishing additional chapters. During the repressive Tenpō Reforms, in 1842, Seiken ultimately received from the Edo magistracy a sentence of hōkō-kamai "exclusion from service"—a prohibition on any official salaried position. For the remainder of his life, the author wandered throughout the provinces, capitalizing on his knowledge of the Confucian classics and versification to support himself. Inwardly, however, the lure of Edo was irresistible, and he spent his final years in the rural outskirts of the city, modern Saitama prefecture. It is perhaps fitting that Seiken died only a matter of months before "Edo" itself died, or rather, passed into its new incarnation as "Tokyo."

"Blossoms Along the Sumida" (Bokusui ōka), one of the nine segments that constitute the second installment, celebrates a favorite scenic delight of Edo, the 1.5-mile esplanade on the east bank of the Sumida, northeast of Asakusa, at its most perfect moment, the cherry blossom season. Rich in bohemian, artistic associations, close to the heart of the city but incomparably more tranquil and picturesque, this secluded district was perhaps the equivalent of Greenwich Village or Montmartre to the Edo mind. Restaurants, teahouses, gardens, and historical sites beguiled the wanderer for hours on end, and complemented the varied natural attractions of the locale.

Typical of Edo hanjō ki is the extremely diverse texture of this segment, which moves from a leisurely prose poem meditation to a staccato crowd description, then passes through a series of stately if somewhat conventional poems by Seiken's associates. An acrid philosophical conversation and whimsical fantasy on a superhuman scale, reminiscent of Zhuangzi, conclude the discussion. The tone varies with equal suddenness: one paragraph echoes the dispassionate language of a tourist guidebook, another is flushed with vivid personal anger or disdain (though the invective in this segment is more subdued than throughout most of the work). Carnival commotion alternates with timeless, placid solitude; advocacy of hedonism with its denial. The jumps, skips, and repetitions of the text suggest not an organized panorama but a true bird's-eye view, that darts from one salient feature to the next, and conceives an entire vision through fragments.

Seiken's delight in contrasts, in the odd heterogeneity of big-city life so characteristic of Edo, is especially pronounced in the kaleidoscopic, slightly grotesque procession of sightseers under the
blossoms; the author is enthralled that a single place and point in
time can comprehend such extremes. Here we see at once affluent
usurers and insistent beggars; naive country tourists and knowing
mistresses; pompous doctors and ecclesiastics and their put-upon
charges; quiet students of the halcyon spring scene and brutally
cavorting country samurai, as unwelcome as an irruption of Hell's
Angels at a Sunday church picnic (or vice versa). Dramatic, too, is
the contrast of motivations the characters embody: the nominal goal
of all is esthetic communion with the blossoms, but hardly any of the
sightseers, in fact, are truly intent on this goal. The ladies from
Edo Castle, like the young gallants off to the Yoshiwara, indulge
instead in elaborate erotic fantasies, while more mundane tourists
think first of their bellies, and the savory delights of innumerable
refreshment stands. Perhaps only the schoolchildren, liberated from
their inky desks for Nature Appreciation, achieve harmony with the
scene.

"Blossoms Along the Sumida" also portrays more subtly the con­
trast of the ephemeral and the eternal. The blossoms are the conse­
crated archetype of transience—whether on the trees or as decorative
adjunct for rice-cakes in a faddish snack food. Equally transient—
however much man may wish otherwise—are recognition and lasting
renown. The victory steles of the First Emperor of Qin, like the
numerous steles that clutter scenic spots by the Sumida, are futile
attempts to dam the flood of oblivion, and Seiken mocks the waste of
perfectly good stone for such ludicrous ends. Equally pointless is
the quest for physical immortality, as Xu Fu discovered in his ill­
fated expedition to the Eastern Sea. To set off these artifacts of
impermanence more pointedly, the passage begins and concludes with
allusions to realms beyond time and mutability: the Sumida River,
which wears a different face by the hour but flows forever unper­
turbed; Mt. Tsukuba and Mt. Fuji (in one orthography, "the undying");
and the Eastern Sea, where Peng Lai and the archipelago of the immor­
tals rise, happily immune to weathering, fading, or decay.

Also prominent throughout the passage is the juxtaposition of
contrasting artifacts of "high" and "low" cultures. In a single line
the author evokes the rarefied melancholy of Heian classics and the
boisterous popular lyrics of his day. The tears of Narihira and
Umewakamaru on the banks of the somber river clash with the hilarity
of modern excursionists. Elegant reflections in regulated verse on
the delights of seclusion jostle against references to the Edo-period
equivalents of Budweiser and burritos. This deliberate discontinuity
of level of refinement in subject matter finds some reflection in a
modern translation, though Seiken almost certainly would be horrified
to see his airy contemporary allusions encumbered with leaden foot­
notes. Almost entirely lost during translation, however, is the
crucial disjuncture between style and content. The bathetic use of
erudite or elegant diction in reference to mundane or plebeian topics
boasts a venerable history, from eighteenth-century descriptions of the pleasure quarter in literary Chinese through the kyōka "mad waka" and kyōshi "mad kanshi" enthusiasms of the nineteenth century. Edo hanjō ki, though, is without a doubt one of the most elaborately sustained examples of this purposeful subversion of literary propriety. A truly faithful rendition into English would require an unbearable quantity of Graecisms and Latinisms—certain to enlighten few and amuse none. Less intractable for the translator is Seiken’s mock-scholarly style, marked by numerous parenthetical intrusions into the text—annotations the more preposterous for their propensity to explain what must have been entirely obvious to contemporaries.

The playful imbalance between form and content finds expression on the orthographic level as well, since Seiken frequently employs a homely or colloquial gloss in furigana next to a literary compound of lofty resonance. In the passage at hand, for example, the drunken rural samurai leaning on a geisha bawls out, in the running text, in a Sosei ("strain of Chu")—perhaps an allusion to his southern origins, or a distant echo of the "songs of Chu" that surrounded a beleaguered Xiang Yu at Gaixia—while the Castle ladies wear as their coiffures gūkan’un (literally, "palace maid clouds"). At tea shops under the blossoms, customers are beset by musical kaji ("flower children"). The kana glosses beside each of these items, however, indicate that the compounds are to be read as the pedestrian okunigoe ("country tones"), shiitake-tabo ("shiitake-mushroom-shaped hair-buns"), and kojiki ("beggars"), respectively. The eye grasps simultaneously the exalted and mundane designations, and savors in concentrated form the genius of the entire work—a sardonic wit behind a half-donned mask of high solemnity.


"Blossoms Along the Sumida" (1833)

The river flows from the northwest, a single ribbon of emerald green. It forms the boundary between the provinces of Shimōsa and Musashi, then runs directly into the sea. Fuji thrusts its snowy summit abruptly to the southwest; jade-green Mt. Tsukuba dominates the northeast. Across an interval of a thousand leagues, this jade and that snow illuminate one another from afar.¹ These are the noblest vistas of the region.

To be sure, the river has long been an excellent location to take passage on a boat well supplied with sake, or view the moon while savoring the cool of the evening. The level fields, only in-
frequently interrupted by groves, are superb settings for admiring the snow; the reedy shoals and maple-lined banks are most lovely at times of frost. Neighboring temples and shrines, nestled amid thickets, show to best advantage when the trees around them have shed their leaves. The passing sails bellying in the wind, the traffic of fishing boats as they cast off or return are most enchanting in sunset glow or in the fog-shrouded dawn. The Ayase district, secluded and remote, is renowned as a superior location to appreciate insects' cries. Of all scenic beauties in Edo, the river is paramount; its scenery varies through each of the four seasons, its aspect alters from morning to evening. Its marvels, its wonders, its features richly bedizened, at times of brilliant sunlight, or sparingly adorned in a light rain—all far surpass the powers of my feeble brush to encompass.

We read in the Tales of Ise: "As they stood by the river and glanced longingly behind them, they realized how very far they had come." The boatman urges them on: "The sun is about to set." At which point the travelers all board his boat and vanish into the river mist. None is not moved to melancholy reflections. Just then, they chance to see a waterfowl diving in the stream, its beak and lower legs a deep red. When they ask about this, the boatman replies, "That's what they call a 'capital bird.'" The words "melancholy reflections" aptly evoke the gloominess of their situation.

Much later, after the wild open plains had become a metropolis, its inhabitants constructed a levee and planted it with cherry trees; in due course, the city and its cherry trees achieved their full flowering. Now the trees surpass those of Ueno, equal those of Asuka [name of a hill]; Goten-yama places far below them, a poor fourth.

The confusion and crowds at blossom time are without parallel anywhere in Edo. The river swells with whitebait, and sweeps away the last of the plum blossoms from the New Ume-yashiki Gardens. Spring breezes blow soft and languid; their perfumed warmth becomes oppressive. Along the miles of the long embankment, cherry blossoms fill the view—here dense, here sparse, like lowering clouds, like congealed snow. Upon gazing to the southwest, one might well be inclined to wonder whether Feng Bo, god of the winds, had not blown down myriad flakes of snow from Mt. Fuji in some whimsical prank.

Between the Azuma Bridge and Mokuboji temple, crowds of visitors mill about, dense as threads on a loom. Here we see a calligraphy instructor, leading his multitudes of students. Several hundred boys and girls proceed in single file—a sight that suggests Xu Fu’s expedition to the Eastern Seas in search of the elixir of immortality, or, in the human realm again, Kishimojin shepherding her thousand children. One of the pupils marches ahead with wooden clappers to clear a path. Identical in dress and deportment, each wears a sprig of blossoms in his hair. Yang Wanli once wrote: "Each and every one bears in his hair a flowering branch." How could he have envisaged
and described this very scene, seven hundred years ago? The boys and girls frolic and play, oblivious to their hunger. They hop and spin, themselves like the scattering blossoms, and dance in unison with the cavorting butterflies.

There are also ladies from the Castle, in small excursion parties. Their kingfisher-blue sleeves sunder the spring mists, their "mushroom bunch" coiffures cluster like massing clouds. Resplendent in fine makeup and dazzling attire, they vie for coquettish charms, compete for allure. Each one in her heart of hearts fancies herself a second Dame Onoe [female attendant on a certain lord who appears in the play Kagamiyama]. As she views the blossoms, she prays she may fall in with a man like Sanshō [the actor Danjūrō; artistic sobriquet "Sanshō"]. Here, too, we see a rural samurai in the role of Ōishi Yoshio. Each step he takes uncertainly, staggering, leaning drunkenly for support on the shoulder of a geisha. In a broad country accent, he bawls:

"Cherry trees, you cherry trees!
I heard her sing to me—
Hair in tangled disarray,
Like tangled strands of hemp."

A Confucian doctor of the old school totters along, a gourd of sake at his side; behind him follow six or seven lads, laboring under heavy picnic boxes, who chant their master’s execrable Chinese verse as they advance. A Buddhist priest in the modern style arrives in a rain-cloak ["fair weather rain-cloaks"—colloquial designation for priests of the Tendai sect]; he entrusts his outer stole to the minor acolyte at his side. Fluttering blossoms cling, somewhat pointlessly, to his eminence’s shaven head. Here a kept woman follows the meandering pleasure of her wealthy patron; here grandpa and grandma, just up from the country, tag behind their guide from the inn in Bakuro-chō. The robust pleasures of a single such day, it would seem to me, are capable of extending one’s life span by a hundred years. Even the money lenders are unable to resist indulging in some pleasures other than the flicking of abacus beads.

Suddenly, one sees the crowds stumble in panicky confusion; the boys and girls topple to one side. Brown dust flies up from the path, obscures the blossoms, blinds the pleasure-seekers. Whips stained coral red swing on high; horses spit flecks of jade-white foam. The horsemen in riding trousers ride roughshod over the people; their split-tailed saddle coats flap in the breeze. The boorish samurai, from some country domain, gallop madly, make their horses prance and rear. In the Book of Rites we read: "Once inside the capital of a state, the gentleman does not race his team," and, "He takes care that the dust of his trail does not rise above the wheel ruts." These riders are not hurrying to the site of a fire; they have no urgent news to transmit. But they force others all the same to view the blossoms amid saddles and horses; they trample the
petals into the brown dust. Cruel and unfeeling in the extreme!

If the blossoms could speak, what would they make of these sights—the drunken country samurai, the execrable Chinese verse of the master—and the beggars singing as they strum away an accompaniment? All these, in concert, constitute the drearier aspects of the setting. The beggars swarm in groups, and circulate from the outdoor benches of one tea shop to the next, forcibly inflicting their music-making on the clientele. Shoo them away, and they return in even greater numbers—as fruitless as trying to sweep away autumn leaves.

The number of tiny teahouses near or amid the blossoms grows annually. Tea brewed from pickled cherry leaves does wonders to cure a hangover, and now those new treats, rice cakes wrapped in cherry leaves, far outstrip the sales of old-fashioned roasted dumplings. "Better dumplings than blossoms" was the opinion of our forebears—but better than both is meat, and better still is sake. One feels little inclination to view the blossoms when hungry or penniless—which explains why these little enterprises grow more prosperous with each passing day. In a single day, their customers polish off ten thousand platters of ice-washed carp slices or cups of "jewel vinaigrette"; in an hour, they quaff a thousand kegs of "Sumida-gawa" [a brand name] refined sake. The customers willingly squander a million cash—admission price for viewing the blossoms. I once remarked that if the blossoms realized what was going on around them, they would be sure to impose a toll of several cash per viewer.

Some youths, now quite tipsy from the sake, are off to gaze on other "blossoms" and look their fill on the moon in the Yoshiwara quarter. Perhaps because they value speed above all else, they think nothing of the two-cash charge for the Hashiba ferry [raised to five or six cash at blossom time]—in fact pay out a full forty-eight cash to the boatman. Their spirits soar ahead; their entire frames shudder in anticipation. They urge their boatmen on: "The sun is about to set!" The quick skiffs, like leaves on the flood, race each other toward the San'ya Canal.14 None of the passengers is not moved to joyous reflections—indeed, the words "joyous reflections" aptly evoke the flourishing prosperity of the district. Now if only our Middle Captain Narihira of old could enjoy himself in the prosperous pleasure districts of today! Hardly likely, that he would be moved to those same "melancholy reflections!" And what would it matter to him, "how very far he had come?"

A quatrain by my friend Bunken, on viewing the blossoms:

Sparkling jewel-like world; jade-white universe!
A thousand silver petals, fluttering in the winds.
Dimly I recall it: last winter, a boat, this same riverbank,
Drunk from gazing at the snow, tippling many a jug of fine wine!

"Moonlit Night," from a sequence of eight poems on the Sumida River by Aso Dōjin:
Up too early; onto the embankment; impossible to buy wine. By midday, too many companions they muddle my poetic concentration! Best to come alone at night: a moon on the river, Wine and oetry at hand--then the blossoms reveal their splendors.

A regulated poem by Master Baian [Mr. Kinoshita] on Suijin Grove [behind Mokuboji temple]:

Alone on the long Sumida embankment, avoiding the din and dust,
I spread out the grasses by the shrine, take my seat in the twilight.
Waves reflect, distended, arched willows on the bank; Shadows of distant passers-by merge with the shadow of an old temple gate.
Evening glow tints the blossoms red; petal-clouds extend over ten leagues; Breezes raise up a white blizzard, snowy canopy for a thousand villages.
The hazy vistas of spring, impossible to describe to perfection! Let's hire ourselves a little boat, trace the river to its source.

From of old there have been few outstanding poems on these exquisite sites. The handful of verses I have quoted here are excellent, to be sure, but they hardly begin to depict these views as they deserve. Perhaps the world at large will just dismiss them as "execrable Chinese verses"--and certainly the blossoms, if consulted, would consider them dreary and inept. Be that as it may, since I myself have no real knowledge about composing poetry, I have no notion what to consider them--"execrable," "dreary," or whatever. But I simply appropriate them in an attempt to eke out my own undeniably execrable and dreary writing, so utterly incapable as it is of describing these splendors, or adorning these views as they deserve.

In the precincts of the Mokuboji temple stands a burial mound. Legend has it that a certain Umewakamaru died and was buried here on the fifteenth day of the Third Month one year. Now whenever it rains on that date, Edo people call it namidaame, the "tear rain." A poem by Butsurō Dōjin:

Spring almost gone--here before Umewakamaru’s grave. Fallen blossoms deep in mire; gusts the length of the embankment.
A vagrant warbler still seems to grieve for that day long ago.
Repeated cries--how chilly, the sound in the "tear rain!"

Some say that this Umewakamaru was no nobleman’s son, but was instead such-and-such other fellow--completely misguided speculations.
Along the river stand numerous villas—the "So-and-so Hermitage," the "So-and-so Garden." And next to these estates are numerous restaurants—the "So-and-so Pavilion," the "So-and-so Mansion." Some of these residences are famed for their lovely trees; some of the gardens are renowned for their blossoms or, equally, for their fragrant cloudy sake or savory broths. Mokuboji temple enshrines the memory of Umewakamaru; Mimeguri Shrine preserves an inscription by Kikaku [a haikai poet]. The stalls in front of Chōmeiji temple were the first to win fame for rice cakes wrapped in cherry leaves; the courtyard of Akiba Shrine is celebrated for its maple leaves in autumn. Carp and whitebait are the special delicacies of the river here; Shirahige Shrine and Gyūtō Temple are both landmarks of this stretch of the river.

Long ago the First Emperor of Qin, eager for fame, set up steles on Mt. Langye, and proudly proclaimed his achievements. Since that time, it has become quite the fashion, in Japan no less than in China, to erect stone markers and record on them meritorious accomplishments. A certain rustic once said to me: "In the past few years, these stone heaps and monuments have started cropping up in ever greater numbers—worth a good belly laugh or two! The stone in its original state is flawless, but then they peck and poke at it with picks and adzes, polish it with grit and gravel, riddle it with inscriptions, and end up destroying the perfect original nature of the material. They engrave their grand achievements, in hopes of rendering their names immortal. Isn’t this whole process, I wonder, similar to the efforts of certain uninspired 'grinds' of our day? With excessive delving and tortured speculation they crush their essential natures. How very unlike the scholars of old, who used probity to scour, clean, and cultivate their natural endowment of virtue." For my part, I think I would like to take two huge boulders and carve on them my own magnificent achievements; one of them I would install on the utmost pinnacle of Mt. Fuji, the other I would consign to the nethermost depths of the Eastern Sea. Since I have no money, however, I have been unable to execute this plan. A sad state of affairs! And yet these stone monuments, these villas, these restaurants and gardens—all are simply ripples from the great tide of prosperity as it surges from the river onto the shore.
Notes

Where not otherwise indicated, information derives from *Edo bungaku chimei jiten* (Tokyōdō, 1973 ed.) or from *Edo meisho zue* (see note 5 below). All sources published in Tokyo unless otherwise noted.

1. By Seiken’s day, the lower course of the Sumida no longer constituted the boundary between Musashi and Shimōsa provinces, but lay entirely within Musashi. The traditional association of the Sumida as a line of demarcation helps to reinforce the depiction of the area east of the river as a realm unto itself.

Mt. Fuji looms about 65 miles west-southwest of the heart of Edo; Mt. Tsukuba (2874 feet) rises about forty-two miles to the north-northeast. A folklore juxtaposition of the two peaks, which equally emphasizes their complementary colors, appears in Richard M. Dorson, *Folk Legends of Japan* (Rutland, Vt.: Tuttle, 1962), p. 168. The distance between the two mountains as the crow flies is almost exactly 100 miles. The "thousand leagues" here may be an echo of Mencius 4B.1:3, in which Mencius asserts that the sage-king Shun and King Wen, the founder of Zhou rule, were born a thousand years and a thousand leagues apart, but in achieving their common goals and ideals, their methods were as congruent as the two broken halves of a tally.

2. The Ayase River now flows through the eastern portions of Adachi Ward in northeast Tokyo, runs parallel to the Arakawa River, and eventually joins the Nakagawa River. This entire drainage basin, though, has undergone extensive modification, and is difficult to superimpose on nineteenth-century topography. "Ayase" here may refer to the length of the river, or to its former juncture with the Sumida at Mitsumata. Seiken refers elsewhere in *Edo hanjō ki* to the Ayase River and the rustic surrounding area. In the "Skiffs" (Choki-bune) segment of Book Two, he mentions the leisurely progress of pole-driven cabin launches (yakata-bune) carrying sightseers to Ayase, while in the "Temporary Pleasure Quarters" (Kari-taku) segment of Book Four, the quiet chirping of insects at Ayase is lost amid the din of a geisha musical ensemble from a visiting party; see Terakado Seiken, *Edo hanjō ki*, ed. Asakura Haruhiko and Andō Kikuji (Heibon-sha, 1975), II:121 and III:35, respectively. (This three-volume source hereafter cited as EH).

Andō Hiroshige (1797-1858) depicts the Ayase River, complete with insects, in print 69 of his celebrated series *Meisho Edo hyakkei* (One Hundred Views of Famous Sites in Edo, 1856-59).

3. The wording contains an allusion to the second of Su Shi’s (1036-1101) quatrains of 1073 on the variable beauties of West Lake near Hangzhou, entitled "Yin hushang chu qing hou yu er shou" [Drink-
ing on the lake, first sunny weather then rain, two poems]:
Shimmering light on the ripples--perfect on sunny days.
Mountain vistas through fine drizzle--exquisite on rainy days,

Let's compare West Lake to Xi Shi of old:
Her makeup thickly daubed on or faintly applied--both just right!


4. A Kanbun paraphrase of one of the best known episodes in Ise monogatari [The Tales of Ise] (ca. 920); see "Ise monogatari," ed. Ōtsu Yūichi and Tsukijima Hiroshi, in Taketori monogatari; Ise monogatari; Yamato monogatari, Nihon koten bungaku taikai 9 (Iwanami shoten, 1957), p. 117. The leader of the forlorn band is traditionally identified as the Middle Captain Ariwara no Narihira (825-80).

5. Although a broken series of levees and embankments some fifty miles long bordered the Sumida, "the embankment" usually refers more narrowly to the segment discussed in this passage, between Mimeguri Shrine on the south and Mokuboji temple in the north. The embankment, a good twelve feet above the surrounding lowlands, afforded a fine view of the river and "downtown" wharves of the central city. It was also notable for a profusion of flowering trees. At the direction of the shogun Yoshimune (r. 1716-45), peach, cherry, and willow trees were planted along the Sumida embankment in 1725-26; Ienari (r. 1787-1837) expanded the project in 1790, and additional trees replaced dead stock in 1831. The trees--probably intended as a check to erosion--provided a continuous canopy of buds and blossoms throughout the spring months. "Until the end of the Third Month," notes the usually somber Edo meisho zue [Pictorial Album of Famous Sites of Edo] (1834-36), "branches brilliant with red, lavender, azure, and white blossoms mingle and intertwine. The effect is like brocade left out to air; the graceful delicacy commands admiration. When in bloom, violets and clover form a rich floral carpet underfoot"; see Saitō Yukinari, Saitō Yukio, and Saitō Yukitaka, Edo meisho zue, ed. Miura Tadashi, Yūhōdō bunko 95, (Yūhōdō shoten, 1914), IV:207, 212. (This four-volume source hereafter cited as EMZ).

The cherry trees on the bluff of Ueno were and still remain a primary site for cherry blossom viewing; Seiken devotes an extended passage to these scenes in the "Ueno" segment of Book One. See EH I:185-90. Asuka Hill, now converted into a park in Kita Ward, benefited from large-scale plantings of cherry trees at the behest of the shogun Yoshimune in 1720-21. Goten-yama or "Palace Hill," leveled by the bakufu in 1853 to provide dirt for a hastily constructed gunnery platform in Shinagawa, stood in northeast Shinagawa Ward, just south
of the modern Shinagawa Station. Its cherry trees, transplanted from the mountains of Yoshino in the 1660s, were equally a major spring attraction; see the depiction of spring excursionists in print 28 of Hiroshige’s Meisho Edo hyakkei series. Seiken in the "Shinagawa" segment of Book Five notes that Goten-yama "boils over with tourists" in the spring; see EH III:190. He includes a chikushi "bamboo branch" poem in the style of a popular lyric, "Cherry Blossoms of Goten-yama," in EH III:195.

6. Whitebait or ice-fish (shirauo) were associated especially with the island or district of Tsukudajima, in the mouth of the Sumida. In return for the right to inhabit the island, the fishermen of Tsukudajima bore a traditional obligation to present their harvest of the small, almost transparent fish each year for the shogun’s table. Their curious square nets and torch-illuminated fishing boats were a familiar spectacle along the Sumida in winter or early spring, as the whitebait moved upstream to spawn; cherry blossom season in the Third Month coincided with the end of the whitebait run. See EMZ I:175-82, especially the depiction of fishermen on pp. 180-81.

The New Ume-yashiki (Plum Estate) Gardens--so called in distinction to the existing large-scale plum gardens in Kameido--were established in 1804 by Sahara Kikuu (1762-1831), a successful dealer in antiques and tea ceremony utensils. With the assistance of literatus friends, Kikuu planted over three hundred plum trees in a threethousand-tsubo (about 2.45 acres) plot of land. The gardens, soon a favorite resort for literary figures and intellectuals, constituted one of the few public park-like areas in congested Edo. Later nicknamed Hana-yashiki ("The blossom estate"), the site eventually became the public Hyakkaen ("Hundred Blossom Garden") Park of Sumida Ward in 1938. Seiken devotes an entire segment of Book Four to the New Ume-yashiki Gardens; see EH III:101-17. The tone of this latter description echoes at more than one juncture "Blossoms Along the Sumida" in Book Two, though Seiken devotes considerably more time in Book Four to describing the activities of tourists (primarily conclaves of kanshi, waka, and haikai poets, all of whom eager to denigrate one another’s art).

7. The Ōkawa Bridge (popularly known as the Azuma Bridge) was the northernmost and smallest of the four bridges that spanned the lower Sumida in Seiken’s day (from south to north: Eitai, Shin Ōhashi, Ryōgoku, and Ōkawa/Azuma). Constructed by private funding in 1774, the toll bridge greatly facilitated passage between the Asakusa area and Mukōjima across the river to the northeast, and accelerated the development of tourist traffic. (For a bird’s-eye view of the bridge, the Mukōjima district, the "big bend" of the Sumida, and towering Mt. Tsukuba beyond, see the striking illustration in EMZ IV:172-73).
Xu Fu, one of the most renowned early fangshi "diviners" and a celebrated physiognomist, was dispatched by Qin Shihuangdi (r. 221-209 B.C.) in 220 B.C. to retrieve the elixir of immortality from the island of Peng Lai in the Eastern Sea. The expedition, which included 3000 youths and maidens of impeccable lineage, never reached its goal, since Xu Fu abandoned the mission, and declared himself king of an intervening region; see Sima Qian, Shiki [Shiji, Records of the Grand Historian] (IV), ed. Kokumin bunko kankōkai, Kokuyaku kanbun taisei 16 (4th ed., Kokumin bunko kankōkai, 1925), pp. 326-27; translation in Records of the Grand Historian of China, trans. Burton Watson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), II: 374-375 (Shiji 118).

According to another legend, Xu Fu eventually drifted to Japan; a monument near the city of Shingū in Wakayama prefecture allegedly marks his final resting place. This improbable itinerary already had its adherents in the fourteenth century; see poems by Zekkai Chūshin (1336-1405) in Marian Ury, Poems of the Five Mountains: An Introduction to the Literature of the Zen Monasteries (Mushinsha, 1977), pp. 112-13. Yamazaki Yoshishige (1797-1856), a near contemporary of Seiken, discusses in some detail the alleged association between Xu Fu and Japan in his compendious miscellany Kairoku [Ocean-vast Chronicle] (entries 1820-1837). While the Shiji does not specify Japan as the final destination of the Xu Fu expedition, Yamazaki remarks, Ouyang Xiu’s (1007-1072) poem "Wo dao ge" [Song on a Japanese sword] seems to reinforce the association by its assertion that: "When he departed, the books had not yet been burned [by order of the First Emperor in 213 B.C.]/ Even now a hundred lost titles still remain there [in Japan]." For the full text of poem, see "Riben dao ge" in Ouyang Xiu shi xuan [Selections from the Poetry of Ouyang Xiu], ed. Shi Peiyi (Hefei: Anhui renmin chubanshe, 1982), pp. 194-95. Yamazaki further notes an annotation to record Xu Fu’s arrival in the seventy-second year of Emperor Kōrai’s reign (i.e., 219 B.C.) in an historical work, Tensho [Heavenly Documents], but dismisses this title as a forgery. See Yamazaki Yoshishige, Kairoku, ed. Hayakawa Junzaburō (Kokusho kankōkai, 1915), p. 171.

Kishibojin or Kishimojin, an offshoot of the Indian goddess Hariti, had, according to legend, 500 heavenly and 500 earthly children. Despite the dimensions of this enormous brood, however, she was in the habit of stealing additional human children to eat or add to her progeny. To dissuade her from further kidnappings, the Buddha hid one of her children in the bottom of a bowl. Overcome with grief at the loss, Kishimojin vowed never again to abduct or murder any children, but became instead a patron and protector of young lives.

Of considerable interest is the illustration "Spring View of the Sumida Embankment" in EMZ IV:210-11. The foreground of this illustration depicts an assortment of adult sightseers under the blossoms. In the background, though, is a large party of children, mostly lit-
tle girls, in identical attire, their hair decorated as Seiken describes, led along in orderly ranks. The nearly simultaneous publication of the two titles raises a strong possibility of borrowing or the parallel reflection of some third source.

8. Apparently from the works of the Southern Song master Yang Wanli (1124-1206) designated in the text by his sobriquet Chengzhai--though I have not been able to trace the line.

9. The ladies in attendance in Edo Castle, though rarely permitted much liberty, did enjoy vacations in late spring. To capitalize on this scheduling, major kabuki theaters changed their bills regularly in the Third Month and staged entertainment sure to appeal to this affluent drama-starved contingent. The best known of all such yayoi-kyōgen "Third Month plays," and still very much a fixture in the kabuki repertory, is Kagamiyama kokyō no nishiki-e [Mirror Mountain Brocade-color Woodblock Print for the Hometown]--staged as a puppet-jöruri play in 1782, and adapted for kabuki almost immediately in 1783. The play depicts in excruciating detail the suffering and degradation of a court lady, Onoe, at the hands of her sinister senior rival, Iwafuji, and portrays Onoe's suicide in indignant protest. Unusual among kabuki offerings, the major roles of the original play are exclusively female, and Kagamiyama was a prime vehicle for onnagata actors of all specialties.

The "Sanshō" or "Danjūrō" of this passage is probably Ichikawa Danjūrō VII (1791-1859). His son, Danjūrō VIII (1823-54), would become far more famous than his father as a matinee idol, but was only eleven years old when this portion of Edo hanjōki was published--a fact that inclines me to doubt Asakura and Ando's identification of this figure with Danjūrō VIII (see EH II:100, note 37). Danjūrō VII, like Seiken, was destined to become one of the major victims of the Tenpō Reforms in the summer of 1842, and suffered banishment from Edo--though there is no way, of course, Seiken could have foreseen this fortuitous linking of destinies.

In a doll maker's shop in the "Atago" section of Book Three, Seiken notes a row of kabuki caricature dolls manufactured of papier-mâché. A doll with the actor's trademark aquiline nose is "Kinshō" (=Matsumoto Kōshirō V, 1764-1838); one with huge bulging eyes is "Mimasu" or "Sanshō" (=Ichikawa Danjūrō VII); while one displaying a piercing stare is "Baikō" (=Onoe Kikugorō III, 1784-1849). "Those huge eyes, those piercing eyes," Seiken concludes, "make every Dame Onoe faint dead away" (see EH II:241).

10. Ōishi Yoshio (also, Uchikuranosuke; 1659-1703) was the historical leader of the band of "loyal retainers" who avenged the death of their lord Asano Naganori (1665-1701) in 1703, and were condemned to suicide in punishment. Ōboshi Yuranosuke, his dramatic counter-
part in Kana-dehon chūshin-gura [Model Copybook Treasury of Loyal Retainers] (puppet-joruri premiere 1748), carouses drunkenly in a teahouse of the Gion district in Kyoto to throw his adversary's agents off track, and convince them that he has long since forgotten his duties and sense of valor as a samurai.

11. For the pedant's struggling disciples, bentō-nin omoku "the lunch box load is heavy"--a wry allusion to Analects 8:7, in which Zeng Zi remarks that the knight of the Way must be broadminded and strong of heart, since "his burden [of moral example] is heavy, and he has far to go" (nin omoku shite michi tōshi). The depiction also evokes Analects 11:25, in which Zeng Zi's father, Zeng Xi, in response to Confucius's question about which employment he would prefer if given free choice, proposes that he would find greatest pleasure in leading five or six capped youths and six or seven boys (dōji rokushichinin) to perform chaste lustrations on the banks of the Yi River in late springtime, and after chanting, return home (eijite kaeran)--wording very close to Seiken's text here.

12. According to Asakura and Andō (EH II:101, note 45), Tendai clerics wore capes and sedge rain-hats even during good weather, and so earned the nickname seitō no amagu "fair weather raingear." Bakuro-chō, a place name preserved in the districts of Chūō Ward, was a major concentration of hostels and inns in Nihonbashi as early as the Genroku period (1688-1704). Seiken devotes an entire segment of Book Four to Bakuro-chō, and sketches the varied characters and conversations of guests in a typical economy hotel (EH III:118-36). In the passage at hand, the "kept woman" (kana gloss: kakoimono) is very much subservient to her rambling patron; in the segment of Edo hanjō ki that Seiken allots exclusively to kept women, however, the ladies are fully in control of their situation, able to extort quantities of luxury goods from their patrons, or entertain several gullible sponsors simultaneously by the judicious use of closets and emergency cubbyholes. See EH II:191-202.

13. Both quotations derive from the first "Minute Prescriptions" (Qu lì) chapter--the opening installment--of the Liji. In full context: "The gentleman salutes those of venerable age [from his carriage], and alights before the place of nobles' assembly. Once inside the capital of a state he does not race his team; once inside a village gate he must offer salutations." And, "The lord of a state does not go about in an unconventional carriage. Once inside his carriage, he should not clear his throat noisily, or point at all and sundry. When standing he should gaze twenty-five yards ahead, and when offering salutations, he should gaze only at his horses' tails. When gazing to the rear, he should look no farther than the hubs of his carriage wheels. Inside the capital of a state he should not
scourge or prick his horses to hurry them, and should take care that
the dust does not rise above the wheel ruts." See Raiki [Liji, Book
of Rites], ed. Kokumin bunko kankōkai, Kokuyaku kan bun taisei 4 (4th
ed., Kokumin bunko kankōkai, 1925), pp. 26 and 27.

14. The Yoshiwara (more properly, New Yoshiwara) licensed quar-
ter, on the west bank of the Sumida, was an obvious stopover after an
excursion to Mukōjima. The cherry blossoms of Nakanochō, the central
concourse of the district, were celebrated for their beauty by night.
The "blossoms" the young gallants are so eager to visit, though, are
probably the prostitutes themselves. (A helpful aerial view of the
district is EMZ III:570-71.

The Hashiba ferry (Hashiba no watashi) passed between what is
now Tsutsumidōri 1-chōme, Sumida Ward, and Hashiba 2-chōme, Taitō
Ward until 1914, when the construction of the Shirahige Bridge
slightly upstream rendered it obsolete. (See the depiction in print
37 of Hiroshige's Meisho Edo hyakkei). The illustration and descrip-
tion of the Hashiba ferry in EMZ III:540-41 and 547-48 make it clear
that this was regarded as the site of Ariwara no Narihira's melan-
choly crossing and invocation to the miyakodori (see note 4 above).

San'ya Canal (San'ya-bori), more properly known as the San'ya
River, is a branch of the Negishī River that still flows, in a much
attenuated form, through eastern Taitō Ward. A convenient waterway
to and from the immediate vicinity of the Yoshiwara district, the
San'ya Canal was home to a small fleet of choki-bune—light open
skiffs that served as water-taxis to this most glamorous of destina-
tions. (Hiroshige's dramatic conception of San'ya Canal by night and
Matsuchi Hill near its mouth forms the subject of print 34 of Meisho
Edo hyakkei; a more humdrum depiction is EMZ III:564-65.)

15. Suijin Grove ("Suijin no mori) is the modern Sumida-gawa
Shrine (Tsutsumidōri 2-chōme, Sumida Ward). See prints 35 and 36 of
Hiroshige's Meisho Edo hyakkei series. The compound lies downstream
from, rather than directly behind, Mokuboji temple.

16. According to temple legend, Umewakamaru, the noble son of
the Yoshida Minor Captain Korefusa, was enslaved or kidnapped in 976
by Shinobu no Tōta, an unscrupulous northern merchant, and driven
against his will to the East. On the fifteenth day of the Third
Month, on the banks of the Sumida River, the twelve-year-old boy
collapsed and died, from illness or abuse. At the urging of a Tendai
ascetic, local villagers erected a tomb over the child's remains, and
planted willows by it. As villagers later held services in memory of
the young stranger on the first death-anniversary, the child's moth-
er, who had wandered distractedly for twelve months to locate her
missing son, stumbled by chance onto the gathering. With mounting
terror, she heard the villagers' description of the boy, and realized
that he could be none other than Umewakamaru; a ghostly apparition of the child above the grave confirmed her anguished surmise. The chapel she constructed by the tomb became the Bainyakuji (=Umewaka Temple).

In 1607, the temple was renamed "Mokuboji"--from the on readings for 木 and 母, the two components in 梅 (a vulgar variant of 梅, the initial character in "Umewakamaru"). The pathetic fate of Umewakamaru, best known through the nō play Sumida-gawa [Sumida River] by Zeami's son Motomasa (d. 1432), apparently inspired a whole tourist industry on its own: at memorial services on the fifteenth of every Third Month, "rich and poor from the entire city attend in thongs"; see EMZ IV:222. Shirushi no yanagi, the "marker willows" on the grave site, were constantly renewed.

The melancholy attractions of the site eventually threatened to become their own undoing. Large restaurants, like the Ue-Han (=Uekiya Han'emon) nearby, offered lavish refreshments to footsore visitors. Saitō Hikomaro (1768-1854), a minor Kokugaku scholar and resident of Edo at least since 1781, remarks that, in his youth, the Mokuboji had been an oasis of refined loneliness and unpretentious beauty; a few restaurants only shared the remote location. These days, by contrast, he notes disapprovingly in 1847, noisy tourists and raucous picnic parties have made the precincts all but intolerable, and the clamor of multiple tea shops and restaurants is equal to the din in the very heart of Edo; see Saitō Hikomaro, "Kamiyo no nagori," ed. Ichijima Kenkichi, Enseki jisshu II (Kokusho kankōkai, 1907), p. 52. (Illustration of congested crowd scene around 1838 in Saitō Yukinari/Gesshin, Tōto sai jiki, ed. Asakura Haruhiko, (Heibonsha, 1970), I: 240-41.

The "tear rain" (namidaame) that falls on Umewakamaru's death-anniversary a possible hint of the origins of the Umewakamaru legend in faint memories of child sacrifice to ensure fertility?--suggests other "anniversary rains," most notably Toragaame "Tora's rain" on the twenty-eighth of the Fifth Month--said to fall in sympathy with the tears of Tora Gozen, the mistress of Soga Jūrō (1172-1193), who became a nun upon learning of the failure of her lover's plea for clemency after concluding his vendetta of many years.

Butsurō Dōjin, the poet, may be identical with Butsurō, a monk and instructor at the Kan'ei-ji Temple, who took a charitable interest in young Seiken during his term of study around 1820; see Nagai Hiroo, Terakado Seiken (Risōsha, 1966), pp. 32-33. According to a reminiscence in the miscellany "Seiken chidan" [Sekien's demented prattling] (ca. 1854?), Seiken, as an impoverished boarder-student, had no means to procure a new set of clothes for New Years until Butsurō, out of pity, advanced him some funds for second-hand formal wear. See Terakado Seiken, "Seiken chidan," in Nihon zuihitsu taisei, ed. Nihon zuihitsu taisei henshūbu, [new] second series (Yoshikawa kobunkan, 1974), 20:42. The evocation of Umewakamaru's
hapless isolation here may contain some autobiographical tinge.

17. Mimeguri Shrine (in Mukōjima 2-chōme, Sumida Ward) marked the southern entrance to the Mukōjima district and Sumida embankment walkway. Founded in the fourteenth century, the compound prospered in the Edo period as the tutelary shrine of the Mitsui mercantile empire. Within the precincts still stands a stele, inscribed with a haikai verse by Takarai or Enomoto Kikaku (1661-1707), alleged to have provoked rain during an extended period of drought in 1693:

Yūdachi ya A sudden squall!
ta wo mimeguri no If indeed you are the god
kami naraba that encircled the field thrice.

of Mimeguri.

(An illustration of the shrine compound appears in EMZ IV:174-75.)

18. Chōmeiji temple (in Mukojima 5-chōme, Sumida Ward) is a few minutes’ walk north of Mimeguri Shrine. It owes its name—literally, "Longevity Temple"—to an incident in the early seventeenth century, when the shogun Iemitsu (r. 1623-1651), overcome by a fever or exhaustion during a strenuous session of falconry, revived after a draught of clear water from the temple well. Travelers to the Chōmeiji in Seiken’s day found more substantial refreshment in the temple precinct specialty of sakuramochi, rice cakes wrapped in the pickled leaves of cherry trees, and occasionally sprinkled with blossoms. The Chōmeiji temple commanded a fine view of the river and was a favorite site for winter snow-viewing. (Illustration in EMZ IV:176-77).

Immediately adjacent to the Chōmeiji is the Gyūtōzan temple—better known as the Kōfukuji. A temple of the Huangbo/Obaku Zen sect, the Kōfukuji closely approximates the Ming architectural style and layout of its sister temple, the Manpukuji in Uji, and like it, provides an exotic enclave in tranquil surroundings. (Illustration in EMZ IV:184-85).

Approximately one-quarter mile to the east of the Kōfukuji stands Akiba Shrine, famous for its sacred curative spring as well as for the proliferation of taverns and restaurants near its gates. Edo meisho zue notes that each restaurant maintains vats full of live carp, to provide the freshest ingredients for patrons’ degustation (EMZ IV:192). The "Akiba Trail" leading from the main embankment to the shrine was also a prosperous venue for carp restaurants, including the Musashiya (site of Utei Enba’s first hanashi no kai "comic story gathering" of 1786) and Kasai Taro (haunt of Ōta Nanpo and his entourage in the 1770s and ’80s). (An aerial view of the Chōmeiji, Kōfukuji, and Akiba complexes appears in EMZ IV:176-77; Akiba Shrine in isolation appears in EMZ IV:190-91).

Shirahige Shrine, a more modest compound not far from the New Ume-yashiki Gardens, stands in reconstructed form in Mukōjima 3-
19. Langye designates either a mountain or region along the Shandong coast, to the southwest of modern Qingdao. According to "The Basic Annals of Qin Shihuang" (Shiji 6), in the twenty-eighth year of his reign (i.e., 219 B.C.), the First Emperor of Qin "climbed Mt. Langye. So great was his delight [in the location] that he sojourned there three months. He transported 30,000 households of commoners to the foot of Langye Terrace, and exempted them from all other corvée and taxation for twelve years while they constructed Langye Terrace. He then erected stone markers, upon which he extolled the virtues of Qin and proclaimed his achievements." See Sima Qian, Shiki (I), ed. Kokumin bunko kankōkai, Kokuyaku kanbun taisei 13 (4th ed., Kokumin bunko kankōkai, 1925), p. 208. The fulsome text of the inscription follows (pp. 208-11).

20. The Will Rogers-like rustic of this segment belongs to a large family of "untutored sages" throughout Edo hanjō ki, who communicate the author's discontent at the laughable or corrupt state of current affairs with straight talk and trenchant common sense. Here the condemnation is directed against sensaku--literally, "piercing and drilling"--the petty textual and philological nitpicking that passed for true learning in the orthodox circles of Seiken's day, and that, in Seiken's opinion, had displaced moral cultivation as the true objective of scholarship. (My use of "grind" is a feeble approximation of the wordplay involved.)

A condemnation of ostentatious hi or steles appears in the strange auto-obituary that concludes Book Five of Edo hanjō ki, "Master Seiken Expires" (Seiken Kōji sosu). In his light-hearted ultimate injunctions, Seiken urges his disciples not to bother commissioning the engraving of his works as a commemorative gesture on his death-anniversary, or soliciting "incense donations" at meretricious shoogakai fund-raising banquets. "Do not toady to me in the grave," he commands, "by erecting stelae, and concocting for me grand achievements and noble virtues"; see EH III:281.

21. Asakura and Andō in their annotations link the unusual wording of the concluding phrase kono hama ni zensuru nomi "they merely advance onto this strand" with the commentary to hexagram 53 (jian "gradual advance") in the Yiijing, and note particularly the line-commentary on the bottommost line: "The first [line], divided: the wild geese advance gradually onto the shore." See EH II:113, note 23, and Ekikyō [Yijing]; Shokyō [Shujing], ed. Kokumin bunko kankōkai, Kokuyaku Kan bun taisei 2 (4th ed., Kokumin bunko kankōkai, 1925), pp. 333-39, especially p. 335.
Character Glossary

Terakado Seiken
Yamamoto Ryokuin
Yamamoto Hokuzan

juku

Edo hanjō ki
Kanbun

hanjō

Hayashi Jussai
hōkō-kamai

Bokusui ōka

Peng Lai
Sosei

Xu Fu

Yang Wanli
Sanshō

Bunken

Asō Dōjin
Master Baian
Mokuboji

Butsūrō Dōjin

Butsūrō

Umewakamaru

Kikaku

Mt. Langye

Edo bungaku chimei jiten
Edo meisho zue
MUKOJIMA AND VICINITY IN
"BLOSSOMS ALONG THE SUMIDA"

SCALE 1:25,000

Kilometers 1.0

Miles 0.5 0.75 1.0

To Senjū

Hashiba ferry

Shirahige Shrine

New Ume-yashiki Gardens

SCALE 1:25,000

Kilometers 1.0

Miles 0.5 0.75 1.0

MUKOJIMA AND VICINITY IN
• Blossoms Along the Sumida