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Translation, Human Emotion, and the *Bildungsroman* in Meiji Japan: Narrating Passion and Spiritual Love in the Novel *Karyū shunwa*

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In recent years, the field of Japanese literary studies has witnessed an exciting growth of critical interest in translation as constitutive of the modern literary canon. In her groundbreaking study *Sirens of the Western Shore*, Indra Levy has demonstrated that the awareness, through translation, of Western literary language shaped the emergence of *genbun itchi* (literally, unification of the spoken and written languages), the modern Japanese vernacular literary style. She also shows how translation was implicated in a desire not only for the “Western textual other” but also for eroticized “Westernesque” female others populating the pages of important works in the new vernacular language that shaped the emerging literary canon. More recently, Michael Emmerich has persuasively argued that translations of *The Tale of Genji*, as “replacements” of an often unread textual original, contributed to the continuous canonization of the early eleventh-century classic from late Edo to Meiji and beyond.¹

It is a truism that Western translation importantly shaped the course of modern Japanese literature in the Meiji period, often seen as the “age of translation” par excellence, but few scholars have discussed why particular literary translations gained wider popularity and influenced subsequent Japanese works more than other contemporary texts.² A case in point is the novel *Karyū shunwa* (Spring tale of flowers and willows, 1878–79), the translation by Niwa Jun’ichirō (1851–1919) of Edward Bulwer-Lytton’s novel *Ernest Maltravers* (1837) and its sequel *Alice* (1838). This and *Hachijūnichikan sekai isshū* (1878–80), the rendering, by Kawashima Chūnosuke (1853–1938), of Jules Verne’s *Le tour du monde en quatre-*



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vingts jours (*Around the World in Eighty Days*, 1873), were the first sustained and relatively accurate translations of contemporary Western novels in Japan, published about ten years into the Meiji period.³ Unlike the focus on modern technology and travel in the Verne translation, however, *Karyū shunwa*'s emphasis was on what later literary discourse would label "human emotion" (*ninjō*) and "social customs" (*setai*)—the characters' private and emotional lives, especially their love and their gendered relations. *Karyū shunwa* was the first Japanese translation of a realist and (in the broadest sense) psychological novel that offered insight into male-female intimacy in the West, and complicated the prevailing image of Western civilization as primarily concerned with rational thought and capitalist profit.

The exact circumstances of *Karyū shunwa*'s translation are unclear. The translator, Niwa Jun'ichirō, apparently enjoyed reading the English novel while traveling back on ship from England to Japan and therefore decided to translate it.⁴ Once published, his translation was an immediate success and triggered a boom not only in new translations of Western novels, most notably by Bulwer-Lytton, but also in adaptations and rewritings, including a linguistically more accessible "popular" (*tsūzoku*) version produced by Niwa himself.⁵ The translator, critic, and novelist Tsubouchi Shōyō (1859–1935) even recalled that, well into the 1880s, publishers were convinced that, because of *Karyū shunwa*'s success, novels had to bear elements like "spring," "flowers," or "love tale" (*jōwa*) in their titles to sell.⁶ Literary scholar Maeda Ai speculates that its readers were mostly educated students of former samurai status who flooded the bigger cities in early Meiji in pursuit of learning and social advancement.⁷ However, although written in a Sinified and rather difficult literary style, the translation was advertised in the widely popular *Yomiuri shinbun* (*Yomiuri* newspaper) and provided ample phonetic glosses (*furigana*), making it accessible to a broader group of readers as well.

Karyū shunwa also produced a new critical understanding of narrative fiction. In 1889, the important critic and translator Morita Shiken (1861–97) noted that its publication marked the beginning of a fundamental change in orientation of the Japanese novel.⁸ Even earlier, in an essay published in 1885, Tsubouchi Shōyō dismissed most Japanese fiction produced up to that point as the "dregs" or "imitations" of those masterworks of late Edo-period popular fiction that still formed the horizon of the novel in Japan well into the 1880s. Only translations like *Karyū shunwa* introduced a format of "great novelty" and made visible the "essence of the Western novel."⁹ In other words, it was *Karyū shunwa*'s

representation of “human emotions” and “social customs”—what Shōyō famously postulated as the novel’s main focus in his treatise *Shōsetsu shinzui* (The essence of the novel, 1885–86)—that could provide the model for his own attempt to reform Japanese fiction.

Although accounts of modern literary history generally acknowledge *Karyū shunwa*’s importance, scholarly discussions of the work have remained surprisingly scarce. One reason for this lack of interest is probably the translation’s style, its highly Sinified linguistic register. Although, as Indra Levy briefly notes, this style may have initially helped to garner new respect for the novel as a genre (previously often seen as a frivolous entertainment), it also made the work look outdated and even premodern from the perspective of the soon-to-become dominant canon of modern Japanese literature defined by the genealogy of *genbun itchi*.¹⁰ Moreover, both *Karyū shunwa* and its source text—Bulwer-Lytton’s today largely forgotten *Ernest Maltravers*, tellingly characterized by Donald Keene as “a badly faded and sometimes comically inept novel”—have tended to be seen as second-rate works.¹¹ This impression has relegated *Karyū shunwa* to the status of a footnote in the narrative of literary history, an immature transitional work superseded by more important subsequent literary developments.

This article seeks to rethink in detail the historical significance of *Karyū shunwa*, attested by contemporary Meiji critics. My goal is to elucidate the reason for the translation’s contemporary success, but also for its ability to influence the subsequent Meiji novel. *Karyū shunwa*’s significance primarily relied on its new representation of male-female love and gender relations, or “human emotion” and “social customs.” More specifically, I argue, this representation revolved around a narrative that could illustrate the translation of both erotic passion and spiritual love, two antithetical key concepts that came to define the Meiji novel. That the translation could integrate these concepts was a result of the inherently contradictory literary format of its source text. As a typical European *Bildungsroman*, Bulwer-Lytton’s *Ernest Maltravers* relied on the representation of conflicting ideological worldviews that validated passion and spiritual love, respectively. At the same time, *Karyū shunwa* filled these concepts with new valences and meanings that reflected the contradictory discursive and literary concerns of 1870s Japan, which explains the work’s contemporary success. This interplay between foreign concepts and local concerns exemplifies Lydia Liu’s seminal notion of “translingual practice.” Following Liu, I understand translation not primarily as a medium through which new meaning and knowledge

become unilaterally transplanted from the “guest” language or text (Bulwer-Lytton’s English novel) onto the “host” language or text (*Karyū shunwa*). Rather, the meaning-making process of translation relies on the dynamic “translingual” negotiation between the guest and host languages, in such a way that the translated text is shaped as much by its host environment (linguistic, discursive, literary, cultural) as by the guest environment.¹²

Bulwer-Lytton’s *Ernest Maltravers* presented a narrative of “passion,” a key term in the text that contemporary discourses defined as an emotion of great strength with an affinity to desire.¹³ In the novel, the protagonist’s youthful sexual “passion” exemplified the egalitarian European enlightenment ideal of the free choice of the heart, predicated on emotional and erotic attraction, that could transcend class barriers and social conventions. It was also an implicit political figure of democracy embracing the ideals of individual freedom and equality. However, Bulwer-Lytton’s novel also emphasized the need to move from youthful freedom to maturity, and to control erotic passion through virtue, reason, and a monogamous marriage defined by spiritual love, a bond predicated on mutual respect rather than erotic and emotional infatuation. This narrative was the attempt to subject especially the male protagonist to the norms of the family, society, and nation—precisely what his passion had challenged.

The translation *Karyū shunwa* translingually appropriated this narrative format in a peculiar way. To a certain extent, it validated the European enlightenment ideal of free and egalitarian “passion,” translated in Japanese as *jō* 情. But it also connected this emotion with the licentious and uncivilized sexual love often associated with the *ninjōbon* (books of human emotion). Ever since the publication of Tamenaga Shunsui’s (1790–1843) *Shunshoku umegoyomi* (Spring blossom plum calendar, 1832–33), the founding text of the genre, the *ninjōbon* had enjoyed great popularity for their lightly erotic plots focusing on the romance, both emotional and sexual, between courtesans and their male customers.¹⁴ Although Shunsui’s *ninjōbon* tended to highlight the values of female faithfulness and even chastity, Meiji discourses condemned them for their licentiousness, which they deemed unfit for the civilized Meiji present.¹⁵ However, it was in *Karyū shunwa*’s translation of the plot surrounding spiritual love and the control of passion that new Meiji ideological concerns regarding gender and sexuality could converge. Discourses of civilization and enlightenment (*bunmei kaika*) from the 1870s, disseminated by journals like the *Meiroke zasshi* (Meiji six journal) and

Jogaku zasshi (Journal of women's education), called for abolishing sexual practices like prostitution and concubinage, which they deemed vulgar and uncivilized. Instead, they advocated monogamous marriage held together by a chaste, spiritual love based on mutual respect. An important goal was to promote the education of women and the sexual control of men, deemed necessary for the building of a strong nation.¹⁶ In *Karyū shunwa*, the potential integration of licentious *ninjōbon* passion into a monogamous love marriage allowed for the representation of a socially active, useful, and morally exemplary male hero serving the nation. Such a plot could also integrate the narrative exploration of important new themes in contemporary Japanese discourse, such as the idea of male social advancement through hard study and work (*risshin shusse*) and democratic political activity.

Scholar Saeki Junko and others have argued that Christian enlighteners like Iwamoto Yoshiharu (1863–1942) introduced, in the decade of the 1880s, the new concept of a chaste, spiritual, and civilized love—designated by the later term *ren'ai*—that fundamentally challenged the representation of male-female gender relations in the Japanese novel. According to Saeki, the new concept of spiritual love also led to the discursive devaluation and demise of premodern Japanese cultural forms of erotic love associated with the *ninjōbon*.¹⁷ However, even before Iwamoto launched his challenges, *Karyū shunwa* had already provided a sophisticated literary narrative not only for civilized, spiritual love but also for the new notion of erotic passion, which, while reminiscent of the *ninjōbon*, carried new enlightenment connotations. *Karyū shunwa* was thus foundational in producing the contradictory clusters of concepts that would shape the subsequent Meiji novel. It opened up the possibility of conceiving of the novel as a genre that could contribute to the ideology of civilization and nation state building by representing the male control of passion, civilized gendered behavior, and spiritual love. However, it also presented the novel's hero as an incipient individual who, while subject to licentious passion, could resist his subjection to the nation and to social and civilizational norms.

Bulwer-Lytton's *Ernest Maltravers* as *Bildungsroman*

The nineteenth-century European *Bildungsroman*, as Franco Moretti has argued, was a contradictory literary form that mirrored the conflicting sets of aspirations inherent in capitalist modernity: mobility versus stability, change versus identity, freedom versus happiness. The *Bildungsroman* symbolically represents the conflict between these aspirations by staging

the opposite poles of youth and maturity—unbounded freedom and mobility on the one hand and social integration on the other—between which the often male and middle-class protagonist negotiates.¹⁸

Bulwer-Lytton's *Ernest Maltravers* is about the eponymous hero's passage from youth to maturity and the thorny path of his social integration. The beginning depicts Maltravers, a scion of the landowning English gentry, as an eccentric and talented young man with a strong poetic inclination, the opposite of the "sober Englishman" type. On his way home from Germany, where he was a university student and an idealist political activist, he is almost robbed and murdered, but the robber's beautiful daughter, Alice, rescues him. Maltravers and Alice start living together in an isolated, idyllic country cottage, which he rents to provide the destitute girl with a temporary home. As Alice is illiterate and lacks knowledge of the world, Maltravers educates her. The intimacy of their teacher-pupil interaction soon evolves into a sexual love relationship, a youthful and passionate "German romance." Through adverse circumstances, however, the couple's countryside idyll soon ends and they are separated. To compensate for the loss of Alice, Maltravers travels again and during a stay in Italy falls in love with the beautiful, witty, and educated Valerie de Ventadour, the wife of a French aristocrat. Ventadour, however, despite her own feeling of "passion" for Maltravers, resists the adulterous temptation and holds on to her "virtue." The amorous rejection triggers a moral conversion in Maltravers. He awakens not only to the moral worth of "all womanhood" but also to the possibility of himself realizing deeds that would merit "praise and honor." This experience and the encouragement of two fatherly friends spur his "ambition," and he soon launches a career as a much-acclaimed public writer, the first step toward his social integration.

At the same time, his eccentric distaste for the superficiality of upper-class life keeps him from more actively contributing to society, in particular as a politician. This aversion changes when Maltravers encounters the beautiful and intelligent Florence, a wealthy English heiress. Through anonymous letters, Florence encourages Maltravers to give up writing and instead realize his ambition by embracing an active political life that would suit his exceptional talent. Although skeptical at first about Florence's high-class urbanity, Maltravers awakens to her moral superiority, and after swearing mutual friendship, the two soon enter a love relationship that culminates in their decision to marry. Maltravers, now a successful politician, is offered a ministerial post. Yet the promise of social integration, epitomized by a bourgeois marriage and political

success, remains unfulfilled as the slanderous machinations of a political rival dissolve his marriage and career. This tragic undoing marks the end of *Ernest Maltravers*. The sequel, *Alice*, largely omitted from the Japanese translation, shows the protagonist leading a restless life. Only in the end does he miraculously reencounter Alice and marry her. The novel's last page also hints at the possibility of social redemption, as Maltravers resumes his career "with an energy more practical and steadfast than the fitful enthusiasm of former years."¹⁹

A plot surrounding love often lies at the heart of the *Bildungsroman*'s contradictory symbolic form. On the one hand, Maltravers's sexual passion for the illiterate and low-class Alice epitomizes the enlightenment ideal of individual freedom that defies social and moral norms, including traditional arranged marriage. The class difference between the lovers is an implicit figure of democracy, the political guarantor of universal freedom and equality.²⁰ It is no coincidence that one of Bulwer-Lytton's important intertexts is Rousseau's *Julie ou la nouvelle Héloïse* (Julie or the new Heloise, 1761), which, in staging a socially unequal teacher-student relationship, the model for the romance between Maltravers and Alice, dramatizes these enlightenment ideals.²¹

However, the novel also revolves around a plot of maturation that reinstates the norms previously challenged by Maltravers's youthful artistic personality and passion. This narrative includes relationships with educated and upper-class women that validate the normativity of virtue and reason. It also prefigures the protagonist's integration into the stabilizing institutions of the family and the nation, through a love marriage and socially useful male activity, including public writing and work as a politician. The other major intertext for Bulwer-Lytton's novel is significantly Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (Wilhelm Meister's years of apprenticeship, 1797), often seen as the archetype of the *Bildungsroman*.²² This novel emphasizes the possibility of reaching male maturity through marriage and the abandonment of a youthful artistic vocation. Bulwer-Lytton's plot, however, never completely resolves the ideological contradictions of the *Bildungsroman* form. Passion always pervades and destabilizes relationships even with the educated and upper-class women, and the novel's ideological ambivalence is confirmed by Maltravers's ultimate marriage with his first lover, Alice, the seeming redemption of his passionate love.

Translating Passion in *Karyū shunwa*

Karyū shunwa is quite an accurate translation of *Ernest Maltravers*.

Although it adds and omits words and sentences and sometimes provides additional authorial reflections and explanations, in general it follows the original's wording and plot, especially in the earlier chapters, and retains the English names in Japanese transcription for all protagonists.²³ At the same time, the translation of the contradictory *Bildungsroman* format into a Japanese text produced a complex array of new valences and meanings. The translation of romantic passion is an important case in point.

To a limited extent, the translation of passion in *Karyū shunwa* introduced the new notion of free and egalitarian love as an intrinsically valuable feeling. An important scene in this respect is at the beginning of the translation. Unaware of his host's criminal intent, Marutsurabāsu (as "Maltravers" is transliterated in Japanese) playfully asks Arisu ("Alice") for permission to kiss her. The short scene, here translated back into English, is noteworthy for the subtle shift in genre expectations:

The master of the house [Arisu's father] stood up and left the room. When the guest [Marutsurabāsu] looked around and saw that Arisu was sitting alone in one corner, he thought that this was his opportunity to talk to her. He therefore said: "If I were to be so fortunate to have a taste of your crimson lips, I would certainly sleep peacefully tonight!" Arisu, covering her face with her sleeve, seemed intent to answer but did not reply. The guest: "Please do not be angry with me." Arisu: "I am not. How could I be?" The guest then came closer to take her hand, but Arisu inquired: "Do you carry a lot of money with you?" The guest was appalled at the greed of the destitute girl and asked: "If your crimson lips were not of too high a price, would you not sell them to me?" With a frown, Arisu replied in a low voice: "If you carry money with you, please do not tell my father."²⁴

主人起テ室ヲ出ヅ。客室内ヲ回顧シアリスノ一隅ニ座スルヲ観テ以爲ラ
ク今ヤ我ト彼レトノミ宜シク一話ヲ試ムベシト。乃チ曰ク僕若シ幸
ニ卿ガ朱唇ヲ嘗スルヲ得バ能ク安眠ニ就カンノミ。アリス袖ヲ以
テ顔ヲ掩ヒ言ハント欲シテ猶ホ語無シ。客曰ク請フ子慍ルアルナカレ。
曰ク否ナ。妾何ゾ含マンヤ。此時客起テアリスニ近ヅキ將ニ其手ヲ擁シ
去ントス。アリス問フテ曰ク知ラズ君、大金ヲ懷ニスルヤ。客愕然
吃驚シテ以爲ラク貧女何ゾ貪婪ナル。試ニ問テ曰ク卿ガ一点の朱唇ハ
高價ニ非レバ鬻ガザルヤ。アリス顰蹙低聲シテ曰ク君若シ金ヲ懷カバ
請フ妾ガ父ニ語ル莫レ。

As one scholar has pointed out, *Karyū shunwa*'s translation of the English word "kiss" is awkward, only circumscribing the act ("to have a taste of your crimson lips") without directly naming it.²⁵ Although the concept of "kiss" was probably exotic and foreign to the codes of representation in previous Japanese genres, there is an unmistakably erotic dimension in Marutsurabāsu's behavior, reminiscent of *ninjōbon*. However, his desire to kiss Arisu also points to a different, new type of erotic romance, dramatized by the small misunderstanding in the scene's dialogue, and underlined by Niwa's highbrow translation style, starkly different from the *ninjōbon*'s colloquial diction. The hero expects his kiss to be for free and is appalled when Arisu reacts like a courtesan or prostitute, the type of heroine to be found in Edo-period fiction. The exotic symbolism of the kiss here subtly implies a different type of romantic behavior that is egalitarian and free, in the economic but also in the political sense, insofar as it transcends the boundaries of social class. Particularly in the Japanese context, this behavior also mirrored the Meiji enlightenment repudiation of prostitution as an uncivilized practice.

Besides the kiss, *Karyū shunwa* stages another exotic signifier of passion: Marutsurabāsu's later declaration of love to Arisu, to my knowledge the first instance of such a speech act in Japanese literature. In an important climactic scene that marks the beginning of the couple's sexual relationship, he declares, *Yo jitsu ni kei ni renchaku su* 余實ニ卿ニ戀着ス ("I truly love you").²⁶ The neologism of *renchaku* and the declarative sentence structure clearly replicating the English syntax, with the explicitly stated "I" (*yo*) as subject and "you" (*kei*) as object, here produce the sense of romantic passion—that is, the absolutely individualistic feeling of love of the other as other that could potentially transcend all social and moral norms.²⁷

It remains questionable, though, to what extent this translation could convey the meaning of such an absolute and exclusive passion. Two extrinsic factors also add value to the passion here, especially in the context of contemporary Japanese civilizational ideology. One is Marutsurabāsu's attempt to educate the illiterate Arisu before declaring his love to her. As she flees from her criminal father and depends on him for her subsistence, he decides to stay with her, not as her lover but as her teacher. In the English novel, Maltravers's decision to teach the girl only reconfirms his youthful romantic personality susceptible to "strange and eccentric" ideas, and he even fantasizes about acting "the Saint Preux to this Julie of Nature."²⁸ Saint Preux and Julie were the famous lovers in Rousseau's *Nouvelle Héloïse*, a teacher and his student. Julie, however,

was not illiterate, and Maltravers's fantasy of Alice as a "Julie of Nature" gestures to both Rousseau's novel and eighteenth-century French enlightenment ideas about the state of nature and its potential for education.²⁹ *Karyū shunwa*'s translator left these references out, and the atmosphere of French enlightenment utopia was probably lost on him. At the same time, Marutsurabāsu's decision to teach Arisu also leads to an enlightenment experiment in the Japanese context—a gender experiment. By conceiving of an educational and non-erotic relationship between a young man and woman not married to each other, the text provided a fantasy of civilized gender relations that anticipated ideas of the free and platonic "association of men and women" (*danjo kōsai*) in 1880s discourse.³⁰ Although Marutsurabāsu is aware of the danger of erotic infatuation in living with Arisu, he believes that their relationship will not offend the "Moral Way" (*kōdō*).³¹ He even declares that it is his "duty" (*gi*) to give the woman an education so that she can professionally sustain herself as a female teacher in the future, without—and this is the enlightenment implication of the idea—having to work as a prostitute.

Not only the association with civilized female education but also his moral discourse adds value to Marutsurabāsu's love in the Japanese translation. He is a morally exemplary protagonist. Especially in the first half of the novel, this quality paradoxically derives from his awareness of the immorality of his erotic attraction and his attempt to overcome it. He is subject to romantic passion, and the initial trigger for it is Arisu's outstanding beauty. "Spring feelings" (*shun'i*) surge up in him while teaching her, but he also feels shame (*haji*) when awareness of her innocence dawns on him. His moral awareness lets him struggle to resist his passion. His attempt to end the teacher-student relationship significantly precedes his love declaration. Arisu's beauty has increased the more she has advanced in her learning, and he is aware of his resurging desire and recognizes the futility of his educational project. In a climactic scene, he explains to Arisu that if they were to "commit a mistake" and give up their "restraint" (*kinshin*)—the word in the English novel is "prudence"—this would lead to inescapable "sin" (*tsumi*). "Chastity" (*teisō*) is the most important virtue for a woman. Arisu should independently continue with her studies and aim to make a living as a female teacher. He even bemoans her beauty, thus revealing his inner struggle. The outcome of the scene, however, is unexpected. In an outburst of emotion, Arisu swoons and Marutsurabāsu, while attempting to rescue her, suddenly kisses her. The English novel is explicit in mentioning the kiss, but Niwa again avoids a translation and has the hero spill cold water

onto the woman's "crimson lips." The illustration nevertheless shows both partners in an awkward kissing pose [Figure 1]. The scene ends with the love declaration and the beginning of sexual romance.

In the episode discussed so far, Marutsurabāsu's love is indirectly given value as a feeling that affects a male subject purposely engaging in enlightened female education and morally aware of his dangerous erotic passion. This love fundamentally differs from Tamenaga Shunsui's famous *ninjōbon Shunshoku umegoyomi*, where the male hero Tanjirō engages in erotic acts without distancing them through a moral discourse

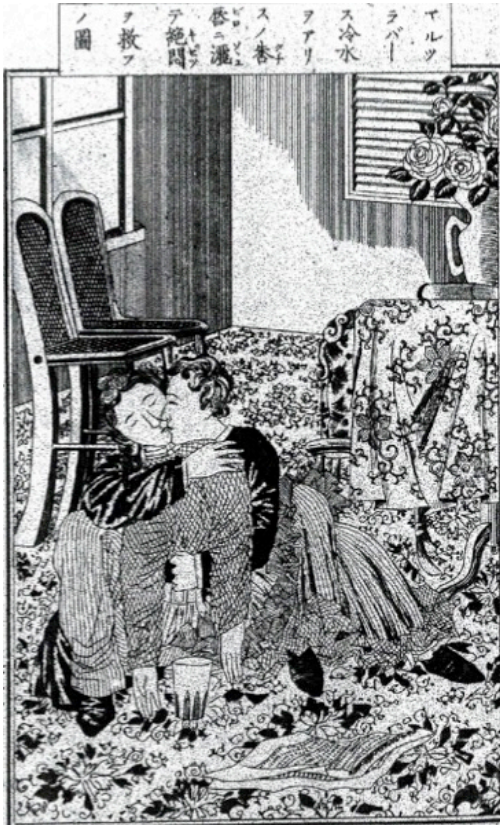


Figure 1. "Illustration of how Ānesuto Marutsurabāsu spills cold water onto Arisu's crimson lips and rescues her after her swooning." From chapter 6 of *Karyū shunwa*; illustrator unidentified. Courtesy of Waseda University Library.

or any useful social activity. However, Marutsurabāsu's educational project and his moral discourse also remain extrinsic, even opposed, to his passion. His love only powerfully erupts at the moment when both fail. Although his kiss and love declaration could serve as the signifiers for a free, egalitarian, and therefore enlightened emotion affecting a potentially moral and civilized (male) subject, his passion—the sexual relationship outside of marriage following his love declaration—also remains intrinsically opposed to moral and civilizational norms.

The titillating dimension of passion in this episode was indeed reminiscent of the *ninjōbon*. The advertisement in the *Yomiuri shinbun*, for instance, published shortly before *Karyū shunwa*'s first installment, labeled it a

jōshi, glossed *ninjōbon*. *Jōshi* (literally, history of emotion) was a traditional term for love stories in classical or vernacular Chinese, often also used synonymously with *ninjōbon*. The advertisement promised readers that the novel would “not only show customs and emotions (*fūzoku ninjō*) different from those to be found in our popular *Plum Blossom Calendar* but also blow your mind by new wonderful ways of storytelling.”³² Although this wording seemingly emphasized *Karyū shunwa*’s difference from Shunsui’s *ninjōbon*, it did so only to highlight the translation’s exciting novelty as a commercial publication. The ad here presents *Karyū shunwa* as a praiseworthy addition to the *ninjōbon* genre, a new addition from the West.

A similar view is also expressed in the translation’s preface, written by the famous scholar and journalist Narushima Ryūhoku (1837–84):

Do grasses and trees have emotions? I respond: No. If that is the case, on what basis is the quarter of softness and warmth [the pleasure quarter], full of incomparable emotion, called the world of flowers and willows? I respond: There is an explanation. Flowers do not have emotion, but when their fragrant lips graciously open in the rain as though smiling, who would think them devoid of emotion? Willows do not have emotion, but when their alluring hips elegantly move in the wind as though dancing, who would think them devoid of emotion? ... The sages are full of emotion, fools of course are full of emotion, the entire world is a world of emotion. Narrow-minded scholars claim that the people in Western countries only care about gain and profit and do not value elegance and the foolishness of emotion. This is absolute nonsense. I myself travelled to the West for a year and could see that the emotions here and there are equivalent. There is not even a tiny bit of difference. ... Those narrow-minded scholars will certainly say that love stories do not have any benefit in the world and only incite to licentiousness and teach depravity. Ah! People with emotion like me were born into a world of emotion and read love stories. This also is a gift of the Creator—how could we humans be the same as trees and grasses?³³

草木情無キ耶。曰ク無シ。然ラバ則多情無比ノ溫柔郷ハ。何ヲ以テ花柳ト呼ブ耶。曰ク説有リ。花ノ情無キモ。芳唇笑フガ如ク。嬌然トシテ雨中ニ開クヤ。誰カ看テ情無シト謂ハン。柳の情無キモ。嬌腰舞フガ如ク。裊然トシテ風前ニ立ツヤ。誰カ看テ情無シト謂ハン。... 聖既ニ多情。痴固ヨリ多情。然ラバ則全地球上一切情界ノミ。固陋學士或ハ云フ。泰西諸國ハ。人々實益ヲ謀リ。實利ヲ説キ。敢テ風流情痴ノ事ヲ問ハズト。是レ極メテ妄誕。余嘗テ航遊一年。親シク看破シ來ルニ。彼我ノ情相契ス。毫モ差異無キナリ。... 而シテ彼ノ固陋學士ハ。猶必ズ言

ハントス。情史世ニ於テ果シテ何ノ用ヲ為スヤ。適マ以テ誘淫啓蕩ノ具トナル而已ト。噫吾徒ノ情人。此ノ情界ニ生レテ。以テ情史ヲ讀ム。是レ亦造物主ノ賜ナリ。人豈草木ト同シカランヤ。

Literary histories often refer to Ryūhoku's preface for its bold and humorous attack on utilitarian views of literature under the banner of "emotion" (*jō*), a term obsessively repeated twenty-one times in a very condensed textual space.³⁴ The preface was indeed epoch-making as the first major voice defending emotion and the novel's representation of it against the criticism of the *ninjōbon*'s licentiousness. As Matthew Fraleigh notes, Ryūhoku was never against Meiji enlightenment per se, but advocated a "more balanced, less exclusively utilitarian, form of 'civilization and enlightenment'" that—as the preface suggests—could even include stories about sexual love.³⁵ Ryūhoku's concept of emotion, however, derived from a traditional understanding grounded in the ideal of the erotic sophistication (*fūryū*) of pleasure quarter culture, the world of "flowers and willows." *Karyū shunwa* did not feature courtesans, but Ryūhoku significantly again read the novel as a *jōshi* or *ninjōbon*. His thought-provoking point was that this genre did not have to be banned from the civilized Meiji present.

Indeed, various references in *Karyū shunwa* implicitly gesture to the *ninjōbon*. Arisu, for example, although not a courtesan or prostitute, remains associated with prostitution. At the beginning, her criminal father implicitly states to her his evil intention to sell her as a mistress or prostitute. She does not understand and instead insists on working in a nearby factory to sustain the family. Although she is predestined to prostitution or a life in the pleasure quarter, given her beauty and low-class background, her inborn virtue resists this fate by pointing, in enlightenment manner, to the possibility of female work. Yet her titillating potential as a *ninjōbon* heroine also comes to the fore, especially after the failure of her education and the beginning of sexual romance. Marutsurabāsu similarly possesses qualities of a *ninjōbon* hero. He is the second son born into a wealthy landowning gentry family and can indulge in a life of luxury without having to assume the responsibilities of a household heir.³⁶ While a student in Germany, moreover, he frequents "elegant circles"—*fūryū shakai*—and has the reputation of a "talented and attractive man" (*saishi binan*).³⁷ Whereas the English novel underlines Maltravers's romantic, Byronic temperament by specifying that he "had been already the darling of the sentimental German ladies," the references to male attractiveness and *fūryū* (erotic elegance) in the Japanese translation—also highlighted by Narushima Ryūhoku—again gesture to

Spiritual Love and the Control of Passion

Whereas Ryūhoku still considered *Karyū shunwa* a *ninjōbon*, the novel's afterword, written by its translator, Niwa Jun'ichirō, opened up a new interpretive horizon:

The twenty chapters of Lord Lytton's novel examine in detail the human emotions of old and modern times and record the different customs in distant and close places. They let the reader clearly see the joy and sorrow as well as the right and wrong in the human world. However, they also differ from those books in our land like Tamenaga Shunsui's *Plum Blossom Calendar* that vainly excite their readers' foolish passion.³⁹

ロードリトン アラハ コマ コゴン ニンジャウ カダ イゾク
 牢度倫氏小説二十二卷ヲ著シ細カニ古今の人情ヲ探ツテ遠近ノ異族ヲ
 ドク ヒクワシセイジヤ シヤウチ ワガテウ
 記シ一讀以テ人世ノ悲歡正邪ヲ詳知スルニ足ラシム。而シテ我朝ノ為永
 ウメゴヨミ イタヅ チヂヤウ ジャウハツ
 春水ノ著ニ係ル梅曆等ノ如ク讀者ヲシテ徒ラニ痴情ヲ醸發セシムル者
 ニ非サルナリ。

Niwa here argues that the “human emotions” in *Karyū shunwa* are different from the erotic and uncivilized “foolish passion” in Shunsui's *ninjōbon*. Elsewhere, he also states that his translation represents enlightened customs, unlike the licentious theater books and love stories (*inbon jōshi*) in Japan.⁴⁰ His point is that the novel's representation of love and gender relations conforms to new civilizational standards. Niwa's statements are groundbreaking, as they envision a new type of novel centering on love without being a traditional *ninjōbon*.

The contradictory range of these contemporary assessments was a direct result of *Karyū shunwa*'s *Bildungsroman* structure that not only allowed for the representation of titillating passion but also provided a narrative of maturation highlighting the control of passion and compromise with social and moral norms. In the Japanese translation, this produced a new narrative arc away from the *ninjōbon* aesthetic. *Karyū shunwa*'s later plot stages the gradual transformation of the protagonist from a passionate and erotic to a socially useful and moral masculinity, thus aligning with the interest of contemporary Japanese young men in social advancement and political activity. In unprecedented fashion, moreover, this narrative featured a new type of civilized, spiritual love that could facilitate male social integration.

The idyll of Marutsurabāsu and Arisu's sexual romance dissolves

when the hero must return to his family to look after his dying father—the symbol of the value system of the family and social morality—and Arisu is abducted by her own criminal father. Marutsurabāsu subsequently falls in love with the married Bentadoa—*Karyū shunwa*'s transliteration for “Ventadour.”⁴¹ His attraction is not only triggered by her beauty but also her talent and intelligence, in strong contrast to Arisu's illiterate innocence. Bentadoa, in turn, is impressed by Marutsurabāsu's moral uprightness, and she views him as an “exceptional talent” (*kisaishi*) and the antipode to the superficial “upper-class society” (*jōtō shakai*) around her. Their conversation topics reflect their intellectual and moral equality: Roman democracy, people's rights, the function of newspapers—important topics in Meiji enlightenment discourse—as well as, a bit surprisingly perhaps, the importance of “love” (*aijō*) in modern society.⁴² All this cultivated, enlightened, and civilized talk, however, is overshadowed by the sudden eruption of amorous tension. One balmy spring night, overwhelmed by the lady's attractiveness and the beauty of the surrounding Neapolitan landscape, Marutsurabāsu catches her hand and again declares: “You might despise me, but I truly love you” (*shin ni renbo su*). He also boldly states: “I am committing a mistake, but I hardly feel ashamed of it.” His visual focus is on her physical beauty mediated by the translation's exoticizing Sinified style: “Her flowery face, illuminated by the starlight, was glittering on the jeweled balustrade; her cloudy hair, moved by the soft breeze, fell on her pearl-like cheeks—her delicate figure was unspeakably enticing.”⁴³

The peculiar mixture in this passage of enlightened conversation, stylistic elegance, and erotic tension was quite different from the *ninjōbon* aesthetic. Bentadoa's education, which strongly differentiates her from Arisu and previous *ninjōbon* heroines, also leads to a radically surprising outcome: the rejection of Marutsurabāsu's love. Unlike Arisu, Bentadoa is able to “control” (*sei-su*) her feelings and prevent adultery (*fugi*) from happening. Her rejection is all the more heroic because her feelings are strong. Her words to her suitor are unambiguous:

In my heart, my love for you [*kenren no jō*] is truly as strong as yours. How could I ever hide it? Last night, after separating from you, a thousand thoughts and sorrows let me see my unhappiness, and my entire heart was with you and no one else. I can yield my heart to you, but I cannot yield my body. I wish you to understand.⁴⁴

妾ノ心モ亦猶ホ君ノ如ク眷戀ノ情實ニ切ナリ。妾豈ニ敢テ之ヲ度サン
ヤ。昨夜君ニ別レテヨリ千慮萬案吾身ノ不幸ヲ省ミレバ一心唯ダ君ニ

在ツテ他ニ在ラズ。妾ノ心應サニ君ニ委スベシ。然レドモ妾ノ体ハ君ニ
 委スベカラズ。請フ君熟慮セヨ。

In the English novel, Ventadour concludes her reflection by making the important distinction between reason and passion: “I reasoned calmly, for my passions did not blind my reason.”⁴⁵ *Karyū shunwa*’s translations for the conceptual antonyms are *jō* 情 and *ri* 理. Bentadōa decides to “curb her passion and abide by reason” (*jō o kujiki ri o mattō suru*).⁴⁶ She also refers to her “conscience” (*ryōshin*) as opposed to her passion. Her virtuous rejection of Marutsurabāsu’s advances triggers a moral conversion in him. He exclaims: “Now standing before such a virtuous woman, even an unworthy fellow like me must arouse his ambition [*kokorozashi o tatan to su*]!”⁴⁷ “Ambition” (*kokorozashi*) is a keyword in both the English novel and the translation, and it motivates the hero’s subsequent decision to give up his socially useless life of passion and instead serve society and the nation as a public writer. His writings soon gain resounding fame for their moral integrity and adherence to truth.

Bentadōa’s inner conflict between passion and reason (or virtue and conscience) again brings to the fore the *Bildungsroman*’s tension between contradictory ideological aspirations. However, whereas Marutsurabāsu’s earlier similar conflict in the face of Arisu’s beauty gave precedence to immoral passion, Bentadōa’s education and intelligence allow her to opt for virtuous reason. It is certainly relevant that the subject able to enact reason and virtue is an educated woman, not the equally educated male hero. Yet the more important point was that educating women could facilitate the conversion of men from uncivilized desire or passion to reason and thus turn them into useful members of society and the nation. This resonated with the writings of the *Meiroku zasshi*, the most important 1870s enlightenment magazine, about the role of female education and “love” in facilitating male achievement within the new framework of the nation.⁴⁸

Marutsurabāsu’s conversion to reason and subsequent career, moreover, allowed for integrating contemporary male readers’ concern with “social advancement and success” (*risshin shusse*) into the novel. As noted in the introduction, the early Meiji period witnessed a new social mobility of young men, often of samurai background, who flooded the big cities to study and in search of social opportunity, according to Maeda Ai, the most important subgroup among *Karyū shunwa*’s readers. Contemporary journals like *Eisai shinshi* (New talent chronicle) featured reader submissions that expressed the desire for success, fame, or wealth

through “hard study” (*benkyō*), either by climbing the ladder of the new Meiji governmental bureaucracy or, from the early 1880s, by launching a political career.⁴⁹ The publication and circulation of *Eisai shinshi* significantly peaked in the year 1878, when *Karyū shunwa* was published. The novel indirectly refers to the journal’s discourse by incorporating major keywords like “hard study,” “rising in the world” (*mi o tatsuru*), and “high-flying ambition” (*seiun no kokorozashi*) into its translation idiom. Advancement and success was also an important theme in the later Meiji novel, and *Karyū shunwa* was probably the first novel to bring it to the fore.⁵⁰

Social integration through marriage was another important element in *Karyū shunwa*’s new narrative of the control of passion and a civilized, spiritual love. This narrative primarily revolves around the woman Furorensu (“Florence”), an English bourgeois heiress. Like the French aristocrat Bentadoa, Furorensu is beautiful and educated, but unlike the almost adulterous romance with the former, Marutsurabāsu’s relationship with her more intrinsically conforms to new civilizational norms. As Maeno Michiko has noted, Bulwer-Lytton’s novel purposely associates adulterous love with the French aristocracy, whereas a bourgeois marriage is only possible with Florence.⁵¹ The translation *Karyū shunwa* and contemporary Japanese discourse were aware of these specificities of nation and class. In *Karyū shunwa*, Bentadoa notes that French aristocratic marriage, like hers, is not free, as it is forced upon the children by their parents.⁵² The protagonists in Tsubouchi Shōyō’s slightly later novel *Imotose kagami* (Mirror of marriage, 1885–86), moreover, make a similar point about French customs, adding that their practice of “forced marriage” (*kyōhaku kekkon*) is the breeding ground for licentious adultery—uncivilized behavior not different from Japanese feudal customs. Only in Britain are marriage customs free (*jiyū*) from parental intervention, thus allowing for truly civilized relationships between the sexes.⁵³ The important implication, in *Karyū shunwa*, of the hero’s relationship and marriage plans with Furorensu is this British (bourgeois or middle-class) model of civilized gender relations. Indeed, her love derives from her intellectual and spiritual attraction to Marutsurabāsu’s writings. Convinced of his “talent in governing the realm” (*keizai no sai*), she sends him anonymous letters, urging him to embrace an active career in politics. As she states in one of her letters: “I have never met you and I also do not desire to meet you. This is because I do not long for you as a person, but I long for your ideas” (*sono hito o shitawazu shite sono i o shitau*).⁵⁴

With this encouragement, Marutsurabāsu enters national politics (*kokusei*) and becomes a member of parliament. His virtuous aim is to benefit the nation (*tenka no yō o nasu*). The years of *Karyū shunwa*'s publication (1878–79) witnessed the first peak of the People's Rights Movement (*jiyū minken undō*) in Japan, a nationwide campaign, promoted especially by young men of former samurai status, for political participation through a parliamentary system. Marutsurabāsu's career as a politician resonated with the desire of Japanese young men not only for social advancement but also for political engagement, an important topic discussed by contemporary enlightenment media like the *Meiroku zasshi*. *Karyū shunwa* can thus be seen as the first Japanese political novel (*seiji shōsetsu*) with a politician protagonist, a new genre that greatly flourished throughout the 1880s in connection to the People's Rights Movement.⁵⁵

Marutsurabāsu's career as a politician, the pinnacle of his male virtue and social utility, relies on a new civilized love based not on erotic attraction but on respect. This educated and spiritual dimension in Furorensu's feelings qualifies her as his ideal marriage partner. When he finds out that she was the author of the anonymous letters, they become aware of their mutual love and decide to marry. *Karyū shunwa*'s marriage plot thus reflects the new valences of Japanese civilizational discourse, especially the idea of chaste monogamy as the nurturing ground for a useful masculinity serving the nation.⁵⁶

One of the complexities of *Karyū shunwa*, however, is that it does not end with such an exemplary marriage. Despite its enlightened quality, Marutsurabāsu's relationship with Furorensu soon transforms into a passionate love (*renjō*) that defies social integration. Their passion most violently erupts when their marriage plans dissolve owing to the machinations of his evil rivals. Consumed by "foolish passion" (*chijō*), Furorensu dies; Marutsurabāsu, similarly subject to "mental fatigue" (*shinshin no hirō*), abandons his political and public career.⁵⁷ Despite *Karyū shunwa*'s seemingly teleological trajectory moving from youthful passion to maturity, mirroring the ideology of progress and civilization in Meiji discourse, erotic passion resurges and jeopardizes the hero's career. The *Bildungsroman*'s contradictory format reemerges as unresolved. The ambiguity is particularly conspicuous in the ending, where Marutsurabāsu reencounters and marries his first lover, Arisu—a revalidation of sorts of his former youthful passion. As we saw from *Karyū shunwa*'s paratexts, this ambiguity allowed for a contradictory range of interpretations. Presenting a new type of spiritual love, *Karyū shunwa* could depict a civilized masculinity exemplifying contemporary concerns for male social

utility, advancement, and political participation. At the same time, the novel continuously staged titillating foolish passion, reminiscent of what early Meiji discourses decried as the *ninjōbon*'s licentiousness unfit for the civilized present.

Conclusion: *Karyū shunwa* and the New Meiji Novel

As a translation, *Karyū shunwa* translingually attached to the form of the European *Bildungsroman* a variety of sometimes contradictory meanings that explain the novel's success in Japan. It introduced passion as a strongly emotional and erotic attachment, a concept of European enlightenment denoting the individual's freedom from oppressive social norms, but also reminiscent of the *ninjōbon*. Contemporary discourses condemned the *ninjōbon*'s uncivilized licentiousness, but owing to its titillating charms, the genre remained highly popular well into the Meiji period. At the same time, *Karyū shunwa*'s translation of the *Bildungsroman*'s plot of maturation, centering on the control of passion, provided the first sophisticated narrative illustration of the new norms of gender and love promoted by Meiji civilizational discourse. This correlated with the possibility to represent a monogamous, virtuous, as well as socially useful and successful masculinity that could serve the new nation, for instance, through political engagement.

Karyū shunwa's translation of the *Bildungsroman* form, in its contradictions, became integral to the emergence of the modern Japanese novel in the decade of the 1880s. For one thing, it opened up a new literary space that allowed for envisioning the reform of the novel into a genre that would focus on civilized love and thus contribute to society's own process of civilization. In *Shōsetsu shinzui*, Tsubouchi Shōyō notes that the novel should represent the inner struggle between "vulgar passion" (*retsujō*) and "reason" (*dōri*).⁵⁸ The novel's (male) protagonist should, like *Karyū shunwa*'s hero, be subject to uncivilized passion but also subject this passion to civilized and moral control. As noted earlier, Shōyō defined the main focus of the reformed novel to be on the realist depiction (*mosha*) of human emotion and social customs, male-female love and gender relations. At the same time, he understood this realism to be civilized and different from the *ninjōbon*'s licentiousness. Moreover, by representing either civilized spiritual love (*airen*) or the struggle between passion and reason, the novel would confer didactic "indirect benefits."⁵⁹ One, according to Shōyō, was to "elevate (people's) deportment" (*kikaku o kōshō ni nasu*), that is, to bring readers to an elevated level of civilization by showing them civilized behavior (or the civilized control of passion)

and thus diverting them from their own vulgar passions. Another benefit was the novel's capacity to "encourage and admonish" (*kanshō chōkai*) by bringing readers to self-reflection (*hansei*). He argues that readers, witnessing the protagonist's—ideally successful—struggle between passion and reason, could be brought to a reflection about their own lives that would civilize and morally better them. In this fashion, the novel could be made an agent of civilization and enlightenment contributing to the nation's own *Bildungsroman* narrative of civilizational maturation.

In the 1880s, a new group of novels, often as explicit rewritings of *Karyū shunwa*, staged the conflict between passion and reason theorized in *Shōsetsu shinzui*. In Kikutei Kōsui's (1855–1942) *Seiro nikki* (Diary of getting on in the world, 1884), for instance, the right compromise between sexual passion and reason allows not only for an enlightened and free love marriage between the protagonists—a teacher and his student like Marutsurabāsu and Arisu—but also for male advancement and political activity within the People's Rights Movement. However, in Shōyō's novel *Imotose kagami*, another intertextual rewriting of *Karyū shunwa*, this compromise breaks down as the male hero, carried away by his "vulgar passion," marries an uneducated, low-class woman (modeled on Arisu) instead of an appropriate high-class partner. The breakdown of reason here also triggers the disintegration of enlightened social customs (including spiritual love) and male success, ultimately leading to the hero's unemployment, divorce, and his wife's suicide.

The figure of passion, precisely in its opposition to male reason, success, and social utility, became a major component in narratives that have been seen as milestones of Japanese literary modernity. The delusional infatuation of Futabatei Shimei's (1864–1909) protagonist Bunzō in *Ukigumo* (Floating clouds, 1887–89), linked to the failure of his bureaucratic advancement and social integration, needs to be contextualized within the genealogy of novels produced in *Karyū shunwa*'s wake.⁶⁰ In slightly different fashion, moreover, Mori Ōgai's (1862–1922) *Maihime* (The dancing girl, 1890) restaged the contradictions inherent in the *Bildungsroman* form. The work is about a young elite Japanese bureaucrat (Ōta Toyotarō) who, while studying in Berlin, starts a relationship with a local uneducated dancing girl (Erisu, probably for Elis), neglecting his studies and almost giving up his bureaucratic career in service of the nation.⁶¹ Although Toyotarō ultimately leaves the pregnant woman behind and embraces a career in Japan, his decision produces resentment (*urami*) in him that keeps validating his passion. The resentment also motivates him to write a

subjective first-person memoir—the text of *Maihime*—that reflects on the unsolvable inner conflict or aporia between passion (love) and male ambition, social integration, or service to the nation. This aporia became a major indicator for *Maihime*'s modernity, cementing the text's lasting literary-historical fame, as it epitomized the emergence of the modern individual as the subject of passion that consciously resists subjection to social utility and the nation. Passion here, unlike in *Karyū shunwa* or Shōyō's *Imotose kagami*, does not refer so much anymore to uncivilized *ninjōbon* licentiousness, but instead comes to signify the individual's enlightened freedom that challenges social and moral norms.⁶²

The *Bildungsroman* as a literary form allowed incorporating and giving narrative form to a broader and contradictory range of concerns inherent in Meiji modernity: civilizational maturation, male ambition within the frame of the nation, and the freedom of the individual as the subject of passion. *Karyū shunwa*'s literary-historical position is crucial because the translation initially opened up the literary space for the critical and narrative exploration of these concerns within the new Japanese novel emerging in the 1880s. In Morita Shiken's previously cited words, *Karyū shunwa* indeed heralded the beginning of a fundamental change in orientation of the Japanese novel. It ushered in the epistemological turning point where the novel became the privileged genre for narrating new key discursive concepts, including erotic passion and spiritual love, that shaped Japan's literary modernity.

NOTES

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¹ See Indra Levy, *Sirens of the Western Shore: The Westernesque Femme Fatale, Translation, and Vernacular Style in Modern Japanese Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006); Michael Emmerich, *The Tale of Genji: Translation, Canonization, and World Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013).

² The term “the age of translation” is Donald Keene's; see his *Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature of the Modern Era* (New York: Henry Holt, 1984), chapter 2. Levy, *Sirens of the Western Shore*, chapter 1, insightfully discusses Futabatei

Shimei's (1867–1909) influential translations of Ivan Turgenev's "The Rendezvous" (from *A Sportsman's Notebook*, 1852).

³ The full titles of both works are *Ōshū kiji: Karyū shunwa* (A strange story from Europe: Spring tale of flowers and willows) and *Shinsetsu: Hachijūnichikan sekai isshū* (A new story: Around the world in eighty days). The translations were published by Sakagami Hanshichi and Keiō gijuku shuppanbu, respectively, both in Tokyo.

⁴ Yanagida Izumi, *Meiji shoki hon'yaku bungaku no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1961), 13. Niwa (later surname: Oda) traveled to England twice in 1870–74 and 1874–77. He seems to have studied law in Edinburgh and London, but the facts about his life abroad remain controversial and to a great extent unknown. For the limited biographical material on Niwa, see *ibid.*, 299–316; *Kindai bungaku kenkyū sōsho*, ed. by Shōwa joshi daigaku kindai bungaku kenkyūshitsu (Tokyo: Shōwa joshi daigaku kōyōkai, 1962), 18:307–59.

⁵ This was *Tsūzoku Karyū shunwa* (Popularly retold: Spring tale of flowers and willows), published by Sakagami Hanshichi in 1884. For the boom in translations of Western novels, see Taguma Itsuko, "Meiji hon'yaku bungaku nenpyō," in *Meiji hon'yaku bungaku shū*, ed. by Kimura Ki (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1972), 412–16. For adaptations and rewritings of *Karyū shunwa*, see Hata Minoru, "Meiji shoki no ninjō shōsetsu: *Karyū shunwa* no nagare," *Komazawa kokubun* 29 (1992): 69–78.

⁶ Quoted from Shōyō kyōkai, ed., foreword to *Shōyō senshū bessatsu* (Tokyo: Daiichi shobō, 1977), 2:2.

⁷ Maeda Ai, "*Karyū shunwa* no ichi," *Meiji bungaku zenshū geppō* 71 (1972): 2.

⁸ Quoted from Yanagida, *Meiji shoki*, 4; originally in the preface to Masuda Katsunori, trans., *Yoru to asa* (Tokyo: Sokkihō kenkyūkai, 1889).

⁹ Tsubouchi Shōyō, preface to *Kaikan hifun: Gaisei shiden*, in *Shōyō senshū bessatsu*, ed. by Shōyō kyōkai (Tokyo: Daiichi shobō, 1977), 2:446–48. Shōyō also favorably discusses the novel *Shun'ōten* (Orioles warbling in the spring, 1884), Seki Naohiko's (1857–1934) translation of Benjamin Disraeli's *Coningsby* (1844), and Yano Ryūkei's (1850–1931) political novel *Keikoku bidan* (Beautiful tales of statesmanship, 1883–84). *Karyū shunwa*, however, was the earliest title and produced the literary field that made later works like Seki's translation possible.

¹⁰ Levy, *Sirens of the Western Shore*, 29.

¹¹ Keene, *Dawn to the West*, 64. Bulwer-Lytton's dubious place in literary history today is reflected by The Bulwer-Lytton Fiction Contest, annually sponsored by the English Department at San Jose State University, that "challenges entrants to compose opening sentences to the worst of all possible novels." See

<https://www.bulwer-lytton.com/contest-rules>. Accessed January 18, 2019.

- ¹² Lydia H. Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, Culture, and Translated Modernity—China, 1900–1937* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1995), esp. 1–42. The terms “host” and “guest” are Liu’s.
- ¹³ See the following definition in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, seventh ed. (1842), s.v. “emotion”: “An internal motion or agitation of the mind, when it passeth [*sic*] away without desire, is denominated an emotion; when desire follows, the motion or agitation is denominated a passion. A fine face, for example, raises in us a pleasant feeling; if that feeling vanishes without producing any effect, it is in proper language an emotion; but if the feeling, by reiterated views of the object, becomes sufficiently strong to occasion desire, it loses its name of emotion, and acquires that of passion.”
- ¹⁴ A partial translation by Chris Drake can be found in Haruo Shirane, ed., *Early Modern Japanese Literature: An Anthology, 1600–1900* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 760–99.
- ¹⁵ For these discourses, see Yamada Shunji, “Ninjōbon no saisei made: Meiji shonen no ren’ai shōsetsu ni kansuru ichi-kōsatsu,” *Nihon bungaku* 56.10 (2007): 12–25. The most comprehensive source on early Meiji critical discourse is still Yanagida Izumi, *Meiji shoki no bungaku shisō*, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1965).
- ¹⁶ For these discourses, see Marnie S. Anderson, *A Place in Public: Women’s Rights in Meiji Japan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2010), chapter 2; Sharon Sievers, *Flowers in Salt: The Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1983), chapter 2; Rebecca L. Copeland, *Lost Leaves: Women Writers of Meiji Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2000), chapter 1.
- ¹⁷ Saeki Junko, “*Iro*” to “*ai*” no hikaku bunkashi (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1998), esp. chapter 1; for an English translation, by Indra Levy, of this chapter, see Indra Levy, ed., *Translation in Modern Japan* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 73–101. See also Yanabu Akira, *Hon’yakugo seiritsu jijō* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1982), chapter 5.
- ¹⁸ Franco Moretti, *The Way of the World: The Bildungsroman in European Culture* (London: Verso, 1987), 3–13.
- ¹⁹ Edward Bulwer-Lytton, *Alice, Or the Mysteries* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1887), 362.
- ²⁰ John Mertz similarly argues that in *Karyū shunwa*, Maltravers’s attempt to educate Alice allegorically illustrates the possibility, envisioned by the intellectuals of the Meirokusha (Meiji six society) and other enlightenment reformers, of educating the lower classes and integrating them into the national project of civilization and enlightenment; see John Pierre Mertz, *Novel Japan*:

Spaces of Nationhood in Early Meiji Narrative, 1870–88 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, 2003), 109 and 140.

- ²¹ For an excellent discussion of the ideological implications of love in Rousseau’s novel, see David J. Denby, *Sentimental Narrative and the Social Order in France, 1760–1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), chapter 3.
- ²² In the 1840 preface to *Ernest Maltravers*, Bulwer-Lytton explicitly mentions Goethe’s novel as his model; see Edward Bulwer-Lytton, *Ernest Maltravers* (London: George Routledge and Sons, n.d.), 8. He also dedicates his novel to “the great German people.”
- ²³ For the greatly different format of early Meiji adaptations of Western literature, see J. Scott Miller, *Adaptations of Western Literature in Meiji Japan* (New York: Palgrave, 2001).
- ²⁴ Niwa Jun’ichirō, trans., *Ōshū kiji: Karyū shunwa* [hereafter *Karyū shunwa*], in *Meiji hon’yaku bungaku shū*, ed. by Kimura Ki (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1972), 6. All translations are mine.
- ²⁵ Kimura Ki, “Kaidai,” in *Meiji hon’yaku bungaku shū*, ed. by Kimura Ki (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1972), 396. In Bulwer-Lytton’s novel, Ernest Maltravers says: “I should sleep well if I could get one kiss from those coral lips” (Bulwer-Lytton, *Ernest Maltravers*, 20).
- ²⁶ Niwa, *Karyū shunwa*, 14. Maltravers’s words in the English novel are, “Alice, dear Alice, I love thee” (Bulwer-Lytton, *Ernest Maltravers*, 47).
- ²⁷ For this definition of “passion” in the European literary tradition, see Niklas Luhmann, *Love as Passion: The Codification of Intimacy*, trans. Jeremy Gaines and Doris L. Jones (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986).
- ²⁸ Bulwer-Lytton, *Ernest Maltravers*, 32–33.
- ²⁹ For a discussion of these references, see Yamamoto Yoshiaki, “‘Ānesuto Marutorabāzu’ ‘Arisu’ ron: *Karyū shunwa* no gensho no sakuhin sekai to ha nani ka?” *Nihon kindai bungaku* 31 (1984): 1–13.
- ³⁰ The free “association of men and women” as the epitome of civilized gender relations became an important catchphrase in 1880s enlightenment reform discourse. See, for instance, the influential essays by Fukuzawa Yukichi (1834–1901) and Iwamoto Yoshiharū (1863–1942), both titled “Danjo kōsai ron” (On the association of men and women) and published in the journals *Jiji shinpō* (1886) and *Jogaku zasshi* (1888) respectively; for an English translation of Fukuzawa’s essay, see Eiichi Kiyooka, trans., *Fukuzawa Yukichi on Japanese Women: Selected Works* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1988), 103–27.
- ³¹ Niwa, *Karyū shunwa*, 10.

- ³² *Yomiuri shinbun* 1878.11.6; quoted from Maeda, “*Karyū shunwa no ichi*,” 1.
- ³³ Niwa, *Karyū shunwa*, 3.
- ³⁴ For this count, see Wolfgang Schamoni, “Narushima Ryūhoku: Vorwort zu *Karyū shunwa*,” *Hon’yaku – Heidelberger Werkstattberichte zum Übersetzen Japanisch-Deutsch* 5 (2003): 32. Schamoni also provides a carefully annotated translation of the preface into German.
- ³⁵ Matthew Fraleigh, *Plucking Chrysanthemums: Narushima Ryūhoku and Sinitic Literary Traditions in Modern Japan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2016), 343; for the broader context, see esp. chapters 6 and 7.
- ³⁶ Several *ninjōbon* protagonists were heirs of wealthy families, such as Bairi in Tamenaga Shunsui’s *Harutsugedori* (The warbler announcing spring, 1837). Tanjirō in *Shunshoku umegoyomi* turns out to be the scion of a powerful daimyo house.
- ³⁷ Niwa, *Karyū shunwa*, 11.
- ³⁸ Bulwer-Lytton, *Ernest Maltravers*, 35; for Bulwer-Lytton’s Byronism, see James L. Campbell, *Edward Bulwer-Lytton* (Boston: Twayne, 1986), chapter 2.
- ³⁹ Niwa, *Karyū shunwa*, 109.
- ⁴⁰ Niwa Jun’ichirō, trans., preface to *Tsūzoku Karyū shunwa* (Tokyo: Sakagami Hanshichi, 1883), 4.
- ⁴¹ The English novel mostly refers to her either as “Madame de Ventadour” or “Valerie.”
- ⁴² Niwa, *Karyū shunwa*, 24.
- ⁴³ Ibid., 25–26. 花^{ツワガシ}顏^{ハナ}星^{ハシ}光^{ミツ}ニ映^{エイ}ジテ瑤^{エウラン}欄^{ラン}ニ輝^{カガヤ}キ雲^{ウン}鬢^{ビン}風^{フウ}脚^{キヤク}ニ靡^{ナビ}ヒテ玉^{ギョク}臉^{ケン}ニ垂^タレ其^ケ嬌^{ウシ}姿^シ 嬌然トシテ名状スベカラズ。
- ⁴⁴ Ibid., 27.
- ⁴⁵ Bulwer-Lytton, *Ernest Maltravers*, 112.
- ⁴⁶ Niwa, *Karyū shunwa*, 28. Another key term in Bentadōa’s discourse that Niwa here translates by *ri* is “virtue.”
- ⁴⁷ Ibid. For an insightful discussion of *Karyū shunwa* that highlights the narrative connection between the control of passion and the discourse on ambition, see

Takahashi Osamu, “*Karyū shunwa* no shikō suru sekai,” *Nihon kindai bungaku* 31 (1984): 14–27.

- ⁴⁸ See especially Mori Arinori’s (1847–89) essay “Saishōron” (On wives and concubines, 1875–76) and Nakamura Masanao’s (1832–91) essay “Zenryō naru haha o tsukuru setsu” (On producing good mothers, 1875), both published in the *Mei roku zasshi*. Both Mori and Nakamura use the term “deep love” (*shin’ ai*) in reference to civilized male–female relations, but a more consistent discourse on “spiritual love” (*ren’ ai*) would only emerge with the *Jogaku zasshi* in the 1880s. For English translations of these essays, see William Reynolds Braisted, trans., *Mei roku zasshi: Journal of the Japanese Enlightenment* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976).
- ⁴⁹ For translations of typical *Eisai shinshi* essays, see Earl H. Kinmonth, *The Self-Made Man in Meiji Japanese Thought: From Samurai to Salary Man* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), chapter 2. On early Meiji *risshin shusse* discourse, see also Maeda Ai, “Meiji risshin shusse shugi no keifu: *Saigoku risshihen kara Kisei made*,” in Maeda Ai, *Kindai dokusha no seiritsu* (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1989), 88–107.
- ⁵⁰ For an insightful study on the theme in the later Meiji novel, see Timothy J. Van Compernelle, *Struggling Upward: Worldly Success and the Japanese Novel* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2016).
- ⁵¹ Maeno Michiko, “Meiji shoki hon’yaku shōsetsu *Ōshū kiji: Karyū shunwa* ni okeru *ren’ ai* to *kekkon*,” in Nagoya daigaku daigakuin kokusai gengo bunka kenkyūka, ed., *Ronshū ibunka toshite no Nihon: Kokusai shinpojiumu “Ibunka toshite no Nihon” kinen ronbunshū* (Nagoya: Nagoya daigaku daigakuin kokusai gengo bunka kenkyūka, 2009), 158.
- ⁵² Niwa, *Karyū shunwa*, 28.
- ⁵³ Tsubouchi Shōyō, *Shinmigaki: Imotose kagami*, in *Tsubouchi Shōyō shū*, ed. by Inagaki Tatsurō (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1969), 188. On Japanese feudal customs, see *ibid.*, 212.
- ⁵⁴ Niwa, *Karyū shunwa*, 68–69.
- ⁵⁵ On Japanese political fiction, see Mertz, *Novel Japan*; Atsuko Ueda, *Concealment of Politics, Politics of Concealment: The Production of “Literature” in Meiji Japan* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2007); Yanagida Izumi, *Seiji shōsetsu kenkyū*, 3 vols. (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1967–68). Most scholarship, including these titles, does not discuss *Karyū shunwa* as political fiction, but the novel anticipated important elements of the genre.
- ⁵⁶ For a similar reason, marriage served as a major trope of social integration in the European *Bildungsroman*, especially in the Anglo–German tradition that served as Bulwer–Lytton’s model; see Moretti, *The Way of the World*, 7–8.
- ⁵⁷ Niwa, *Karyū shunwa*, 87 and 91.

- ⁵⁸ Tsubouchi Shōyō, *Shōsetsu shinzui*, in *Tsubouchi Shōyō shū*, ed. by Nakamura Kan and Umezawa Nobuo (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1974), 68–69.
- ⁵⁹ For the term *airen*, see *ibid.*, 88. Shōyō differentiates between the novel’s “direct benefit” (*chokusetsu no rieki*) of giving readers aesthetic pleasure and its “indirect benefits” (*kansetsu no hieki*) of didactic instruction. Two other “indirect benefits” not discussed here are the novel’s ability to complement official history (*seishi*)—a traditional idea deriving from the notion of the novel as “unofficial history” (*haishi*)—and to serve as a stylistic guide for writing. See *ibid.*, 82–97.
- ⁶⁰ The interrelated tropes of delusional passion and bureaucratic unemployment as failed advancement in Futabatei’s *Ukigumo* clearly show the intertextual affinity to Shōyō’s novel *Imotose kagami*—a fact that is not surprising given the intense intellectual exchange and friendship between the two authors at the time.
- ⁶¹ Critics have remarked on the affinity between the plots of *Karyū shunwa* and *Maihime*, not to mention the names of the works’ heroines (Arisu and Erisu). See, for instance, Chiba Shunji, *Erisu no ekubo: Mori Ōgai e no kokoromi* (Tokyo: Ozawa shoten, 1997), 38–50.
- ⁶² Christopher Hill reads Ōta Toyotarō’s “resentment” as a “symptom” produced by the traumatic process of his subjection to the nation, his production as a national subject. Using Fredric Jameson’s term, Hill also defines *Maihime* as a “national allegory” meant to narrate the production of national subjecthood; see Christopher Hill, “Mori Ōgai’s Resentful Narrator: Trauma and the National Subject in ‘The Dancing Girl,’” *positions* 10.2 (2002). However, Toyotarō’s resistance to his subjection to the nation, epitomized by his passion, also produces a subjectivity defined by individual freedom. Ultimately, both freedom and subjection to the nation—two contradictory ideological orientations inherent in the *Bildungsroman*—are two sides of the same coin. On Toyotarō’s production as a “citizen-subject,” see also Tomiko Yoda, “First-Person Narration and Citizen-Subject: The Modernity of Ōgai’s ‘The Dancing Girl,’” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 65.2 (2006). For a classic account that highlights individualism as the primary marker of the modernity of the European novel, see Nancy Armstrong, *How Novels Think: The Limits of Individualism from 1719–1900* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005).

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