

Early Translations of Aesop's Fables in Japan and Russia

Maria TOROPYGINA

Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow

The Japanese and Russian translations of Aesop's fables appeared within only fourteen years of each other: the first Japanese edition of the fables was published in 1593, while the first Russian manuscript was written in 1607. Thus Japanese and Russian readers of the seventeenth century became acquainted with the same texts.

In general, a fable is defined as an allegorical tale of a brief, fictitious nature, occurring in the past, with animals who act like humans as the main characters, their actions suggesting a moral, which may or may not be explicitly stated.

Before the fables were translated into different national languages, they existed in two literary traditions—Greek and Latin.¹ The first fables can be found in the works of Ancient Greek writers and philosophers such as Hesiod (eighth-seventh centuries BCE), Aristophanes (456–386 BCE), Plato (428/27–348/47 BCE), and Aristotle (384–322 BCE). At this early stage the fables were incorporated into other texts, rather than standing alone, and served to illustrate points made in those texts. In the context of speech or argument, the intended lesson of a tale was clear, and writers felt no need to add an explicit statement about it. Later, when the fables were excerpted from the texts where they originally appeared and compiled into collections, morals were attached to them, to explain what might not be obvious from the new context.

The first collection of Aesop's fables, no longer extant, was written in Greek prose. Compiled around 300 BCE by Demetrius of Phalerum, it was probably intended for use as a reference book for writers and public speakers. Another famous early compilation, the so called *Augustana* collection, was based on the collection of Demetrius of Phalerum. Gasparov calls this collection "the elder Aesop." *Augustana* is the title of one of the manuscripts. It dates to the first or second century CE and is written in Greek prose.

In the first and second centuries two very significant authors worked in the genre of the fable. They were the Roman poet Phaedrus and the Greek poet Babrius. Phaedrus probably used Demetrius' collection as the basis for his Latin verse version of the fables produced in the first half of the first century CE. Phaedrus expanded the Aesopic material available to him, supplementing it with material from other sources and also with material of his own invention. Babrius produced a Greek verse version of the fables in the late first or the second century; he also seems to use Demetrius' prose fables of Aesop as the basis for his fables. He may also have used the *Augustana* collection, and he seems to have supplemented his Aesopic sources with Near

Eastern fables, namely the Assyrian and the Babylonian.

Babrius' collection was excerpted and put into Latin prose by Avianus around the beginning of the fifth century. Phaedrus' collection was rendered in Latin prose and became *Romulus*. Containing an extremely large number of manuscripts, with many variants, *Romulus* gained immense popularity. Some of its variants have been dated back to the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries. The collection of Avianus and the Latin prose paraphrases of Phaedrus were popular during the Middle Ages.

The next redaction of *Augustana* appeared in the sixth century. Originally written in vulgar Greek prose, it was rewritten later on in literary Greek prose. The latter version has come to be known as "the younger Aesop." The exact date of appearance of "the younger Aesop" is unclear. Gasparov mentions two dates: ninth century or fourteenth century. In the fourteenth century, "the younger Aesop" was used by Maximus Planudes (1260–1310), the Byzantine grammarian and theologian. It served as the vulgate version of the Greek text of Aesop's fables until the nineteenth century.

From very early times the fables were used as the school textbooks. They were intended for learning Latin and Greek and also for exercises in rhetoric. The circle of authors who worked with fables in both Latin and Greek traditions was very wide.

As soon as printing was invented by Iohannes Gutenberg (1400–1468), both Latin and Greek fables were published. The first printed Greek Aesop, published in 1479 in Milan by Bonus Accursius, is known after his name as *Accursiana*. In 1505, this book was published in Venice by Aldo Manunzio, the leading printing house of the age, which published various editions of the Greek classics. After that, many publications were produced by other printing houses in various European cities.

A Latin edition of Aesop was published by Heinrich Steinhöwel (1411/12–1479) in Ulm in 1476–77. A German edition was published simultaneously, or within a very short period of time, in a translation done by Steinhöwel himself. *Steinhöwel Aesop* includes fables from *Romulus*, and by Avianus, Petrus Alphonsus (1062–1110), Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459), Rinuccio de Castiglione (d. 1450), Odo of Cheriton (d. 1247), and Maximus Planudes.² This edition was extremely influential in Europe. It was translated into French by Julien Macho, and then William Caxton translated Macho's version into English in 1484.

It seems that *Steinhöwel Aesop* was used as the original text for the early Japanese translations of Aesop's fables. In Japan the first edition of Aesop's fables was done by the press of the Jesuit mission. The famous missionary Alessandro Valignano, S.J. (1539–1606) brought a printing press to Japan in 1590. At first installed in the Jesuit College at Kazusa, the press then was moved to Amakusa, and later to Nagasaki. The history of Jesuit Mission Press in Japan was not very long. Set up in 1590, it continued until 1610.

The mission press was used to print books for the use of the missionaries and their students. It had a Latin font when it arrived in Japan, and soon after a Japanese font was cast, probably consisting of the *katakana* syllabary. A *hiragana* syllabary and some characters were added later.

Fewer than forty works printed by the Jesuits in Japan have survived, and some of those exist in a single copy. It is unknown how many copies were printed. However, the Jesuits' letters and records refer to many other works, and it seems likely that as many as 100 titles were printed.³

Evidently, the translation of literary works was not considered to be the mission's main task. However, one other work is mentioned, alongside Aesop's fables, whenever the work of the press is discussed. That is part of the *Heike monogatari*, in an adapted and romanized version, that was produced at Amakusa in 1592. It was the first work of Japanese literature ever to be printed in Japan. The aim of this book could have been to assist the missionaries in their studies of Japanese language.

It seems that the Aesop's fables were translated for the same reason. The mission press edition of the fables appeared in 1593, at Amakusa, under the title *Esopo no fabulas* (ESOPONO FABVLAS).⁴ The text were translated into vernacular Japanese and published in *romaji*. *Esopo no fabulas* includes Planudes' *Life of Aesop*⁵ and seventy fables. Today, the British Museum possesses the only copy of this translation, which is found in a compiled volume. There are three works in that volume: *Heike monogatari*, *Esopo no fabulas*, and *Kinkushū* 金句集 (Golden Collection of Proverbs, a collection of 282 Chinese proverbs taken from Chinese classics). The name of the translator of the Jesuit *Esopo* is known from secondary sources. It was Brother Cosme Takai, a teacher of Japanese history at the Amakusa college.⁶

The exact date of the next Japanese translation is unknown, and different works suggest different dates from the 1610s to the 1630s. The book was published several times. A movable type edition is dated 1639. In 1659 the first illustrated edition appeared. The title of this seventeenth-century translation is *Isopo* [or *Isoho*] *monogatari* 伊曾保物語. *Isopo monogatari* is a translation in literary-style Japanese (*bungo*), published in *kanji-hiragana majiri*. This translation includes the *Life of Aesop* and sixty-five fables. The second Japanese translation was not based on the first one (although it seems evident that the selection of this work for translation was done due to the first Japanese Aesop).

Isopo monogatari does not entirely follow the *Steinhöwel Aesop*. Kobori Keiichirō, who thoroughly analyzed the origin of the fables in *Isopo monogatari*,⁷ has identified thirty-two fables as coming from *Romulus* (traditional Aesop's fables, 1–32⁸); these are more or less parallel with *Steinhöwel Aesop*, and also with *Esopo no fabulas*. But the second part of *Isopo monogatari* is very different, and seems to be composed according to the literary taste of the translator. Traditional Aesop's fables are very short and very schematic, without any details. They can be likened to opera libretti. But the Japanese translator chose those fables with narratives that could have been associated with the term *monogatari*. Such fables as “Ōkame to kitsune” (37) and “Ōkame to inu no koto” (39) are approximately twice as long as traditional Aesop's fables. The translator even included the term *monogatari* in the title of the fable “Ōkame yume monogatari no koto” (38); by contrast, in the *Steinhöwel Aesop*, this fable is called “Ill-fated Wolf.”

The morals of the *Isopo monogatari* are very didactic. The auxiliary verb *beshi* べし, with a meaning of obligation is used in many cases.

When Aesop's fables were translated into Russian in the very beginning of the seventeenth century, the name of Aesop was already known in Russia, from the translation of *Pchela* (The Bee), a book of quotations and parables from Christian and classical literature. This translation dates back to the late twelfth or thirteenth century.

The first Russian translation of Aesop's fables was done by Theodore Gozvinsky (Фёдор Гозвинский), and appeared in 1607.⁹ Gozvinsky was a Greek and Polish interpreter, affiliated with Posolskij prikaz (the Diplomatic Chancellery). He made his translations from Greek. The original for his translation was the *Accursiana*. Gozvinsky included the *Life of Aesop*, 144 fables (as a rule *Accursiana* includes 150 fables), and, in something like an appendix, translation of one fable from Aphthonius of Antioch and his definition of the fable. Aphthonius was a Greek sophist and rhetorician of the second half of the fourth century. The fable part of the book also contains a preface written by Gozvinsky himself. The preface was produced in the form of a verse. The translation is extremely accurate and is very close to the text. Each fable has the moral at the end, marked with the word "The meaning" (Толкование). As a rule, the morals of this translation do not offer any advice to the readers, but suggest the interpretation of the meaning of the fable. The first words of the morals are "Parable means . . ." ("Притча являет . . . Притча знаменуе . . .").

Twenty-one manuscripts are mentioned by Tarkowsky. The translation was partially printed in the eighteenth century.

Two more Russian translations appeared in the 1670s. In comparison with the first half of the seventeenth century, when translation activity was not very intense, the second part of the century showed increased interest in the translations in different fields, including literature.¹⁰ A lot of translations were made by professional translators from the Diplomatic Chancellery. Andreas Winus (Андрей Винуус, 1641–1717), a prominent figure in Russian history of the time, translated Aesop's fables in 1674. Winus was Dutch, the eldest son of Andrei Denisovich Winus (1605–1662), a merchant and a factory owner, who came to Russia from the Netherlands, converted to Orthodoxy and became a Russian citizen. Beginning as an interpreter at the Diplomatic Chancellery in 1664, Andreas Winus served in Russia's diplomatic corps in France, Spain, and England from 1672 to 1674. It was after he returned from this service that he made this translation of Aesop's fables.

His further career was diverse and adventurous. He served in the Apothecary Chancellery, then headed the diplomatic postal service, was the deputy head of the Diplomatic Chancellery, was the Duma Secretary, headed the Siberian Chancellery and the Artillery Chancellery, and built iron mills in the Urals. He was ennobled in 1685 and became a friend of Peter the Great. But in 1703 he was charged with embezzlement and delay in supplying the army, and was dismissed from government

service. After a period of exile in the Netherlands, Winius was pardoned by the tsar, and in 1708 he returned to Russia, where he translated foreign books on military matters and technology and became an important bibliophile and art collector.

Winius translated Aesop's fables from German. The original for his Russian translation was *Theatrum Morum: artliche Gespräch der Thier mit wahren Historien der Menschen zur Lehr*, published in 1608 in Prague. This book includes the traditional collection of fables from Aesop, Phaedrus, Babrius, and Avianus—and also from Laurentius Abstemius, an Italian writer of the fourteenth century. In the original, the fables were written in verse form. Each fable has a historical (or mythological) example at the end, which illustrates the meaning of the fable. These supplements were written in prose and give the whole work a strong social and political emphasis. The supplementary examples are taken from the Bible, antic and medieval European texts, and literary, historical, and political works; they are drawn from an extremely wide circle of authors. Winius did not possess the first edition, and it is unknown which of the later editions he used. Out of 139 fables in verse in the original, Winius translated 134 fables, rendering them all in Russian prose. His translation is known in sixty manuscripts and was published in the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The third Russian translation was done in 1675 by Peter Kashinsky (Пётр Кашинский). Kashinsky was a *rotmistr* (officer rank) in Sinbirk, a city on the Volga River. His native language was Polish, not Russian, and his Aesop is translated from a Polish version published in 1600 in Krakow (*Przypowieści Aezopowe, z Łacińskiego na Polskie z pilnością przełożone. Przydane są k temu przypowieści z Gabryela Greka¹¹ y Laurentiego Abstemiusa*). Of all the Russian translations, Kashinsky's is the longest, and includes three parts. The original Polish from which he worked had been translated partly from Greek and partly from Latin. He translated 260 of the 339 fables in the original. The outstanding feature of his translation is colloquial language. A great many Polish words are incorporated without translation in his version. Only two manuscripts of Kashinsky's translation are known. The first one dates from the 1680s and the second from the first half of the eighteenth century. This translation remained unpublished through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Both early Japanese translations of Aesop's fables were printed. Early Russian translations existed only in manuscript form.¹²

Four out of five translations supply information about the translation that can be interpreted as a proof that those works were recognized as translations. This means that four translators were conscious of the distinction between native literature and translated literature. The edition of *Esopo no fabulas* is done according to European publishing standards of the time. The title page of this book provides this information:

ESOPO NO FABVLAS. Latinuo vaxite Nippon no cuchito nasu mono nari. IEVS NO COMPANHIA NO Collegio Amacusani voite Superiores no gomenqiotoxite coreuo fanni qizamu mono nari. Goxuxe yori M.D.L.XXXXIII.

[エソポのハブラス。ラチンを和して日本の口と為すものなり。ゼ
スのコンパニヤのコレヂョ天草においてスペリョレスの御免許
としてこれを板に刻むものなり。御出世より1593.^{13]}

Thus we have here the date of the translation, information that it was translated from Latin into Japanese and that it was done by College at Amakusa. The book also has a short preface, with the title “To the readers”:

DOCVIVNO FITOYE TAIXITE XOSV.

[読誦の人へ対して 書す。]

At the end of his book, Gozvinsky gives information about the translation under the heading “The History of this Book” (История книги сея). He writes:

Притчи, или баснословие, Езопа Фриги, философа греческого и бас-
нотворца, преведены быша з греческого диалекта на словенский язык
преводником Феодором Касьяновым, сыном Гозвинским в царствующем
граде Москве в лето от создания миру 7116 (1607), октября в 19
день.¹⁴

[Parables or fables of Aesop of Frigia, the philosopher and the author of
fables, all were translated from Greek into Slovenian by a translator The-
odor Kasianov, the son of Gozvinsky in the capital city of Moscow in 7116
year of the creation of the world (1607), at the nineteenth of October.]

Winius provides the following information right after the title:

Ныне новопреведено с немецкого языка всем в общую пользу трудо-
любием А.А.с.В. в царствующем великом граде Москве в лето от воп-
лощения бога слова 1674.¹⁵

[Having been translated from German language for the common purpose
by the diligence of A. A. s. W. in the great capital city of Moscow in the
1674th year of embodiment of the God of the Word.]

Kashinsky gives the date, the place, the title of the original, and his name. The information is given after the first part of the book.

183 (1675), мая въ 4, переведена сия книга «Езоб Француской» в Син-
бирску, а переводил синбирский рохмистр Петр Кашинский.

А в сем «Езопе» трой книги: Езоп Францкой, другой—Гаврила Грека,
третий—Лаврентия Римлянина.¹⁶

[183¹⁷ (1675), the fourth of May, the book “Esop Franckiy” has been trans-
lated by Sinbirsk rotmistr Peter Kashinsky.]

[This “Esop” has three parts, first - Esop the Franckiy, another - Gabryel

Grek, the third one - Laurentiy the Roman.]

Following the title of the first part of Kashinsky's translation is the phrase "Translated from Polish to Russian"; after the title of the second part, "From Greek into Polish translated"; and after the title of the third part, "From Latin to Polish translated."

Thus *Isopo monogatari* was the only one of the early Japanese and Russian Aesops that had no data on the translation.

Greek and Latin fables, and later on, the fables in national languages, exist in prose variants and verse variants. The first translations in both Japanese and Russian were done in prose. Even the verse of *Theatrum morum* was translated by Winius in prose form. Very early Russian poetical translations can be found—the first attempt to make Russian poetical versions of the fables was done in the 1650s, when the fables by the Polish poet Bartosh Paprotsky (1543–1614) were translated into Russian¹⁸—but in three translations of Aesop's fables, the only verse insert is a preface for the fable part of the book (fifteen lines).

Of the two Japanese translations, the influence of *Esopo no fabulas* seems to be less. In Russia the same can be said about Kashinsky's translation. There were a number of reasons why those two translations did not gain widespread acceptance. Probably the most important non-political reason is that both of these translations use colloquial language, which neither Japanese nor Russians regarded as appropriate for literature at the time of their production.

When scholars began to study early Japanese translations of Aesop's fables, one of their principal concerns was to identify the original texts. Although the most commonly accepted opinion now is that *Steinhöwel Aesop* was the original for both Japanese translations, it is obvious that they differ from the Latin edition of *Steinhöwel Aesop*. Twenty-eight fables of *Esopo no fabulas* are taken from some other edition.¹⁹ As for *Isopo monogatari*, the majority of fables are the same as in *Steinhöwel Aesop*, but there are also a great many omissions and the order in which the fables are compiled is different.²⁰ Turning to Gozvinsky's translation, we note that he omits only six of the fables included in *Accursiana*, and that he also added material from other sources. Winius' translation is based on a single source. He omits five fables from, but adds nothing to *Theatrum morum*, and he preserves the preface from the original. Kashinsky translates exclusively from *Przypowieści Aezopowe*, disclosing that he is doing so, but his omissions are rather significant—seventy-nine fables. Tarkowsky supposes that this reflects reasons that were primarily political: being a foreigner, Kashinsky had to be very cautious in his selection of fables in order to avoid political associations.²¹

The repertoire of Aesop's fables is very wide. The number of fables now included into the Perry Index is 725.²² The Table below shows the fable repertoire in early Japanese and Russian translations. The fable repertoire is given in comparison with the fables of *Isopo monogatari* (column I). Column II (EF) is *Esopo no fabulas*,²³ the

next three columns (III–V) are Russian translations, and the last column (right, un-numbered), references to Perry Index.

Table. Fable repertoire in early Japanese and Russian translations

	I <u>伊曾保物語</u>	II <u>EF</u>	III <u>Gozvinsky</u>	IV <u>Winijus</u>	V <u>Kashinsky</u>	Perry <u>Index</u>
1	2. 10 いそ保物のたとへを引きける事			113 О петеле, обретшем камень драгий		503
2	2. 11 狼と羊の事	1.01		27 О волке и овечке невинной		155
3	2. 12 犬と羊の事	1.02		104 О волке со своими свидетелми на овцу	38 О овце со псом	478
4	2. 13 犬と肉の事	1.03		131 О некоем псе		133
5	2. 14 獅子王・羊・牛・野牛の事	1.04	34 О льве, и о осле, и о лисице	109 О лве, корове, овце и козле 74 О лве, осле и лисице	1 О лве и о иных зверях 58 О лву с ыними зверми	339
6	2. 15 日輪と盗(人)の事				39 (2) О солнцу з жабами	314
7	2. 16 鶴と狼の事	1.05	139 О волке и о жеравле	13 О волке и жеравле	2 О волке и о жеравле	156
8	2. 17 獅子王と驢馬の事					484
9	2. 18 京・田舎の鼠の事	1.06		100 О полевой и градской мыши	5 О мыши деревенской и градцкой	352
10	2. 19 狐と鶯の事		1 Орел и лисица	25 О лисе и орле	46 О лисице с орлом 114 О лисице с орлом	1
11	2. 20 鶯とかたつぶりの事	1.07		41 О орле и вороне	6 О орле и вороне	490
12	2. 21 鳥と狐の事	1.08		31 О попугае и лисице	7 О вороне и о лисице	124
13	2. 22 馬と犬の事	1.09		26 О осле, скачущем на лоно господина своего	9 О псу и о осле	91
14	2. 23 獅子王と鼠の事	1.10		10 О льве и мышe		150
15	2. 24 燕と諸鳥の事	1.11			11 О ластовице	39

Early Translations of Aesop's Fables in Japan and Russia

	<u>I</u> <u>伊曾保物語</u>	<u>II</u> <u>EF</u>	<u>III</u> <u>Gozvinsky</u>	<u>IV</u> <u>Winius</u>	<u>V</u> <u>Kashinsky</u>	<u>Perry</u> <u>Index</u>
16	2. 25 かは つ”が王君を望 む事	1.12		45 О жабах и князе их	12 О жабьим королю	44
17	2. 26 鳶と鳩 の事					486
18	2. 27 鳥と孔雀 の事	1.15	93 О галке и о голубех	48 О павлинах и сороке	19 О граче с павами	472
19	2. 28 蠅と蟻 の事	1.16		57 О мравии и о мухе	20 О мухе с мурашкою	521
20	2. 29 鼬の事					293
21	2. 30 馬と獅子 王の事	1.17		6 О лве и кони	22/23 О коню со львом 108 О волку с ослом	187
22	2. 31 獅子王と はすとの事					563
23	2. 32 馬と驢馬 の事	1.18			24 О коню с ослом	565
24	2. 33 鳥けだも のと戦ひの事	1.19		44 О брани птиц со зверми	25 О птицах и зверях	566
25	2. 34 かやし の事	1.20		34 О елени, стоящей при источнице	27 О елене	74
26	2. 35 庭鳥と狐 の事		32 О псе и о алекторе, сиречь о петухе		2(2) О петуху со псом	671
27	2. 36 腹と五体 の事	1.21			31 О составах человеческих з животом	130
28	2. 37 人と驢馬 の事					164
29	2. 38 狼とはす とる (の)事	1.22	123 О лисице и о древосече		116 О лисице с ловцами	22
30	2. 39 猿と人 の事					569
31	2. 40 獅子王と 驢馬の事					151
32	3. 1 蟻と蟬の事	1.23	130 О конике, сиречь о кузнечике, и о муравлех 144 Притча муравлей и кузнечиков, претворяя юных ко трудом	12 О сверчке и мравии	40(2) О сверчке с мурашкою	373

Maria TOROPYGINA

	I <u>伊曾保物語</u>	II <u>EE</u>	III <u>Gozvinsky</u>	IV <u>Winius</u>	V <u>Kashinsky</u>	Perry <u>Index</u>
33	3.2 狼といのし しの事					694
34	3.3 狐と庭鳥 の事					562
35	3.4 龍と人の事					640
36	3.5 馬と狼の事					696
37	3.6 狼と狐の事	1.24				698, 585
38	3.7 狼夢物語 の事					699
39	3.8 鳩と蟻の事	1.25	37 О муравле и о голубице		55 О мурашке и о голубю	235
40	3.9 狼と犬の事					701
41	3.10 狐と狼 の事					704
42	3.11 野牛と狼 の事					705
43	3.12 鶯と鳥 の事	2.29		42 О вороне и овце	48 О орлу и ворону	2
44	3.13 獅子王と 驢馬の事				134 О лисице с курицею	392
45	3.14 野牛と狐 の事	2.30	3 О лисице и о козле	106 О козле и лисице	97 О козле с лисицею	9
46	3.15 ある人仏 を祈るの事		124 О человеце, разбившем своего идола	19 О пастухе и идоле	117 О человеку и оброзу	285
47	3.16 鼠と猫 の事		25 О коте и о мышях			79
48	3.17 鼠の談合 の事					613
49	3.18 男二女を 持つ事				142 О мужу з двема женами	31
50	3.19 がざみ の事			22 О старом и младом раке	67 О раку и о матери ево	322
51	3.20 孔雀と鶴 の事				76 О жараву с павом	294
52	3.21 人を嫉む は身を嫉むとい ふ事					580
53	3.22 蛙と牛 の事			33 О воле и жабах	21 О жабе с волоом	376
54	3.23 童子と盗 人の事					581

Early Translations of Aesop's Fables in Japan and Russia

	I <u>伊曾保物語</u>	II <u>EF</u>	III <u>Gozvinsky</u>	IV <u>Winus</u>	V <u>Kashinsky</u>	Perry <u>Index</u>
55	3. 24 修行者の事		122 О человеке и о дивии муже сатыре	67 О земледелатели и муже дивием		35
56	3. 25 庭鳥金の卵を産む事		132 О курице златородной	108 О жене и куре	87 О гусыне и о яицах золотых	87
57	3. 26 猿と犬の事			5 О пифике и чаду ея	88 О обезьяне з детми	218
58	3. 27 土器慢気をおこす事					
59	3. 28 鳩と狐の事					
60	3. 29 出家とゑのこの事					
61	3. 30 人の心のさだまらぬ事					721
62	3. 31 鳥人に教化をなす事					627
63	3. 32 鶴と狐の事			7 О лисице и жеравле	18 О лисице с чаплею	426
64	3. 33 三人よき中の事					
65	3. 34 出家と盗人の事					

This tabulation of the fable repertoire shows coincidence of only fourteen fables in *Isopo monogatari* and Gozvinsky's translation. This is quite understandable since a fable repertoire depends heavily on the primary source used by the translator. The discrepancies between these two works reflect the differences between the Latin and Greek traditions. Fables that were translated in *Isopo monogatari* but did not appear in early Russian translations were drawn primarily from the subsequent Latin authors. There are twenty-four such fables. Five fables are included in all five translations. They are "Lion and Wild Ass, Partners in the Hunt," "The Wolf and the Heron," "The Vainglorious Jackdaw and the Peacock," "The Cicada and the Ant," and "The Fox and the Goat in the Well."²⁴

By way of concrete illustration of similarities and differences among the early Japanese and Russian translations, here are six variants of the fable "The Cicada and the Ant," along with English translations of the Russian versions:

Esopo no fabulas

セミとアリとのこと

ある冬の半ばにアリどもも数多穴より五穀を出いて日に曝し、

風に吹かするをセミが来てこれを貰うた、アリの言うは、「五辺は過ぎた夏、秋は何事を営まれたぞ？」セミの言うは、「夏と、秋の間には吟曲にとり紛れて、少しも暇を得なんだによって、なになる営みもせなんだ」と言う、アリ「げにげにその分じゃ、夏秋歌い遊ばれた如く、今も秘曲を尽くされてよかろうず」とて、散々に嘲り少しの食を取らせて戻いた。下心人は力の尽きぬ内に、未来の務めをすることが肝要じゃ、少しの力と、暇ある時、慰みを事としよう者は必ず後に難を受けいでは叶うまい。²⁵

Isopo monogatari

蟻と蟬の事

去程に、春過夏たけ、秋も深くて、冬のころにもなりしかば、日のうらうらなる時、蟻穴より這い出、餌食を乾しなどす。蟬きたつて蟻と申は、「あないみじの蟻殿や。かかる冬ざれまでも、さやうにゆたかに餌食を持たせ給ふものかな。われにすこしの餌食をたび給へ」と申ければ、蟻答云、「御邊は、春秋の営みにはなに事をかし給ひけるぞ」といへば、蟬答云、「春秋身の営みとしては、木末にこたふばかりなり。その音曲に取り乱し、ひまなきままにくらし候」といへば、蟻申けるは、「今とてもなど歌ひ給はぬぞ。謡長じてはつみに舞とこそ承はれ。いやしき餌食をもとめて、何にかはし給ふべき」とて、穴に入りぬ。そのごとく、人の世にある事も、我力におよばんほどは、たしかに世の事を営むべし。ゆたかなる時つずまやかにせざる人は、貧しうして後、悔ゆる物なり。さかんなる時学せざれば、老て後悔ゆるものなり。酔ひのうちに乱れぬれば、醒めての後悔る物なり。返々も是を思へ。²⁶

Gozvinsky (130)

О конике, сиречь о кузнечике, и о муравлех.

Во время осени и зимы пшеницам поспевшим, муравли зимою от трудов своих питахуся. Коники же, гладом умирающе, пищи у муравлей просят. Муравли же рекоша у ним:

«Чесо ради весною не собирали есте пищи?». Они же рекоша: «Недосуг было, ибо, мусикийски играюще, пехом».

Муравли же, возсмеявшеся, рекоша: «Но аще в весенное время пели есте, играюще, ныне же, зимою, согревающеся пляшите». Толкование. Притча являет, яко не подобает никому же с небрежением во всякой вещи жити, да некогда скорбию бедствовать будет.²⁷

(On the Conic, that is Grasshopper, and the Ants

The wheat ripens during autumn and winter, and in winter ants have food as a result of their hard work. The grasshoppers, perishing from famine, are begging the ants for food. The ants tell them: "Why didn't

you take care of your food supplies during springtime?" They replied: "We did not have enough time, we were busy playing music and singing." The ants laughed and said: "If you were singing in the spring, now in winter you may warm yourself up by dancing." The parable means that no one can afford to live his life neglecting basic needs, because this will eventually lead to misery.)

Gozvinsky (144)

Притча муравлей и кузнечиков, претворяя юных ко трудом.
Весне сущи возрасту, коники, мусикию собравше доброгласную, пояху. Муравли же тружатися в плодах начаша и собираху семена и плоды, ими же имяху зимою питатися.
Зиме же пришедши старости, муравли в них же труждахуся, тем и питахуся. Сих же красота пения скончася убожеством.
Тако убо и юность не хотящая труждатися в старости злостражет.²⁸

(The Parable of the Ants and the Grasshoppers, preparing youth for labor
When spring was young, the grasshoppers were singing in an arranged choir.
The Ants began to work, gathering grains and seeds, in order to have food in winter. When winter came to the old age, the ants had food gained by work.
But the beautiful singing of grasshoppers' led them to desperate straits.
The moral: If the youth does not want to work, this will lead to poverty in old age.)

Winius

О сверчке и мравии.
Прииде в зиму сверчок ко мравию и рече: «Се ныне наста время зимы, аз же не имам что ясти, зане в лете питахся различными овощми. Дадите мне от жита вашего, да гладом не погибну».
Они же рекоша ему: «Чесо ради не уготовал еси себе к зиме житы, яко же и мы, но все лето во благоденствии и лености, и песнех дни своя изжил еси? Мы же выну труждахомся и ныне плоды трудов своих ямы. Ты же по многом веселии, яже получал еси, терпи!».
Тем научая, яко подобает нам время свое не туне изживати, но всегда нечто потребное творити. Зане, яко же некий древний философ рече, ничто же быти на земли дражайши времени, ибо богатство изгибшее человек приобрести может, время же изшедшее никто не может возвратить.²⁹

(On the Cricket and the Ants
Once in winter time the Cricket came to the Ants and said: "The winter came and I have no food to eat, while in summer I ate different vegetables. Would you give me some food so I do not die of hunger?" They answered

him: “Why did not you save food for winter time, as we did; why did you live through the whole summer in paradise and laziness and were singing all the time? We were working hard and as the result of our efforts we can eat now. You’ve had a lot of fun instead—and now you have to suffer.” The story teaches that we should not spend our time in laziness but should do something useful all the time. One ancient philosopher said that nothing in the world is as important as time, because one can regain the wealth he lost, but can never get back the time he wasted.)

Kashinsky

40 (г). О сверчке с мурашкою.

Пришел зимою сверчок к мурашке бить челом ей, чтобы вместе с нею жить. И спросила его мурашка: «Что ты летом работал?». Он ей рек, что «я целое лето воспеваю».

Отвещала ему мурашка: «Понеже ты летом воспеваешь, а ныне, зимою, скажи, а не со мною живи».

Толк. Кто с молодых лет ленинца работать, тот на старость всегда по миру бродит.³⁰

(On the Cricket and the Ant

In winter time the Cricked came to an Ant and asked her if he could live with her. And the Ant asked him: “Have you worked during the summer?” He answered her: “I sing during the summer.” And the Ant answered him: “If you sing during the summer, now, in winter, go ahead and hop around, you can’t stay with me.” Meaning. Those who are too lazy to work when they are young will wander the world in poverty in old age.)

The main difference between the original of the fable and the *Esopo no fabulas* variant is a kind of “happy ending” in the Japanese fable: the cicada was able to get the food. This strange ending always attracts the attention of the scholars. Kobori Keiichirō describes this fable in a chapter titled “Nihonteki onjōshugi” 日本の温情主義 (Japanese tenderness).³¹

The *Isopo monogatari* translation followed Japanese literary traditions. The first sentence, which describes the change of the seasons, is reminiscent of phrases from *Heike monogatari* and the *yōkyoku* 謡曲 (noh play) *Bashō* 芭蕉.³² The moral of the fable is different in comparison with the main stock of the fable variants.

Russian translators changed the hero of the fable—made it into a different insect, no doubt because the cicada is not a common insect in Russia, and the translator felt compelled to find another, more familiar insect, which sings well and can be considered lazy. Gozvinsky choose the grasshopper for his translation, Winius and Kashinsky, the cricket. Gozvinsky uses two words to indicate a grasshopper. The first word *conic* (a small horse) was old or dialect, and the translator had to explain the meaning of the word immediately, in the title of the fable.

In "On the Conic, that is Grasshopper, and the Ants," Gozvinsky changed the first sentence of the fable, which is rather rare for his translation practice. The original says that in winter the ants were drying their food. Perhaps the reason for such a deviation from the original is the fact that it is impossible to find any insects living outdoors during the Russian winter. The season of the conversation between the heroes is not mentioned by the translator. The tone of the moral of the fable corresponds to the overall tone of the translation, where the moral explains a mode of behavior only in general terms.

The second of Gozvinsky's translations of the fable (number 144, the Aphthonius version) is based on two word pairs with parallel meanings. Here, spring signifies youth and winter, old age. The translator changed the season, substituting spring in his translation for summer in the original. This variant of the fable has no plot, it depicts the situation, and not the event.

The moral of Winius' translation not only blames laziness but leads the reader to a wider philosophical category of time.

Kashinski's variant differs greatly from all others. It is a dialogue between the cricket and the ant in which the cricket is a male and the ant is a female. This translation is done from Polish, where the word *ant*—*mrówka*—is of feminine gender. The whole scene sounds very vivid.

Usually Aesop's fables have no religious connotation. The protagonists are animals that reflect human nature in general, which remains the same at all times and in all regions. Still, having originated in Greece, the fables contain Greek realities. Most problematic for translators are those fables that depict Greek gods and mythological creatures. Being very cautious in selecting the stories, the translator of the *Isopo monogatari* included only a few such stories. Among those is the fable "The Man and the Satyr." Here it is in the classical English translation by Townsend (1814–1900):

A Man and a Satyr once drank together in token of a bond of alliance being formed between them. One very cold wintry day, as they talked, the Man put his fingers to his mouth and blew on them. When the Satyr asked the reason for this, he told him that he did it to warm his hands because they were so cold. Later on in the day they sat down to eat, and the food prepared was quite scalding. The Man raised one of the dishes a little towards his mouth and blew in it. When the Satyr again inquired the reason, he said that he did it to cool the meat, which was too hot. "I can no longer consider you as a friend," said the Satyr, "a fellow who with the same breath blows hot and cold."³³

In Greek mythology, satyrs are the deities of the woods and mountains. They are half human, half animal, and usually have a goat's tail, flanks, and hooves. While the upper part of the body is that of a human, they also have the horns of a goat. They accompany Dionysus, the god of wine, and they spend their time drinking, dancing, and chasing nymphs.

The Japanese version of the *Isopo monogatari* tells the story in this way:

ある修行者、行き暮れて、わずかなるあやしのしずの屋に、一夜宿を借りける。主じ情深き者にて、結縁にとて貸しける。ころは冬ざれの霜夜なれば、手足こごへてかがまりければ、わが息を吹かけてあたゝめけり。やゝあつて後、熱き飯を食ふとて、息をもつて吹きさましければ、主じ此由を見て、「あやしき法師のしわざかな。つめたき物をば熱き息をいだしてあたゝめ、熱き物はひやゝかなる息出してさまし侍るぞや。いかさまにもただ人のしわざとも見えず。天魔の現じきたれるや」とをろかにおそれて、暁がたにおよびて追ひ出しぬ。³⁴

In general the translator did not change the plot of the fable. But the characters are different and there is no doubt that the characters are Japanese and the scene takes place in Japan. A *shugyōja* 修行者 is an ascetic, a wandering monk, and when thinking about him, the second personage calls him a *hōshi* 法師. The second personage is the owner of the house. The owner lets the monk stay in his house because of *kechien* 結縁, fate from a previous life. The owner is afraid, however, that the monk is a *tenma* 天魔, a devil. In Buddhism *tenma* or *ama* means the same as Sanskrit's *deva-mara*.

The same fable was translated by Gozvinsky, who gave it the title “О человеце и о диви муже сатыре” (“On a man and *divij muzh satyr*”), and by Winius, whose title is “О земледелатели и муже дивием” (“On a farmer and *divij muzh*”). No doubt that *satyr* was a strange character, not common in Russian literature of the seventeenth century. Still both translators try to keep the original scene. But the nature of the character demands explanation. Gozvinsky adds this explanation in the title of the fable, explaining the word *satyr* as *divij muzh*. Here *muzh* means “man” or “person” and *divij* means “wild,” “savage,” “from the forest.” In later versions of Gozvinsky's translation the words *divij muzh* were used to refer to another personage—to the man—and so the characters were *satyr* and a man (*divij muzh*). In this case this means a person who deals with strange creatures. Winius avoids the word *satyr*; he uses *divij muzh* not as an explanation of the word *satyr*, but instead of *satyr*, thus *divij muzh* becomes equivalent to the word *satyr*, or in other words, it becomes a translation of this word into Russian.

The fable “The Man Who Broke a Statue of Hermes” is translated in the *Isopo monogatari* as “Aru hito Butsu o inoru no koto,” and the image of Hermes becomes the image of Buddha. The fable part of the *Isopo monogatari* does not have any names of Greek gods.

Russian translations use another method—they closely follow the original. Being extremely precise in his translation, Gozvinsky translated the Greek word *god* as *god* (бог, that is, god). The word *idol* (идол) was used by Gozvinsky with the meaning of a statue. This usage of the word *god* came into the contradiction with the Russian Orthodox Church, according to which the word *god* could only mean the Christian god. In later versions of Gozvinsky's translation, scribes had to replace the word *god* with the word *idol*.

In comparison with Russian translations, *Isopo monogatari* seems to be not a pure translation but a sort of a cultural adaptation. In time it was recognized as a masterpiece of national Japanese literature. It is now published as a work of the *kanazōshi* genre. The next Japanese translation of Aesop's fables appeared in 1844. The Russian translations by Gozvinsky and by Winius were rather professional for their time and quite popular. They opened the way for a large number of new translations in the eighteenth century.

REFERENCES

Aesopica

Aesopica: Aesop's Fables in English, Latin and Greek. <http://www.mythfolklore.net/aesopica/>

Bulanin 1995

Буланин Д.М. «Древняя Русь». В кн. *История русской переводной художественной литературы*. Ред. Левин Ю.Д. Т.1–2, СПб., «Дмитрий Буланин, » 1995.

Carnes 1985

Pack Carnes. *Fable Scholarship: An Annotated Bibliography*. New York: Garland, 1985.

Esopo no fabulas

Esopo no fabulas. “Isoppu” no sekai bekkan 「イソップ」の世界別館. <http://esopo.fc2web.com>

Gasparov 1971

Гаспаров М.Л. *Античная литературная басня (Федр и Бабрий)*. М., «Наука, » 1971.

Gasparov 2003

———. *Басни Эзопа*. М., «Издательство АСТ»; Харьков, «Фолио, » 2003.

Isoho monogatari

Isoho monogatari 伊曾保物語. In vol. 90 of *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 日本古典文学大系. 100 vols., 2 supp. vols. Iwanami Shoten, 1957–1967.

“Isoppu” no sekai

“Isoppu” no sekai bekkan 「イソップ」の世界別館. <http://esopo.fc2web.com>

Kobori 2001

Kobori Keiichirō 小堀桂一郎. *Isoppu guwa. Sono densyō to hen'yō* イソップ寓話—その伝承と変容. Kōdansha, 2001

Kornicki 1998

P. F. Kornicki. *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginning to the Nineteenth Century*. Brill, 1998.

Steinhöwel 1479

Heinrich Steinhöwel. *Aesopus Vita et fabulae* (Aesop's Fables, German). Digital Collections, Library of Congress, URL http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=rbc3&fileName=rbc0001_2004rosen0075page.db

Tarkowsky 2005

Тарковский Р.Б., Тарковская Л.Р. *Эзоп на Руси: Век XVII*. СПб, «Дмитрий Булаин», 2005

Tokuda 1991

Tokuda Kazuo 徳田和夫. "Isoho monogatari" 伊曾保物語. In vol. 16 of *Shinchō koten bungaku arubamu* 新潮古典文学アルバム. Shinchōsha, 1991.

Üçerler 2005

Antony Üçerler. "Gutenberg Comes to Japan: The Jesuits & the First IT Revolution of the Sixteenth Century" The Ricci Institute *Public Lecture Series*. September 2005. <http://www.usfca.edu/ricci/events/Ucerler.pdf>

NOTES

1 For bibliography on fable scholarship see Carnes 1985. Kobori 2001 contains both the history of Aesop's fables before they were translated into Japanese and also the analyses of early Japanese translations. First variant of this book appeared in 1978. For analyses of early Japanese translations see also Tokuda 1991 and website "*Isoppu*" *no seikai*. In Russian for research and translation of fable see works by Mikhail Gasparov (Gasparov 1971, Gasparov 2003). For Latin and Greek fables and attendant material see website *Aesopica*.

2 For Latin *Steinhöwel Aesop* see *Aesopica*, for German *Steinhöwel Aesop* see Steinhöwel 1479.

3 Kornicki 1998, pp. 125–127.

4 This translation is also known as *Amakusahan Isopo monogatari* 天草版伊曾保物語.

5 *Life of Aesop* is a legendary biography of Aesop, created in the second or first century BCE. It was rewritten by Maximus Planudes.

6 Üçerler 2005, p. 10.

7 Kobori 2001, pp. 212–255.

8 For fable titles see the Table below.

9 Russian translations of Aesop's fables of the seventeenth century, although mentioned in the histories of Russian literature were known only to specialists till nowadays. In 2005 translations which are under the discussion in this paper were published in the book "Aesop in Russia. Century seventeenth" by Rostislav Tarkowsky and Lana Tarkowskaya (Tarkowsky 2005). The book contains publications of seventeenth century Russian Aesop with extremely

interesting commentaries and also detailed research.

10 For the history of the translation in seventeenth-century Russia see Bulanin 1995.

11 Babrius.

12 The first fables translated into Russian were printed in 1699 in Amsterdam by Jan Tessing. See Tarkowsky 2005, p. 30.

13 *Esopo no fabulas*.

14 Tarkowsky 2005, p. 256.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 301.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 407.

17 183 is an abbreviation of the year 7183. In the Old Russian calendar, the year 1675^{CE} was denominated the 7183rd year from the creation of the earth.

18 Tarkowsky 2005, pp. 21–22.

19 See Index at “*Isoppu*” *no sekai*.

20 *Ibid.*

21 Tarkowsky 2005, pp. 21–22.

22 The Perry Index was created by American scholar Ben Edwin Perry (1892–1968). Published for the first time in 1952, it gives first place to the earliest of the *Augustana* collection and then adds material from later *Augustana* recensions. The later two editions put in last place material listed under sources other than Aesop. This index now contains 725 titles. See *Aesopica*.

23 Numbers for the fables from *Esopo no fabulas* are taken from “*Isoppu*” *no sekai*.

24 English titles are as in the Perry Index.

25 *Esopo no fabulas*, pp. 465–466.

26 *Isopo monogatari*, pp. 432–433.

27 Tarkowsky 2005, p. 252.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 256.

29 *Ibid.*, p. 307.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 418.

31 Kobori 2001, pp. 190–202.

32 *Isopo monogatari*, p. 432.

33 George Fyler Townsend's translation of the fables was published in 1867. It can be found at many websites, including *Aesopica*.

34 *Isopo monogatari*, p. 459.