

*Sharebon* and the Courtesans:  
A Phase of Edo Aesthetics as the Dispersal of Ideology

by

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
(Comparative Literature)  
in The University of Michigan  
2011

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## **DEDICATION**

To Zhoushu --

who grew up with my dissertation

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

First and foremost, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Professor Esperanza Ramirez-Christensen for her ceaseless warm support and brilliant inspiration. Without her patience and guidance, this dissertation would not exist.

I also owe much gratitude to Professor Shuen-fu Lin for his fabulous and generous instruction in Chinese classical texts. He opened up the enchanting world of Chinese classical texts to me. Professor Alina Clej helped me greatly to broaden my perspective, stimulating me with an enlarged awareness of the importance of maintaining multiple views. The support from Professor Frieda Ekotto gave me a new vigor to move forward, for which I am truly grateful. In addition, I am deeply indebted to Professor David Porter for his insightful understanding and instructive suggestions and comments. I also would like to thank him for his generous willingness to serve as a member of my committee at such short notice.

Thanks are due also to Paula Frank, Judith Gray and Nancy Harris at the Department of Comparative Literature for welcoming me back to University of Michigan after such a long absence. I am also grateful for the assistance of Shannon Winston.

It was so nice to be back in Ann Arbor after all these years, thanks to everyone's hospitality. I can never thank University of Michigan as well as the Department of

Comparative Literature enough for having provided me such an extraordinary research environment.

I would also like to remember all my friends who have encouraged me along the way. My gratitude goes to Professor Sakakibara Richie, who helped me to obtain library privileges at Waseda University in Japan, which holds the original woodblock print version, with old bindings, of *Yûshi hôgen*. I appreciate also the warm support and help of Professor Catherine Ryu of Michigan State University. The encouragement from Professor Leslie Pincus of the History Department of University of Michigan, was also important for me.

I must mention especially the warm understanding shown by Professor Iwanaga Hiroto and Professor Yamasaki Fumio, my senior colleagues at Tokyo University of Agriculture in Japan. Finally, I appreciate the financial support from the Rackham Graduate Fellowship and Dissertation Grant, as well as the Center for Japanese Studies Summer Scholarship that funded the research and writing for this dissertation.

Most importantly, none of this would have been possible without the love and patience of my family. I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to both my immediate family, especially my son Zhoushu, and my extended family. My gratitude goes to all those others who made this dissertation possible. Thank you very much.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>NKBT</i>	<i>Nihon koten bungaku taikei</i>
<i>NKBZ</i>	<i>Nihon koten bungaku zenshû</i>
<i>NST</i>	<i>Nihon shisô taikei</i>
<i>SNKBT</i>	<i>Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei</i>
<i>SNKBZ</i>	<i>Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshû</i>
<i>ST</i>	<i>Sharebon taisei</i>

## Introduction

On a spring-like day in late fall at Yanagibashi, a man in his mid-thirties....<sup>1</sup>

やなぎ  
小春のころ柳ばしで三十四五の男。

Thus begins *Yûshi hôgen* 遊子方言 (Vagabond dialect), a prototypical *sharebon* work written in the 18<sup>th</sup> century in Edo Japan. Quite a straightforward beginning, it would appear: a brisk list of the time, place and person, setting the scene. The place name Yanagibashi (lit. Willow Bridge) is simply written, with “willow” 柳 given in a Chinese character (*kanji*) and its pronunciation indicated alongside in *kana*, the Japanese syllabary, as *yanagi* やなぎ, and “bridge,” *hashi* in its voiced version, *bashi* ばし, also indicated in *kana*-syllabary.

The place Yanagibashi is well known. Narishima Ryûhoku 成島柳北 (1837-1884) explains in an essay that Yanagibashi at first denoted a bridge built in 1698 at the mouth of the Kanda-gawa River merging into the Sumida-gawa River, and that soon afterwards the name came to include the nearby area.<sup>2</sup> The name Yanagibashi 柳橋 (Willow Bridge) still endures in downtown Tokyo now. A subway-ride from Tokyo station will take you to Asakusa-bashi station in less than 15 minutes, and a two minutes’ walk from the station toward the south takes you to the bridge. There the Kanda-gawa River links the town through the high-rise buildings and merges into Sumida-gawa River, which Edoites have

been calling affectionately and respectfully the “Big River.” Yanagi-bashi is a bridge over the lower stream of the Kanda-gawa River, right before it blends into the Big one. At both banks we can still observe several little piers for roofed-boats for a recreational river ride, though the sights are a far cry from what Hiroshige drew for his wood block prints two hundred years ago. Nevertheless, from this modern scene, we can detect the past when Yanagi-bashi had been an area of bustling streets, restaurants, amusement houses, and wharfs.

Kikuoka Senryô 菊岡沾涼 (1680-1747) tells us, in his encyclopedic essay in *kanbun* (Sino-Japanese) called *Edo sunago* 江戸砂子 (Edo Sprinkles, 1732), that “Yanagibashi has myriads of shipping agents (boat keepers) and inns along side the rivers.”<sup>3</sup> Downtown Edo at that time had an advanced river administration and canal system. Little boats called *choki* (*choki-bune* 猪牙舟) would row through and fro for local travel (somewhat like Venice even now) and Yanagibashi used to embrace plentiful wharves for these little boats and other boats, such as those with a roof on top.<sup>4</sup>

After the account of Yanagibashi, Narshima Ryûhoku continues thus:

[A row of] bridges stretches from the east to the west. On the south and north sides of the Ryôgoku Bridge, the boats from each [boat] house rub against each other with their bows and sterns. The short and long rudders hit against each other. We don’t know how many thousands of them there are. At midsummer, the tourists crowd together like bucks as each boat rocks and floats away. We don’t see any docked on the riverbank all day and all evening. So we have to say that the place is flourishing.<sup>5</sup>

橋之東西連両国橋之南北各戸之舟舫舳艤相衡楫櫂相擊其数不知  
幾千艘而盛夏之候遊客麇至搖搖泛去日夕不見一葉橫岸可謂盛矣

We can apprehend from this passage the role of the boats at the Sumida River as well as a certain poetic sentiment toward the scenery.<sup>6</sup> We should also give our attention to the title of this essay, which is written all in Chinese. It is entitled *Ryûkyô shinshi* 柳橋新誌 (New chronicle on Ryûkyô), a retrospective account of Edo times written right after the end of the Tokugawa shogunate and published in 1874, seven years after the Meiji Restoration of 1868. Here, we should quickly notice that we cannot find any word pronounced as Yanagi-bashi in the title, though the title written in the four Chinese characters clearly shows the name of that precise place.

What may be observed here is a peculiarity on the very surface of the Japanese language. With regard to Chinese characters, Japanese language contains two types of pronunciations, Chinese and native Japanese. The former is called *on-yomi* 音読み and the latter *kun-yomi* 訓読み. The term *Ryûkyô* seen in the title is read using *on-yomi*, the Chinese pronunciation (or closest approximation thereof) for the Japanese place name, Yanagibashi. What happens is that a certain disparity or space is opened up between two alternate ways of accessing the very same words on the page. Jacque Lacan has noted this unusual feature of Japanese language in “To the Japanese Readers,” his Introduction to the Japanese translation of *Ecrits*. We will discuss the implications of Lacan’s observation and its relevance to the topic at hand, especially in Chapter 4. Suffice it to note here that a similar double vision pertains to many *sharebon* titles and creates some of the genre’s more distinctive literary effects that bear directly on our concerns here: the intrusion of disparate or opposing levels of erudition, social implication, vulgarity or refinement in one and apparently the same aesthetic trope.

*Ryûkyô shinshi* continues thus:

To have a good time with the courtesans at the Five Avenues, to see the plays at the three theater towns, seeking flowers, watching the moon, enjoying the evening cool, or appreciating the snow: all the visitors for these take the water way, and hence the doors of the boat lodges line up like stars and the numbers of the boatmen gather like clouds. There is no other place like this.<sup>7</sup>

遊五街娼肆觀三場演劇及探花泛月納涼賞雪之客亦皆取水路于此  
故船商之戶舟子之口星羅雲屯非他境所及

Here the term “Five Avenues” indicates Yoshiwara, the official demimonde, which is called such because the major streets inside the demimonde were five, while “three theater towns” refer to Sakai/Fukiya-chō, Kobiki-chō and Saruwaka-chō in downtown Edo. Thus these little boats referred to in the essay sailed off to the places that did not belong to the business of daily life but rather the theater towns for play, the temples for prayers, restaurants for gatherings, and especially to the demimondes, and not just the official demimonde but also the private demimondes.<sup>8</sup> During the Edo era, the Tokugawa shogunate government accredited several demimondes and Yoshiwara is the one in the Edo (present-day, downtown Tokyo) area. I will examine the social and economic situation of the Yoshiwara demimonde in Chapter 2.

We can get a sense of a visit to Yoshiwara by boat from Yanagi-bashi in some of the popular songs composed during early Edo. One of the lyrics set to the Utazawa-bushi 歌沢節 melody, called “*Katashigure*” 片時雨 (A sun-shower), depicts a route to Yoshiwara from Yanagibashi. It goes:

From Yanagi-bashi, [I] made a little boat row swiftly through San’ya-bori moat. The evening breeze from the bank pierced my body at Emon-zaka slope. When [I] think of you, [I] really suspect the days before I knew you were

better. “What brought you here today?” “To hear that sweet first-chirp.”<sup>9</sup>

柳橋から 小舟で急がせ山谷堀 土手の夜風が  
ぞっと身にしむ衣紋坂 君を思えば 逢わぬ昔がましそかし  
どうして今日は御座んした そういう初音を聴きにきた。

The song, composed in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, describes the most popular route to Yoshiwara. According to Takigawa Masajirô, there were seven routes all together to reach Yoshiwara and the one with the boat trip slope was the most used. This takes a *choki* boat from Yanagi-bashi, then passes the Shubi-no-matsu 首尾の松 (Went-well-or-not pine tree), and disembarks at San'ya-bori 山谷堀 (San'ya moat). There, either walking or taking a palanquin, you go from Dote 土手 (the riverbank) to Emon-zaka 衣紋坂 (Fix-your-collar slope), which takes you to the Ômon 大門 (Big gate) entrance of Yoshiwara.<sup>10</sup> This is precisely the route taken by the man in his mid-thirties and his friend who appear at the very beginning of *Yûshi hôgen*.

In *Ômon hinagata* 大門雛形 (Model of the Big gate, ca. 1794), another *sharebon* piece, we can see one of the demimonde visitors talking to a courtesan thus; “Well, just now, to come here, you know, I took a boat from Yanagi-bashi. アノさつきこっちへくるにの、柳橋から船にのりやした”<sup>11</sup> Edo sunago 江戸砂子 (Edo sprinkles), the geographic encyclopedia, also recounts that the demimonde visitors often traveled by these *choki* boats from Yanagi-bashi to drift off to the government-accredited demimonde of Yoshiwara as well as the Fukagawa private demimonde.<sup>12</sup> So we can easily infer that mere mention of the place, Yanagi-bashi, must have brought a certain image and ample implicit information to the contemporaneous readers in the simple gesture of stating time

and place that opens up *Yûshi hôgen*. They probably did not need any further explanation about the background of the story.

After the brisk presentation of the time and place, and a minimal note on the main character, the story carries on with the illustration of the appearance of this man in his middle thirties, starting from his head and ending with his *geta*-sandals. The descriptions are concise and yet precise enough for the readers to visualize his appearance. He has a baldish head with a big Honda knot, wears a long black *haori*-jacket (which is a bit dirty) with a rather high waist sash. We can see several portraits of this type in the illustrations of other *sharebon* works. For example, we see a man with a long jacket with a hood on his head in *Daitsû zenji hôgo* 大通禪師法語 (The Dharma sayings of the Great Stylish Zen master, 1779) by a certain Ranji 蘭爾, otherwise unidentified.<sup>13</sup> We can see several models of the Honda knot in *Tôsei fûzoku tsû* 当世風俗通 (The connoisseur in modern customs and manners, 1773) by Kinkin Saeru 金錦左惠流, a penname whose graphs signify literally “Golden-brocade left-blessing-stream” but means in Japanese “keenly inspired.”<sup>14</sup> From portraits of men from these similar sources, we obtain a certain image of this man with a Honda knot and a long black *haori*-jacket who seems to be a stereotypically stylish man of the time or at least an aspiring version of the same.

After the brief explication of his outfit, a short description of how he comports himself follows:

He glares all around arrogantly as if to say “there is no other beau/dude like me,” then strides off with no particular destination. ... (8)

我より外に色男ハなしと。高慢にあたりを。きろ／＼と見まはして、あてどなしにぶらぶらと行・・・

Now we know that this man belongs to the latter of the two possibilities, i.e., a self-proclaimed man of fashion. He is obviously stage-managing the self-presentation of himself as a man in vogue. Immediately after this description, this fashion-conscious man runs across another man.

From the other side, [comes] a nice and good-natured looking young man a little over twenty years old. (8)

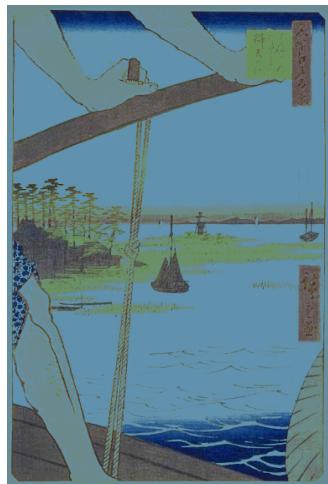
むかふより。二十才ばかりの人柄よき柔軟そうな息子。

This time, before his garments are described, a reference to his disposition rather than appearance is presented. The portrait simply defines the younger man as a sweet one, before the readers' imagination could conjure it on the basis of his clothing and appearance. A short depiction of his wardrobe, belongings, and attendance follows. Now we have two young men, the personality of each one briefly stereotyped or typified, as main characters of a vignette of Yanagi-bashi in late autumn.

As we can easily imagine, these two guys take a *choki* boat trip to Yoshiwara, and there they interact with a lady at a boat lodge, a boatman, a lady at a teahouse, and other visitors, including one who is obviously a samurai. However, Mr. Self-proclaimed Savvy does not ask the nice young guy to visit the place the setting would lead us to expect. Mr. Savvy actually asks him out to visit a temple to pay respect by taking a *choki* boat. Whether knowing his friend's secret intention or not, the nice young guy agrees to take a boat trip to a temple, which, however, turns out to be a place in Yoshiwara. That is, the actual destination was hidden under the lofty excuse, or we can say, the lofty purpose was distorted by the secret intention. In any case, originally, the aim for the boat trip was presented as something lofty or refined. This little detail, embedded in the very first

action of the piece, actually duplicates in its own way what I will claim to be the central motif of Edo aesthetics, which is the convergence or juxtaposition of refinement and vulgarity. I would like to explore this system of aesthetics as seen in *sharebon* texts and their sociopolitical contexts in this thesis, especially in later chapters.

Yanagi-bashi was equipped with several assembly halls, as we can observe in several *ukiyo-e* paintings. Utagawa Hiroshige (1797-1858) created a series of *ukiyo-e* paintings titled, *Edo kōmei kaitei zukushi* 江戸高名会亭尽 (All about renowned assembly halls in Edo); the halls in Yanagi-bashi are shown in four out of the twenty paintings of the series.<sup>15</sup> I will mention one of the gatherings held at this kind of hall in Yanagi-bashi by the *sharebon* authors and the comical verse poets in 1783, as an important piece of evidence to demonstrate that the *sharebon* works were the outcome of social gatherings in which the author/participants employed a profusion of classical Chinese literary allusions in order to make extremely frivolous and disposable jokes, as discussed in Chapter 3 and 5. Indeed, a kind of high polish and excessive exquisiteness covering up the most trivial and frivolous content seems to be a common characteristic of Edo culture more generally. I will try to explore some of the implications of this development in Edo culture by means of an engagement with Georges Batailles' notion of the "potlatch." For what we find here during the extended peacetime that constitutes the Edo era is a unique form of excess energy, and with it an urgent need to expend a surplus—an excess not only of material resources, but also an *excess of cultural capital*. It is by exploring this notion that I hope to clarify the Edo experience of beauty as seen in *sharebon* literature in the pages that follow.



Utagawa Hiroshige,  
*One Hundred Famous Views of Edo* 72,  
*Benten Shrine and the Ferry at Haneda*

## ENDNOTES:

The translations are mine unless otherwise indicated.

### Introduction

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<sup>1</sup> Yûshi hôgen, annotated by Nakada Norio, p.7. Hereafter the page number will be cited in parenthesis in the text.

<sup>2</sup> Narushima Ryûhoku, *Ryûkyô shinshi* (kan完), p.1.

<sup>3</sup> Kikuoka Senryô, *Edo sunago*, ed. Koike Shôtarô, p.24.

<sup>4</sup> The name of “*choki*,” according to another essay by Kikuoka Senryô, *Honchô seji danki* 本朝世事談綺 (Fabricated talks on things in this country), came after a boatman’s name, “Chôkichi 長吉,” who invented this thinner and swifter type of boat out of the previous style in the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. This new type of boat was named after him and called a *chôkichi-bune* (chôkichi boat) which shortened into *choki-bune*, then a different set of Chinese characters also pronounced as *choki* 猪牙 but indicating “boar’s fang” was applied. *Honchô seji danki*, by Kikuoka Senryô. *Nihon zuihitsu taisei*, dai-2 ki, 12. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kôbunkan, 1994, p.475-6. Strangely, the shape of boat does look like a fang of a boar.

<sup>5</sup> Narushima Ryûhoku, *op.cit.*, p.1.

<sup>6</sup> The passage indicates that the *chokibune* boats used to carry many tourists, and here these crowds are compared to herds of “bucks” which are a rather unusual animal to see in the context of Japanese literature. The use of this particular Chinese character probably alludes to a passage in “Equalizing Assessments of Things 斋物論” in the *Zhuangzi*, discouraging the application of absolute standards of value, including beauty, referring to the difference in taste toward erotic partners prevalent in each species, including the example of “bucks” longing for “does” 麋與鹿交. *Sôzi* 1, ed. Kanaya Osamu, pp.75-77. *Zhuangzi: The Essential Writings with Selections from Traditional Commentaries*, trans. Brook Ziporyn, p.18.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p.1.

<sup>8</sup> Mitani Kazuma, *Edo Yoshiwara zuju*, pp.62-5, also in Kikuoka Senryô, *Edo sunago*, Narushima Ryûhoku, “Ryûkyô shinshi,” SNKBZ 100, pp.340-344, Arai Ayumu, “Edo shitamachi no mizube ni okeru shomin no yugyô kôdô ni kansuru kenkyû,” in *Journal of the Japanese Institute of Landscape Architecture*, 63/5, (2000), pp.639-642, and works by Nagai Kafû.

<sup>9</sup> *Edo kouta*, ed. by Kimura Kikutarô , p.355.

<sup>10</sup> Takigawa Masajirô, *Yoshiwara no Shiki*, p. 289-290.

<sup>11</sup> Ômon hinagata (ca.1794, written by Aging old person; possibly Santô Kyôden), ST 19: 380.

<sup>12</sup> Kikuoka Senryô, *Edo sunago*, p.24.

<sup>13</sup> *Daitû zenji hôgo* (1779) by Ranji (unidentified),” ST 8: 312.

<sup>14</sup> *Tôsei fûzoku tsû*, by Kinkin Saeru, (Probably written by Hôseidô Kisanji and illustrated by Koikawa Harumachi), ST 6: 65-82.

<sup>15</sup> Utagawa Hiroshige, *Edo kômei kaitei zukushi* in *Hiroshige gachô*, collection of rare paintings, National Diet Library. (Please see Appendices.)

## Chapter I.

### ***Sharebon* and *Share***

Without discussing women, no one can talk about the theory of Japanese culture or aesthetics.<sup>1</sup>

Yasuda Takeshi

Yasuda is not alone in this sentiment. Nagai Kafū (1879-1959), the prominent Zola advocate and naturalist novelist, concurs: “Without women, day would not break. The showcase pieces of Japanese beauty, which are famous all around the world, are from the theater district and Yoshiwara, the demimonde.”<sup>2</sup> Here Kafū proposed that Edo aesthetics and culture are characterized and represented by “women,” or more strictly, by “*yūjo*” 遊女 (courtesans). The general implication here is obviously that the role of women constitutes an important key to understanding the structure of the aesthetic consciousness in Edo Japan. Due to the policy of the Tokugawa shogunate, Japan had closed the doors to almost all foreign countries for most of the Edo era (1600-1868); this was also a period in which a unique and, indeed, nearly incommensurable Japanese culture and aesthetics flourished, particularly focused on the content of entertainment as well as customs and manners in *yūkaku* 遊郭 (the demimonde).

This is the context in which we can locate a group of literary works categorized as *sharebon* 洒落本 (pronounced as [sha-ray-bone]), a subgenre of Edo *gesaku* 戲作 (playful

writings) literature in the 18<sup>th</sup> century especially in the Edo (present-day Tokyo) area of Japan. These works are set exclusively in the demimonde, which constitutes their sole topic, while their mode and format sheathe operate by means of implicit references to, and perverse usages of, classical Chinese literary sources. In the *sharebon* pieces the bantering conversation between the people working in the demimondes and its various types of visitors are vividly described in a humorous and yet refined way, usually through one night and one afternoon. Despite the content, the format of these books even displays an intense classical elegance. In this dissertation, I would like to explore the peculiar aesthetics of Edo culture as expressed in *sharebon* literature in Japan.

I will focus here on one specific *sharebon* piece, *Yûshi hôgen* 遊子方言 (Vagabond dialect) to exemplify the distinctive features of *sharebon* literature, since this piece is widely accepted as a prototype of the genre. *Yûshi hôgen* was written in 1770 and attributed to an author with the name of “Inaka rôjin Tada no Jijî” 田舎老人多田爺, which is obviously a humorous penname, indicating “an aged man in a country, just one old guy.” I will discuss the problems surrounding attribution of authorship with respect to this text and other *sharebon* in Chapter 5, while the translation of the title is addressed in detail in Chapter 4. The typical style, format and plot of the work are commonly considered to represent the essential characteristics of the entire *sharebon* genre.

This assessment has been given not only by modern scholars but also by the subsequent *sharebon* authors in Edo Japan. We find *Yûshi hôgen* referred to as the first and original example for *sharebon* books in another *sharebon* piece, *Sendô shinwa* 船頭深話 (The boatman’s deep story), published in 1806 and written by Shikitei Samba 式亭三馬 (1776-1822) under the name of Shiki-sanjin 四季山人 (Four seasons hermit):

Yoshiwara's *sharebon* started with *Yûshi hôgen*, ... After that, *gesaku* [playful writing] works by various distinguished writers increased every year and doubled every month.<sup>3</sup>

As we can see in the passage above, the style, format and plot evidenced in *Yûshi hôgen* have been used as a model by the later *sharebon* works, and became the typical features of the genre. There is a similar statement on *Yûshi hôgen* in *Inaka shibai* 田舎芝居 (Countryside play), another *sharebon* piece.<sup>4</sup> As Nakano Mitsutoshi sums it up, this piece is “born in Edo and is the first and full-scaled *sharebon* work,” and therefore it should be more than sufficient to serve as the exemplary specimen of the genre.<sup>5</sup>

I should quickly note here that this does not necessarily mean *Yûshi hôgen* was the first *sharebon* work that appeared in the Edo era. There existed some preceding pieces such as *Ryôha shigen* 両巴巻言 (1727), *Shirin zanka* 史林残花 (1730), *Tôyô eiga* \* 陽英華 [\* =山壽] (1742), and some other earlier pieces, which are written in Chinese and embrace *saiken* 細見, a directory of the courtesans in the demimondes, within their contents. Though it is still debatable whether they can be considered to belong to the *sharebon* genre in the strict sense, these works are generally considered to be the first sprouts of the genre, and are included in the collection of *Sharebon taisei* published by Chûô Kôronsha.<sup>6</sup> Nakano proclaims that in the strict sense, the *sharebon* genre should start with *Yûshi hôgen*, and not include these earlier works in Chinese. Among these works, *Ryôha shigen* is commonly considered the very first *sharebon* piece to appear in Japanese literature. The work consists of a few parts, that is, a guide and an account of the customs and the manners in the Yoshiwara demimonde, a table of contents for *saiken*, a map of Yoshiwara, colored pictures of the courtesans, and the *saiken* at the end.

In the present day, we have inherited abundant writings from the Edo period, due to the development in printing technology at that time which helped to spread education and therefore enabled many people from various social classes to read books. Nakano proclaims that only ten percent of these Edo books have been put into modern printing.<sup>7</sup> We can refer almost all the Edo books in prints to *Edo-jidai shorin shuppan shoseki mokuroku shûsei* 江戸時代書林出版書籍目録集成, a philological record that covers almost all Edo publications.<sup>8</sup> The method of printing for Edo books was to use printing blocks rather than a set of movable printing types, and consequently the printed books transcribe the writers' handwriting. In Japanese, a different character is used to indicate this particular publishing method. The word used for "to publish" consists of the two characters 出版 (*shuppan*) but when it refers to this particular type of publishing using the printing block method, the word with a different character 出板 is used with the same pronunciation. We can obtain precise knowledge of the bibliographical study of these Edo publishing techniques through the guidance of Nakano Mitsutoshi in *Shoshigaku dangi, Edo no hanpon*.<sup>9</sup> By now, many of these writings have been still in the process of reprinting in typeset has been promoted, making them easier to read. Here I would like to restrict the usage of the designation *sharebon* to those found within the *sharebon* compendium *Sharebon taisei* in 30 volumes published by Chûô Kôronsha (1978-1988), and the most of the texts contained in these volumes are typeset printed. The abbreviation *ST* is used to indicate this compendium in this thesis. For *Yûshi hôgen*, I will use the Benseisha edition, which is a photocopy of the handwritten manuscript text.

## A. The Genealogy of Demimonde Literature

The *sharebon* genre appeared in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and flourished through the 18<sup>th</sup> century and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, into the beginning of the Meiji era (1868-1912). During the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, the genre reached its peak. We can consider the genre to hearken back to the tradition of light readings, such as essays and orally told stories starting from the Muromachi era (1336-1493), including the writings categorized as *yûjo hyôbanki* 遊女評判記 (Courtesans review).<sup>10</sup> We find this text listed in *Shoki ukiyo-sôshi nenpyô, Kinsei yûjo hyôban-ki nenpyô* edited by Noma Mitsutoshi (Seishôdô Shoten, 1984)<sup>11</sup>

Starting from *Tôgen shû* 桃源集 (Collection on utopia), which is an account of the courtesans in an official demimonde in Shimabara, Kyoto, published in 1655, many similar publications followed, such as *Naniwa monogatari* 難波物語 (Naniwa [Osaka] story) published in the same year, and in the following year, we find works such as *Ne monogatari* ね物かたり (Sleep talk), *Miyako monogatari* 美夜古物語 (An old story of a beautiful night in the city), and *Masari gusa* 増草 (Growing plants). The last book is the first to include an entry giving the crest for each courtesan, and many such works continued to publish these.<sup>11</sup> We can locate these texts in *Shinpen kisho fukusei-kai shôsho*, edited by Nakamura Yukihiko, (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1990), and *Daisôbon kisho shûsei 1, Ukiyosôshi*. (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1994). Nakano Mitsutoshi informs us of other kinds of *hyôbanki* published in Edo in *Edo meibutsu hyôbanki annai*. There are a group of booklets called *yakusha hyôbanki* 役者評判記 (Actors' review), which is on the reputations of and stories about kabuki actors at the theaters, and seems to play the same role as the courtesan reviews, only for the use of predominantly female patrons.

We should also quickly add a remark on *saiken* publishing here. Mukai Nobuo defines *saiken* (demimonde directly or guidebook) as “a picture map or a booklet that carries information on each *girō* 妓樓 (brothel or bordello), *ageya* 揚屋 (party hall), and *chaya* 茶屋 (tea house) neatly ordered by area in each demimonde, and an entry for all the courtesans from each *girō* with their ranks.”<sup>12</sup> He continues that *saiken* or the guidebooks should be placed in a different category from *yūjo hōbanki*, reviews which describe the courtesans and the customs and manners in the demimondes more subjectively. In other words, *saiken* functioned as a source of definite and objective information about the demimondes. Takahashi Yōji explains that these booklets also have entries for the fees for a party with courtesan/(s), and were revised and published twice a year, in the New Year season and in the seventh month, at a relatively low price.<sup>13</sup>

According to Mukai’s research, the oldest extant *saiken* goes back to the 1680’s.<sup>14</sup> We find a list of the *saiken* publications in *Yoshiwara saiken nenpyō, Nihon shoshi-gaku taikei* 72, edited by Yagi Keiichi and Niwa Kenji (Seihōdō, 1996). We also find that renowned Edo authors such as Santō Kyōden 山東京伝 (1761-1816) and Shikitei Sanba 式亭三馬 (1776-1822) contributed witty prefaces for these booklets.<sup>15</sup> We will examine the origin of the Yoshiwara demimonde and the reasons that the Tokugawa government accredited the demimondes with officially recognized status in Chapter 2. Since the demimondes in Yoshiwara in Edo area and Shimabara 島原 and Shinmachi 新町 in the Kyoto-Osaka area were officially accredited by the shogunate government, this kind of publication was also publicly sold and well circulated.

Miki Sasuke, a bookseller during the late Edo era, recounted in his recollection, *Gyokuen sōwa*, that these publications were sold publicly “under the bright white sun

light,” on the city streets in the cities.<sup>16</sup> We also learn that there was a business called *saiken-uri* 細見壳り, *saiken* street vender, in an Edo contemporaneous encyclopedia known as *Morisada Mankō*.<sup>17</sup> (Please see the Appendices for an illustration.) We find a reference to *saiken* guidebooks in a conversation between the demimonde patron and a teahouse mistress in one of the *sharebon* works, entitled *Ana gakumon* 窮学問 (Study on the openings) published in 1802 and written by Jippensha Ikku 十返舎一九 (1765-1831), who is considered to be the first professional writer, i.e., a person making a living exclusively through his writing, in Japanese literary history. The passage reads:

[Kitô [a patron's name]] “Speaking of which, hasn't Hama-no-ya sent me a *saiken*, as a New Year's gift [*toshi-dama* 年玉] yet?” [Mistress of teahouse] “No, not yet.”<sup>18</sup>

The name or role of the person who is talking in a conversation is usually indicated within a rectangle in the *sharebon* texts, as shown above. The demimonde visitors usually first headed out to one of the tea houses, where they had a little chat, gathered the latest stories and gossips, while they inquired about and waited for the arrangement of a party at one of the *ageya* (party halls). The conversation above is from a scene, taking place while the visitors are waiting in a teahouse. From this passage we can surmise that *saiken* guidebooks were used as seasonal gifts in the demimondes. As a matter of fact, Yamanaka Kyôko, 山中共吉 (1850-1928), one of the last generation of shogunate officials who later became a scholar on folklore, quotes this passage in his encyclopedic work on *sharebon* critique, entitled *Suna harai* 砂払 (Sand remover or brush; indicating a book on *sharebon*, since *sharebon* was also called “konjack book” due to its similar shape to a brick of “konjak” which is supposed to work for the removal of sand from the human

body). He explains, “It seems whenever *girō* (brothels) published a new *saiken*, they sent it to the repeaters as a New Year’s gift.”<sup>19</sup> We find similar descriptions in other works that shows the broad circulation of *saiken* during that period.<sup>20</sup>

We should also note that Hiraga Gennai 平賀源内 (1729-79), whose versatility is often compared to Leonardo da Vinci, published *Nanshoku saiken* 男色細見 (Directory for male courtesans/ prostitutes) in 1775.<sup>21</sup> According to Matsuda Osamu, in the Edo era, these courtesans, as well as the actors (in many cases the same persons served as both), performed sexual services for both men and women.<sup>22</sup>

It is noteworthy that *saiken* publications were a good business for the publishers, and contributed greatly to the flourishing of the publishing culture in the Edo era. Tsutaya Jûzaburô 蔦屋重三郎 (1750-1797) was one of the more prominent publishers, and played the most important role not only as a publisher but also as a producer creating and promoting the arts and culture in Edo. Talented writers and artists gathered together around him, and Matsuki Hiroshi says; “It [Tsutaya’s milieu] would have probably have resembled the Mont Martre quarter in Paris in the early period when Toulouse-Lautrec was there.”<sup>23</sup> In actual fact, most of the *sharebon* authors were not among the exceptional few who benefited from the gatherings around Tsutaya Jûzaburô. We will examine these authors and their literary cliques in Chapter 5.<sup>24</sup>

## B. The Examples of the Usage of the Word, *Sharebon*

Now let us see how the word “*sharebon*,” is used in Edo contemporaneous books. Nakamura Yukihiko and Nakano Mitsutoshi take what Asakura Musei stated as a common view on the earliest emergence of the word *sharebon* in Edo writings, and claim that the word *sharebon* first appeared in the late 1770’s.<sup>25</sup> For example, we can find the word, *sharebon* in the *sharebon* works by Tanishi Kingyo 田螺金魚 (Mudsnail Goldfish) published as early as 1778.

We can also see the word in the preface to *Keisei hiniku ron* 淫女皮肉論 (Ironic discourse on courtesans/sluts), published in the year 1778.<sup>26</sup> It introduces the text thus:

[He] picked up a book and tossed it [to him]. “Let’s see. The title says *Keisei hiniku ron*. Is this also one of these sharebon books?”<sup>27</sup>  
(Emphasis Added)

On the front cover of a *sharebon* titled *Tatsumi fugen* 辰巳婦言 (Tatsumi [private demimonde at Fukagawa] woman talk) written by Shikitei Sanba 式亭三馬 (1776-1822) and published in 1798, we find a short passage next to the title, that says:

“Here! A new edition of sharebon just came out!”<sup>28</sup>  
(Emphasis Added)

In the second chapter of *Tamagiku zenden satokagami* 玉菊全伝花街鑑 (A life of Tamagiku, demimonde exemplar) written by Bisanjin 鼻山人 (1790-1958) and published around the year of 1822, we can find a conversation between a handsome young boy, Takisaburô and a young beauty, Tamagiku. It goes:

Taki ...Hey, Otama! What is that book?  
Tama Well, this is a newly published sharebon that I heard about. I just rented it.

**Taki** Wow, what's it called? What is the title? Let me see.<sup>29</sup>  
(Emphasis Added)

As we can see from these passages, especially the first two writers refer to their own writings as *sharebon*. This indicates that they were clearly aware that these texts possessed certain characteristics that were identified as being “*share*.” In that case, taking some time to explore the meanings of *share* at first would help us to grasp what these books wished to convey, the characteristic elements of *sharebon*, and, ultimately, the peculiarities of the Edo aesthetics.<sup>30</sup>

### C. Five Meanings of *Share*

The word *sharebon* consists of two parts, *share* 酒落 and *bon/hon* 本 written in three Chinese characters. The latter part *hon* or *bon* here simply means “book/s.” The first half of the word, *share* is still frequently used in modern Japanese in most cases with the honorific prefix *o*, making it into *oshare* [o/sha/ray], to indicate stylishness. The other common meaning of the term in Japanese is “a word play,” and when we add the prefix “*da*,” indicating “useless,” we get *dajare*, which specifically means a “pun.” Modern Japanese also uses the term as a verb, *shareru*, meaning to “pretend” or “mimic.” Though this usage seems to be increasingly infrequent, we see it, for example, in phrases like: “*Bogāto o share-ru*,” meaning “to imitate (or pretend to be) Bogart” by, for instance, putting up the collar of one’s trench coat and carrying a cigarette pinched

between thumb and index finger, that is, trying to be a dandy by taking on the manners and appearance of Humphrey Bogart.

The Chinese language also sometimes uses the same term, pronounced “*saluo*,” to mean, “refined,” but its most frequent meaning is “to disperse,” “to dissipate” or “to shed” as in the dropping of rain and the dropping away of the unnecessary things. When a foreign word is translated into another language, in most cases, the translation loses certain connotations or on the contrary, gains a different aura which the original word does not convey. In order to avoid the misconception, I will use the romanization of the Chinese word, *saluo*, for the primary meaning of Chinese, instead of an English translation. We find the word *saluo* indicating to “shed” in a *fu* 賦 or rhapsody included in *Wen Xuan* 文選 [J. *Monzen*] (Selected Literature), one of the earliest existing collections of Chinese poetry, compiled around 520 CE. That work collects an ode entitled “*Qiuxingfu* 秋興賦 [J. *Shûkôfu*] (Rhapsody on autumn provocation)” by Pan Yue 潘岳 [J. *Hangaku*] (247-300), a literatus from the Western Jin Dynasty 西晉 (265-316) in which we find the following passage:

Bare garden maples shed their leaves down;  
Strong winds fiercely blow the banners about.<sup>31</sup>

庭樹槭之洒落兮，勁風戾而吹帷

*Wen Xuan* had immense influence on later literature both in China and Japan, and was considered to be a “prerequisite” for literati to master. For example, we think immediately of the famous passage in *Makura no sôshi* 枕草子 (*The Pillow Book*) by Sei Shônagon 清少納言 (966?-1025?), saying: “As to literature, the *Collection of Bo Juyi* and

*Wen Xuan* [are splendid].” 文は 文集。文選<sup>32</sup> When Yoshida Kenkô 吉田兼好 (1283?-1352?) advocates the fun of reading classics in *Tsurezuregusa* 徒然草 (Essays in Idleness), he also cites the *Wen Xuan* and *Collection of Bo Juyi* as well as *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*.<sup>33</sup> It is known that many terms in the Japanese language that consist of the combination of two Chinese characters originated in this work. In other words, we can probably say that any ancient Japanese literatus should have encountered this usage of the word *share*, that is, as Chinese *saluo*.

We also find *saluo* in a poem written by Zhang Jiuling 張九齡 [J. Chô Kyûrei] (673-740), a noted poet and scholar of the Tang Dynasty 唐 (618-690, 705-907), who served as chancellor during the reign of Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 [J. Gensô]. In “Hukou wang Lushan pubuquan” 湖口望廬山瀑布泉 [J. Kokô de Rozan bakufusen o nozomu] (At the edge of the lake looking up at the cascades of Mt. Lu),” we find:

A swift flow passes beneath the varied trees,  
Splashing sprinkles emerging from the layered clouds.<sup>34</sup>

奔流下雜樹，洒落出重雲

Wang Anshi 王安石 [J. Ô Anseki] (1021-1086), one of the “Eight Great Prose Masters of the Tang and Song” 唐宋古文八大家 who is even better known as a socioeconomic reformer in Song Dynasty 宋 (960-1279), wrote a poem, “Chunfu chu Shi Huichong hua yao yu zuo shi” 純甫出釋惠崇畫要予作詩 (Chunfu brought out a painting by the monk Huichong and asked me to write a poem on it) in which we find:

From his recipe bearing various waters he mixes this  
magical medicine.  
His drops produce silky streaks with the power to alter the  
temperature.<sup>35</sup>

方諸承水調幻藥、洒落生絃變寒暑

But perhaps the most telling use of the term, and the complex extended ethical implications it comes to acquire, can be found in the writings of Wang Yangming 王陽明 [J. Ô Yômei] (1472-1529), the great reformist Neo-Confucian thinker, whose doctrines unseated Cheng-Zhu 程朱 [J. Teishu] orthodoxy for many Ming dynasty Chinese intellectuals and were becoming hugely influential in Japan during the Edo era. In the *Yangming chuanxinlu* 陽明傳信錄 [J. Yômei Denshinroku] (Record of Yangming's teaching), a text also collected in the account of Wang's thought in scroll 10 of Huang Zongxi's 黃宗羲 [J. Kô Sôgi] (1610-1695) classic compilation of Ming Confucianism, the *Mingruxuean* 明儒學案 [J. Minju Gaku-an] (Anthology and Critical Accounts of the Neo-Confucianists of the Ming Dynasty), we find the following fascinating passage:

What the noble man calls “solemn awe 敬畏 [*jingwei*]” is not meant to imply that he has something about which he is fearful and worried. It is simply [what the *Doctrine of the Mean* calls] “caution about what is unseen, apprehension about what is unheard.” What the noble man calls “splashing dissipation 灑落 [*saluo*]” does not mean unrestrained depravity or indulging one’s feelings and desires. It simply means the essence of his mind is not fettered by his desires, so that he is masterful and at ease wherever he may go. For the essence of the mind is precisely Heavenly Principle itself, and the bright numinous awareness of Heavenly Principle is the Innate Knowledge of Goodness. The noble man’s caution and apprehension are only the fear that this bright numinous awareness will somewhere get lost or darkened, flowing into depravities and absurdities so that it might lose the intrinsic rightness of its essence. When this work of apprehension and caution is applied constantly, the Heavenly Principle is constantly preserved, and the bright numinous awareness of its essence is not deficient anywhere or obscured by anything, not disturbed or

coerced by anything, not fearful or worried about anything, having no preferences or hatreds for anything, free of willfulness, insistence, stubbornness and partiality, free of sycophancy and deception, harmoniously melding all in perfect transparency, flowing at full capacity in all places without exception, moving freely in all directions but always hitting the proper mark of ritual propriety, “following the heart’s desires and yet never overstepping” [as Confucius describes himself at age 70]. Thus this [caution and apprehension] itself is what is called “the true splashing dissipation”! This splashing dissipation is born from Heavenly Principle being constantly preserved, which itself comes from constant cautious apprehension. Who says the increase of solemn awe always leads to the fettering of enjoyment?<sup>36</sup>

君子之所謂敬畏者，非有所恐懼憂患之謂也，乃戒懼不睹、恐懼不聞之謂耳。君子之所謂灑落者，非曠蕩放逸、縱情肆意也，乃其心體不累於欲，無入而不自得之謂耳。夫心之本體，即天理也，天理之昭明靈覺，所謂良知也。君子之戒慎恐懼，惟恐其昭明靈覺者或有所昏昧放逸，流於非僻邪妄而失其本體之正耳。戒慎恐懼之功無時或間，則天理常存，而其昭明靈覺之本體無所虧蔽，無所牽擾，無所恐懼憂患，無所好樂忿懥，無所意必固我，無所歉餒愧怍，和融瑩徹，充塞流行，動容周旋而中禮，從心所欲而不踰，斯乃所謂真灑落矣。是灑落生於天理又常存，天理常存生於戒慎恐懼之無間，孰謂敬畏之增反為樂之累耶

Above and beyond what this passage tells us about Wang’s unique version of Confucianism, it reveals much about the implications of the term *saluo*. First, it reveals the presumed antonym of *saluo* is *jingwei*, “solemn awe.” Wang redefines both these terms in order to make the shocking claim that these apparent opposites, what his listeners will assume to be mutually exclusive, are really not only compatible but actually two aspects of the same thing. Solemn awe is the work of cautious apprehension that allows the “true splashing dissipation” of Heavenly Principle to flow freely. To show this, Wang describes the falsely assumed meaning, i.e., the commonly accepted meaning, of solemn awe to be “fearful and worried,” a sense of awed restraint and respect for

heteronomous moral laws. The commonly accepted meaning of “splashing dissipation” is given as “unrestrained depravity or indulging one’s feelings and desires.” So we see that in China too the term *saluo* commonly had the meaning of self-indulgence and unrestrained enjoyment of desires, “dissipation” in the moral sense. But Wang’s whole point here depends on the fact that the term has enough “give,” enough ambiguity still present in its watery etymological connections to “splashing” and “flowing” to undermine this common meaning and connect it to the opposite term, within the schema of Wang’s theory of Heavenly Principle as freely flowing awareness and lively responsiveness. This brings with it the idea of always spontaneously and effortlessly doing the right thing in every situation, even effortlessly conforming to what appear externally to be rules and norms. It is perhaps not too much of a stretch to see this perfection of right behavior combined with free-flowing unrestrained spontaneity in the extended meanings of *saluo*, and the ways in which we will find the term used to denote surprising convergences of apparent opposites, of refinement and dissipation, of sacredness and defilement, in the Japanese usages in *sharebon* literature.

It is plausible to presume that the primary meaning of *saluo* was also known to early Japanese readers. However, interestingly, we cannot find the primary meaning of *saluo* in Japanese Edo or pre-Edo dictionaries for *share*. The entries for Edo usages are most commonly “being stylish,” “a word play, especially a pun,” and “a demimonde visit,” in that order. Now I would like to investigate the Edo usage of *share* seen in the Edo writings to figure out how they apply these meanings and whether or not we can find any trace of the primal meaning of *saluo*, i.e., “to disperse” and therefore “to squander.”

As a translation for *sharebon* James T. Araki introduces it as “witty book” in his article, “*Sharebon*: Books for Men of Mode.”<sup>37</sup> Maricia Yonemoto refers to *sharebon* as “fiction of taste” in her book, *Mapping Early Modern Japan: Space, Place, and Culture in the Tokugawa Period, 1603-1868*.<sup>38</sup> Here, I would like to tentatively suggest “dispersing witty book (by mimicry, for demimondeans)” as an admittedly awkward but more strictly accurate translation for the term reflecting the primal meaning of the word “*saluo*” in original Chinese. We will examine how well this tentative translation works at the end of this dissertation. Let us start with (1) merry making (and/or merry-making girls) and demimonde (2) pretend, then (3) being stylish, (4) a word play, and (5) *saluo*, (to splash, scatter, shed, dissipate or squander).

### **1. Merry making, Merrymaking girls, Demimonde**

The first usage of the term is as a noun indicating “a demimonde visit,” “merry making,” or “women in service.” I would like to start with the usage seen in one the *sharebon* books titled *Sendō shinwa* 船頭深話 (Boatman’s deep story) published in 1806 by the name of Shiki-sanjin 四季山人 (Four seasons hermit). The setting of this *sharebon* piece is at one of the private demimondes in Fukagawa 深川, located southeast from the Edo castle. Because of its location, this place is often cited as “Tatsumi” 辰巳, meaning “southeast” in the archaic method of designating spatial directions. This piece explains that many travelers to Edo stop by Fukagawa during their stay in Edo, and describes a visit to the demimondes using the word *share*:

A traveling guest from nearby came to Edo to collect payment at the wholesale houses, and this is the *share* [the visit to the demimondes] [he had] during his stay. There

are many traveling guests just like him in this village  
[demimonde].<sup>39</sup>  
(Emphasis Added)

近在の旅人客江戸の問屋へ仕切を取にきた逗留中のしゃれ也も  
っともこの里にはかやうなる旅人客多し

Since the passage continues to describe the behavior and manners of the guests at the demimonde, the word “share” here obviously indicates “a demimonde visit,” or “making merry.” It is interesting to note here there is a clear contrast between the traveler’s commercial business activities in town and the fun time he had in Fukagawa in the course of discharging his duties. In this sense, *sharebon* can be translated simply as something like “demimonde book” or “book of merry making.” *Share* belongs to a realm of play or relaxation distinct from the world of work, while perhaps helping to maintain the world.

We can also see the word is used to describe the courtesans/the female entertainers or the party girls in the early Edo writings. In the passages, the word “share” is indicated by *kana* (Japanese phonetic syllabary) letters attached to Chinese characters to show how to pronounce them (*furigana*). The *furigana* is applied to display the desired pronunciation for the Chinese characters and this is deeply related to the reception of Chinese language and cultures in Japanese, which is probably one of the most significant traits constituting the peculiar Edo aesthetics as well as Japanese language and culture per se. I would like to investigate this as the main topic of this dissertation, to be discussed in detail in later chapters. The Chinese characters used for the word are “*bainu*” 白女 (white +woman) and “*punü*” 濡女 (rain/cascade +woman).” In *Nippon eitaikura* 日本永代蔵 (Perpetual storagehouse of Japan) by Ihara Saikaku 井原西鶴 (1642-1693), published in 1688, we find the following passage, in the second part of

volume two, about a man whose business went well at first but who eventually lost everything due to a stroke of thunder. His prosperous days are described as follows:

[He is] just like a recent wholesale millionaire. [His house] has changed, and from the second floor [we can hear] the nice and sweet sound of the picks [of samisen guitars].

“Share-women” 白女 from Shibaya-machi were summoned, and the merry making of the guests is not limited to either day or night.<sup>40</sup>

(Emphasis Added)

近年間屋町長者のごとく、屋造り昔に変わり、二階に撥音優しく、柴屋町より白女（しゃれおんな）呼び寄せ、客の遊興昼夜の限りもなく、天秤の響きわたり、金銀もあるところには瓦石のごとし

“Shibaya-machi” which is close to Kyoto and Mt. Hiei (present-day, Shiga prefecture Ôtsu city), was one of the private demimonde zones at that time. Obviously the woman/women, described as “share” and called from that place, must be courtesans or entertainers. We can also see the word with the same Chinese characters with the attached *kana* for the pronunciation, *share* in *Keisei kin tanki* 傾城禁短氣 (Courtesans should not have short temper) by Ejima Kiseki 江島其磧 (1666-1735), an *ukiyosôshi* 浮世草子 (easy reader) published in 1711.<sup>41</sup> Here the word describes a party girl and illustrates that she is not good enough to compare with the courtesans in Yoshiwara.

Another work by Ihara Saikaku includes the Chinese characters, *punii* 瀑女 with the attached *kana* giving their Japanese pronunciation as *share*. The word appears in a description of travel in the Kyoto area in the third part of chapter two in *Kôsyoku seisuki* 好色盛衰記 (The rise and fall of the taste for love) published in 1688. A traveler wants to see the tourist spots:

[A traveler] got into a fast boat, his romantic feeling swelling with the west wind. They sailed through the waves and swiftly arrived at the amorous harbor of Muro along the Harima shore. Intending to spend all night in these soulful pursuits, he went into the bath all astir like willows in the wind. The bath companion woman [*share* 暑女] called Kozaemon was a servant of the commoner ways of love, and her style of service was no substitute for that of Katsuyama.<sup>42</sup>  
(Emphasis Added)

早船にとりのり、西風に恋をふくませ、浪路を走りて播磨潟室の色湊にさつと着きける。一夜はかかる情けとて乱るる柳風呂に入りて、此所の暑女（しゃれ）小左衛門といえるは、風俗恋の奴子にして、江戸の勝山が仕出しに替る所なし。

Here the word, *share* suggests a woman who accompanies a male customer at a bathhouse for all kinds of services, who, according to the passage, was sadly quite different from the high-class courtesan Katsuyama at Edo's Yoshiwara. This kind of bath-companion women was found in many places in the early Edo era until the shogunate prohibited their presence in places other than Yoshiwara. Katsuyama was one of the famous courtesans in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century in Yoshiwara whose name can be found in many Edo writings. She started out as a bath-companion girl and became well known for her stylish manner and mannish appearance. She also invented a new hairdo that came into vogue at that time and acquired the name *Katsuyama mage* (*Katsuyama knot*).<sup>43</sup> Please see the Appendices for the picture of Katsuyama seen in *Rekisei josō kō* 歷世女装考,” by Santō Kyōzan 山東京山 (1769-1858). The connection to these “bath girls” perhaps explains the use of the term *share* using the Chinese characters meaning “cascade” or “waterfall”—and indicating bathhouse girls as opposed to the official courtesans of the officially recognized demimondes. The other Chinese characters for which the same Japanese pronunciation is given, “white woman,” is more difficult to

decipher, and seems in context to suggest professional courtesans removed from the official demimonde and providing services within a private residence.

These passages suggest that the word *share* refers to some kind of female entertainer or sex worker on the occasions of merrymaking. In this sense, the translation of *sharebon* can be “book of merry-making women,” but not “courtesan book” since these examples specifically clarify that they are *not* courtesans at official demimondes.

## 2. To Pretend

We can say that the usages above imply that the girls are replacements for the official courtesans. In this case *share* seems to carry an implication of “to mimic,” “to imitate,” or “to mirror.” In other words, the word *share* represents here the spirit of some kind of parodizing of something authentic through the “merry making girls,” which is the superficial meaning of the word. This usage has interesting resonances with the Wang Yangming usage of the Chinese term cited above. There the word commonly meant “dissipated, unconstrained, indulgent of desires” in common parlance, while Wang twisted it to mean “freely flowing and unconstrained *by* desires,” allowing an ethical implication of sincerity, spontaneity, effortlessness: the exact opposite of pretense. What is commonly called *saluo* is *fake saluo*: the *real saluo*, the real splash and dissipation, is the effortless flow of the essence of mind in all situations. The double meaning of the word, implying either total sincerity and spontaneity or mimicry and deception, continues to function in the Japanese usage, but with an interesting reversal. Someone is called *share* when they are faking it, an impostor, a poser. This seems to imply that there is something fake in the *presentation* of oneself deliberately as being *share*. Since

“effortlessness” is the mark of true *share*, any deliberate attempt to be *share*, any self-presentation of oneself as *share*, is not true *share*, necessarily a fake. This built-in ambiguity, leading to necessary reversals and an obsession with judgments of authenticity, will have many implications in the *sharebon* literature and its application of this concept.

### 3. Stylishness

The second usage indicates something more or less similar to “stylish,” as in the modern usage of this term. We can see the entry for the word with an auxiliary verbal suffix “*share-taru*” in *Shikidō ôkagami* 色道大鏡 (Great mirror in the way of love), a renowned critical overview of the world of courtesans, published in 1678 by Fujimoto Kizan 藤本箕山 (1628-1704):

*Share-taru*: When a person’s spirit is trained on the way things are, and has become clean and cool; the word compares a clean appearance to skeletons and decayed trees that have been exposed to rain and dewdrops and become washed clean or free of waste.<sup>44</sup>

しゃれたる：人の気の物になれて潔きを、骸骨や朽木などの雨露にさらされて、しゃれたる貌にたとえたる詞なり。

Here, the word *share* is defined to depict the state of mind that is detached from things and events, unflappable and undisturbed by insignificant matters, unbiased, and therefore cool and stylish. Kizan also implies a kind of conversion from the word *saru/sharu* written with a different Chinese character, 曝る meaning originally “to expose.” He continues with another word *ki no tōru* which is explained to have the same meaning:

Ki no tōru: Same as the word “*share-taru*.” It is when, even without a persuasive explanation, [one can] understand, and appreciate things quickly.<sup>45</sup>

気のとおる：しゃれたるという詞にひとし、物をいい聞かされども、心通じはやくさとる貌なり。

With this explication we now know that *share* also means to be “wise” or at least “versed deeply” in things. In other words, in order to stay *share*, one should understand wit and humor without needing an explanation. Combining these two implications, being *share* means that a person is learned and experienced so that s/he does not need any verbose explanation to grasp and/or to appreciate a situation and even what is amusing about it. Furthermore, though such a person has a quick and deep understanding toward things, he does not cling to them too much and stays cool.

In Saikaku’s posthumous work, *Saikaku okimiyage* 西鶴置土産 (Saikaku’s keepsake), we find the word used to describe a way of living. In this story, Saikaku introduces some men who redeemed courtesans from their contracts and took them as t wives. Saikaku describes the men as dandies and their lives as stylish, *share*.

It might seem idiotic [to those who are wise enough to be thrifty about life], but once [you are] born as a human being, there might be no other pleasure greater than ransoming a distinguished courtesan in Japan and making her [exclusively] yours. A relative of this dandy likewise redeemed a high-class courtesan, Nokaze, and [they] live together stylishly [*share-te*] in the village of Fushimi.<sup>46</sup>

たはけのようにおもふべけれど、既に人間とうまれ、日本まれなる女郎をていけにするより外に、何楽しみ有べし。此大臣のがれぬ人も、太夫の野風を請けて、伏見の里にしゃれて住みける。

These couples described in this story live alone and spend more of their time on things such as tea ceremony and poetry composition rather than on mundane social activities. Their lives are obviously sophisticated and stylish. In contrast to the people who are always calculating and devoted to a penny-wise way of life, their state of mind transcends involvement in tangible objects. We should probably note that courtesans play an important role in creating the *share* life style here, though they are already retired in the story. Reflecting the second meaning of the word, the translation for *sharebon* will be something like “book of savviness” or “stylish book.”

#### 4. Word Play

This usage of the word *share* denotes any language game such as making a pun, plays upon words, witty remarks, and bon mots. When a reader takes a *sharebon* book, s/he soon notices that many kinds of word play are sprinkled all over the work. As a matter of fact, word play is a dominant characteristic of this genre of Edo writings, and the word *share* itself is used to describe these language games conducted by one of the characters in our text, *Yûshi hôgen* 遊子方言 (Vagabond dialect). In this text, we find a customer speaking a line of dialogue, after which the narrator remarks that he is speaking in a manner that is “*share*.” The situation is as follows. In the Yoshiwara demimonde, this customer was led to a relatively undesirable room downstairs, though he wished to go somewhere upstairs. He replies thus:

“Anywhere is goody-woody, Yoshino-woody [y/Yoshino-gi 吉野]. Hey, dude! Come over here for ballyhoo, miso-tofu, tofu, [*kinome-dengaku* 来のめ田楽],” speaking in *share*.” (40)  
(Emphasis Added)

どこでも吉野木吉野木、これ色男、こっちへ来のめ田楽田楽、  
としゃれをいう。

Here, the narrator clearly indicates that the customer uses “share” in his talk. By saying “goody-woody, Yoshino-woody [y/Yoshino-gi]” instead of just “good (*yoshi*)” and “come over for ballyhoo, miso-tofu (*kocchi e kinome-dengaku*)” instead of “come over (*kocchi e ki*),” the customer is trying to be funny and therefore impress other people with his stylishness. The word “Yoshino-gi” is a compound consisting of two words, *yoshi* and Yoshino-gi, indicating “tree(/s) in Yoshino district,” probably implying cherry blossoms since Yoshino is renowned for its cherry blossoms. The same structure applies to *kinome-dengaku*, which actually is a popular home meal dish usually made of tofu and miso paste with Japanese pepper (*kinome* or “*sanshō*”) on top. “*Kinome*” here literally means “tree bud” and refers to Japanese Pepper Tree (*Zanthoxylum piperitum*), a kind of herb, and “*kinome-dengaku*” indicates “*dengaku*” coming with the *kinome*-pepper as a condiment.<sup>47</sup>

Now we can appreciate the further resonances of the joke in *Yûshi hôgen*. Instead of just saying, “come over here,” that is, “*kocchi e ki*,” the character adds “*kinome-dengaku*,” in the attempt to be funny and impress his audience by making himself look comfortable dealing with the playful ambiguities of language. From the passage quoted above, we can discern that the third meaning of *share* is “a word game,” and the translation for *sharebon* would be something like “joke book,” “wit book,” or “pun-ny book,” if you will forgive the yes, pun. Already what constitutes the core of *share* observed in *sharebon* and related books is beginning to become clear. First, the topics and settings are exclusively concerned with the demimondes. Second, the humor and wit

through language play are the crucial element. Third, a refined and magnanimous spirit, or the longing to be so, is also present. Now let us proceed to the fourth usage of *share* in relation to Chinese *saluo* which conjunction is not listed in Japanese dictionaries.<sup>48</sup>

### 5. *Saluo*

Since there is no entry for this meaning in the Japanese dictionaries, it would be quite natural for us not to be able to find any examples of this usage. The usage of *share* in the following passage can be interpreted as describing silly word play. However, the phrase modifying the word in this case seems to indicate yet another meaning of the word, *share*, i.e., *saluo*, to disperse or squander. As is mentioned in the Introduction, little riverboats were frequently used for incidental travel around the capital of Edo, including trips to the Yoshiwara demimonde. The helmsmen of such boats often appear as characters in the *sharebon* works. We find the following conversation between two boatmen in *Tatsumi no sono* 辰巳之園 (Garden of Fukagawa), a *sharebon* work published in 1770 under the name of Muchû-sanjin Negoto sensei, 夢中散人寝言先生 (Worthless guy in a dream, Professor Sleeptalker).<sup>49</sup> In this piece, two boatmen have a gossipy chat after one of them has just sent the customer off to the private demimonde, Fukagawa:

Chûgo [a boatman's name] “What's ... the customer like?” Jirô [another boatman's name] “Well, ...like...the button top shells...in a rain ditch... He goes on and on just making jokes [*share*]....”<sup>50</sup>

忠五どのような。客じや。次郎何だか。雨落の。きしゃご。見  
たように。しゃれのめすよ。

Asked by his co-worker, a boatman explains that the customer he just had was continuously *share* making jokes in the boat, and to describe the word “*share*” the boatman uses an odd expression: “like the button top shells in a rain ditch.” What does this mean?

Located in a temperate humid climate with an annual rainy season, the city of Edo needed to build a dependable drainage system around its houses and other facilities. Underneath the eaves, they usually gouged out a channel and filled it with pebbles, into which rainwater would drain and accumulate, preventing overflow onto the walkways. (Please see Appendices.) It is not certain whether shells as well as pebbles were deliberately used to fill these drainage ditches, or if the discarded shells from seafood meals naturally fell in there, but in either case, people might have commonly seen shells in these ditches. The button top shells (*Umbonium sp.*) can still be seen often on the sea shore of Tokyo Bay. (Please see Appendices.) Though the numbers are declining, we can assume they were commonly found and collected in the Edo era. In a *sharebon* work, titled *Sōmagaki* 総籬 (High-class courtesan house), written by Santō Kyōden 山東京伝 (1761-1816) and published in 1787, we learn that these shells were used for playing marbles.<sup>51</sup> There is a possibility that these shells might have been put in the ditches instead of these little pebbles for the reception and absorption of the “dispersal,” i.e., “*saluo*,” or rain drops in order to prevent the overflow.

“Button top shells in a ditch,” in other words, are something to be “splashed around.” In fact, in the Japanese language, even today, we still often see the expressions that mix up the modifier and the modified and we can infer that this is not an exception. In that case, here, “shells-in-a-ditch-like *share*” can possibly mean that “splashing around

the silly jokes.” This actually accords with the suffixal verb “*nomesu*” right after “*share*” to emphasize the previous word, “share.” Here I would like to suggest that the expression, “continued to *share* like the shells in a ditch” could portray the state of someone who goes on and on making jokes on and on just like the rain that keeps dropping or splattering onto these shells in a ditch.

It should be pointed out that there is also another possibility that the expression, “shells in a ditch” can mean “weather beaten and worn over time,” i.e., worldly and experienced, which connects to the usage of the term to mean “refined,” as we saw above.

Interestingly, the expression “button top shells in a ditch” was used to refer to club members or participants in a gathering in a short comical story written and illustrated by Koikawa Harumachi 恋川春町 (1744-89), the well-known author of *Kinkin sensei eiga no yume* 金々先生栄華夢 (Professor Glittering’s dream of prosperity). The story entitled *Utatane* うたた寝 (Taking a nap) starts thus: “The members of the Button-Top-Shells-at-a-Rain-Ditch Club” 雨おちの きしゃご仲間 are calling upon another member’s house.” The story is simple and funny. The fellow dozing off and awakened when his pals stopped by his house. He claimed he was having a dream of a courtesan on whom one of them had a crush. In the dream he was about to open the letter from the courtesan. His friend wanted to know what was written and urged him to go back to sleep.<sup>52</sup> (Please see the Appendices for the illustration.) From the content of the story, we can say that “shells-in-a-ditch” club most likely refers to a group of friends sharing an interest in *share*. They probably got together, made jokes and talked about demimonde visits, one after another just like the splashing rain. By extension, we can

also say that they used to “splash” around their time and energy at their leisure, disposing of it wastefully and in a willy-nilly undirected fashion in an act of dissipation. I would like to revisit this kind of gatherings again in Chapter 5 when we discuss the authorship of *sharebon* works.<sup>53</sup>

We have this discovered an example that might fit the primal meaning of “*saluo*” in Chinese for “*share*” in Japanese. Though there is no entry for this usage as “*splash*” for “*share*” in Japanese dictionaries, this dissertation will try to show the usefulness of this Chinese connection for an investigation of the Edo aesthetics seen in *sharebon* works.

Now the elements that constitute the core of “*share*” observed in *sharebon* and related books are becoming clear. First, the topics and settings are exclusively concerned with the world of the demimondes. Second, a refined and magnanimous spirit, or the longing for it, is also present. Third, humor and wit through language play are a crucial element of the genre. In fact, we can locate a passage that explicitly substantiates these characteristics of the *sharebon* in a particular *sharebon* work. In *Yûshi hôgen*, while one of the customers is waiting for the courtesans to come to the room, he ostentatiously makes a remark on his wish that they show up as soon as possible. This is the customer who plays with words all the time, and actually the same one who made the funny reply about “goody-woody” cited above. Here he says:

“I wish we had some good courtesans here now. Then I could do *share*.” (39)  
(Emphasis Added)

ここへ、今よい女郎がくればよいに。こうしている内に、しゃれてやろうもの。

The second line here can be translated in several ways: (1) “Then I could have a fun time with one of the courtesans.” (2) “Then I could pretend to be someone famous in order to show off my style” or “Then I could pretend something to make them laugh.” (3) “Then I could be cool and stylish [to impress the courtesans].” (4) “Then I could make jokes and enjoy witty conversation [with the courtesans].” (5) “Then I could splash and dissipate myself around, *waste* myself [with the courtesans].” Here, we can perceive that the word “*share*” embraces all the five meanings we have elucidated above. We can sense that the customer’s intention fits all four. He wishes to make play on words, to make himself look refined and stylish due to his verbal ability, and to impress the courtesans or as a consequence of this behavior and action. These four elements seem to work well as the characteristics of *sharebon* works. As I mentioned above, I will examine in further detail how well the fourth notion, i.e., “splash”—with its implication of dissipation and deliberate *waste*--fits the notion of “*share*” at the conclusion of this dissertation.

Now that we obtained the general notion of *sharebon*, in the next chapter, I would like to investigate the content of *Yûshi hôgen* (Vagabond dialect) and other works more specifically.

## ENDNOTES:

### Chapter 1

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- <sup>1</sup> Yasuda Takeshi and Tada Michitarô, ‘*Iki’no kôzô*’ o yomu, *Asahi sensho* 132, p.151.
- <sup>2</sup> Nagai Kafû, “Edo Geijutsu ron,” *Kafu zenshû* 14, p. 95.
- <sup>3</sup> *Sendô shinwa*, ST 24: 87.
- <sup>4</sup> *Inaka shibai*, ST 13: 312.
- <sup>5</sup> Nakano Mitsutoshi, “*Yûhi hôgen* no sakusha,” *Gesaku Kenkyû*, p.341.
- <sup>6</sup> *Ryôha shigen, Shirin zanka, Tôyô eiga*, ST 1: 33-54, 137-150.
- <sup>7</sup> Nakano, *Wahon no umi e : hôjô no Edo bunka*, p.104.
- <sup>8</sup> *Edo-jidai shorin shuppan shoseki mokuroku shûsei*.
- <sup>9</sup> Nakano, *Shoshigaku dangi, Edo no hanpon*.
- <sup>10</sup> For further scholarship on the literary genre that serve as antecedents to *sharebon* literature, please see the followings: Honda Yasuo, Sharehon, kokkeibon, to ukiyo-monomanne,” in *Edo no warai*, ed. by Howard S. Hibbett. Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 1989, pp.233-268. Hasegawa Tsuyoshi, “Sharebon to senkô bungaku to no kankei (*sharebon* and precedent literature),” *Kokugo to Kokubungaku*, vol.66, no.10, Nov. Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku: 1989, pp.1-10. Oka Masahiko, “Sharebon kenkyû,” *Kokugo to Kokubungaku*, vol.66, no.10, Nov. Tokyo Daigaku, 1989, pp.11-23. Nakamura Yukihiko, *Gesaku ron* In Nakamura Yukihiko *chojutsu shû* 8. Tokyo: Chûôkôronsha, 1983. Nakano Mitsutoshi, *jûhachi [18] seiki no Edo bungaku – ga to zoku no seijuku*. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1999.
- <sup>11</sup> *Nihon shomin bunka shiryô syûsei* 9, asobi, pp.5-102.
- <sup>12</sup> Mukai Nobuo, “Yoshiwara saiken,” *Edo Bungei Sôwa*, p.331.
- <sup>13</sup> “Tsutaya Jûzaburô no shigoto,” in *Bessatsu Taiyô; Nihon no kokoro* 89, p.11.
- <sup>14</sup> Mukai Nobuo, “Yoshiwara saiken,” *Edo Bungei Sôwa*, pp.331-339.
- <sup>15</sup> *Nihon shomin bunka shiryou syuusei* 9, asobi, p.85.
- <sup>16</sup> “Gyoku-en sôwa,” Miki Saskue, *Meiji shuppan shi wa*, p.5.
- <sup>17</sup> Kitagawa Morisada, *Kinsei fuuzoku shi* (*Morisada Mankô*) 1, pp.282-3.
- <sup>18</sup> *Ana gakumon*, ST 21, pp.265-6.
- <sup>19</sup> Yamanaka Kyouko, *Sunaharai* (jô), p.22.
- <sup>20</sup> For more study on *saiken*, please see Marcia Yonemoto’s *Mapping Early Modern Japan: Space, Place, and Culture in the Tokugawa Period, 1603-1868*. pp.133-149.
- <sup>21</sup> *Nanshoku saiken*, in *Hiraga Gennai zenshuu*, (jô), pp.103-114.
- <sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p.102.
- Gregory M. Pflugfelder has more on this matter in *Cartographies of Desire: Male-Male Sexuality in Japanese Discourse*, 1999.
- <sup>23</sup> Matsuki Hiroshi, *Tsutaya Jûzaburô*, p.47.
- <sup>24</sup> For more work on “Tsuta-Jû” (abbreviation for Tsutaya Jûzaburô), and publishing in Edo, please see Suzuki Toshiyuki, *Tsutaya Jûzaburô*. Wakakusashobô, 1998. For the publication list published by “Tsuta-Jû,” please see Suzuki Toshiyuki, *Tsutajû shuppansho, Nihon shoshigaku taikei* 77. Seishôdô shoten, 1989.
- <sup>25</sup> Nakamura Yukihiko, *Gesakuron*, Nakano, *Gesaku kenkyû*, p.366.

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<sup>26</sup> The Chinese characters used in this title mean “lascivious woman,” with a very vulgar implication, i.e., “slut.” But the *furigana* placed next to the characters to indicate the Japanese pronunciation (*keisei*), on the contrary, suggests a term used for imperial concubines. I render this ambiguity here with a slash: “courtesan/slut.”

<sup>27</sup> ST 7: 333.

<sup>28</sup> ST 17: 127.

<sup>29</sup> ST 27: 69-70.

<sup>30</sup> These passages are also good samples for indicating the nature of advertisement in Edo era.

<sup>31</sup> *Wen Xuan or Selectios of Refined Literature 3; Rhapsodies on Natural Phenomena, Birds and Animals, Aspirations and Feelings, Sorrowful Laments, Literature, Music, and Passions*, Xiao Tong (501-531), trans. David R. Knechtges. p.17. Translation is modified.

<sup>32</sup> Sei Shônagon, *Makura no Sôshi*, in SNKBZ 18: 336.

<sup>33</sup> Yoshida Kenkô, *Tsurezuregusa* in SNKBZ 14: 91. Translation is available by Donald Keene *Essays in Idleness*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998.

<sup>34</sup> *Zhang Jiuling jijiao zhu, shang ce*, p.239

<sup>35</sup> *Wang Anshi quanji*, p.411.

<sup>36</sup> Huang Zongxi, *Mingru Xuean*, pp.191-2.,  
Wing-tsit Chan mentions the title and translates as *Anthology and Critical Accounts of the Neo-Confucianists of the Ming Dynasty*, in “Wang Yang-ming: A Biography,” *Philosophy East and West*, vol. 22, no.1, 1972, pp.63-74., Also partially English translation is available by Hang Tsung-Hsi, *The Records of Ming Scholars*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987.

<sup>37</sup> James T. Araki, “Sharebon: book for men of mode,” *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol.24, No.1/2, pp.31-45.

<sup>38</sup> Marcia Yonemoto, *Mapping Early Modern Japan: Space, Place, and Culture in the Tokugawa Period, 1603-1868*, p.136.

<sup>39</sup> *Sendô shinwa*, ST 24: 104.

<sup>40</sup> *Saikaku zenshû*, vol.1, *Nihon koten zenshu dai 1kai*, p.148. Translation is available by Suji Mizuno, *Nippon eitai gura- The Way to Wealth*, Hokuseido Press, 1962.

<sup>41</sup> NKBT 91; *Ukiyo sôshi shû*, p.238.

<sup>42</sup> *Saikaku zenshû* 10, *Nihon koten zenshû dai 2 kai*, p.37.

<sup>43</sup> *Nihon zuihitsu taisei*, dai-1ki, 6, p.296.

<sup>44</sup> Fujimoto Kizan, *Shikidô ôkagami*, in *Zoku Enseki jusshu*, p.425.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p.425.

<sup>46</sup> Ihara Saikaku, *Saikaku Okimiyage*, p.78. Translation is available by Peter Nosco *Some Final Words of Advice*. New York: Charles E. Tuttle, 1980.

<sup>47</sup> Tofu was one of the most popular foods among Edo people, and we can find many descriptions of the tofu and “*dengaku*” dishes in Edo writings. A cookbook exclusively on tofu was published in 1782. It is titled as *Tôfu hyakuchin* 豆腐百珍 (Tôfu a hundred delicious way) and written by Sotani Gakusen 曾谷学川 (1739-1797) under the playful name of Suikyô Dôjin Kahitsujun 醒狂道人何必醇 (lit. Sober-crazy man of the way needing no liquor). The very first of the “hundred recipes” in the book is for *kinome-dengaku*, even providing an illustration of a portable hibachi used for cooking them.

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Suikyô-dôjin kahitsujun, “Tôfu hyakuchin” (Tofu hundred delicious way) in *Nihon shomin bunka shiryô taisei* 9, *asobi*, ed. Geinô-shi Kenkyûkai. p.722. (Please see Appendices.)

We should also quickly note that the name of the dish ”*dengaku*” itself comes from a pun meaning “rustic celebration dance.” Quoting from *Sejidan* 世事談 (Micellaneous chats), a wide-ranging essay from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Kitagawa Morisada explains in his encyclopedia *Morisada Mankô*, (published in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century) that this dish was named thus since the shape of the tofu with a stick for this dish looks just like a monk at a *dengaku* celebration, with a stick called *kôsoku* 高足 which is like a pogo stick. (Kitagawa Morisada, *Kinsei Fûsokushi* 5. Iwanami shoten, 2008, pp.115-6. This is a variation of a kind of celebration dance among the farmers established during Heian era (794-1192). In *Gaidan bunbun shûyô*, 街談文文集要 (Anthology of street talk in Bunka-Bunsei period), a collection of the knowledge on miscellaneous matters written during 1804-1829 (Bunka-Bunsei period of Edo era) by Ishizuka Hôkaishi 石塚豊芥子 (1799-1862), we can learn that the 200th Buddhist memorial service for the founder of the Tokugawa shogunate was held in 1815, and for one part of the service, a big parade was held in which *dengaku* monks were also included, eliciting much gossip on the street. (Ishizuka Hôkaishi, *Gaidan bunbun shûyô* ; *Kinsei shomin seikatsu shiryô*, ed. Suzuki Tôzô. San’ichi Shobo, 1993, pp.357-367, esp. 363. In *Seisyushô* 醒睡笑, we can also find a description of “*dengaku*.”

<sup>48</sup> There are many cases of saying “good” and “come over here” in funny ways in other *sharebon* works and “playful writings.” For example, we find another usage of “*Yoshino-gi*,” in *Namayoi katagi* 酪酊氣質 (Characteristics of drunks), another playful writing, categorized as a subgenre of *kokkeibon* (comical book) written by Shikitei Sanba 式亭三馬 (1776-1822) and published in 1806. In this book, the author observes drunken people closely and categorizes them into several types, such as a laughing drunk, a crying drunk, an angry drunk and so on. The last type is a talkative drunk, who is quoted as saying: Shikitei Sanba, *Namayoi katagi*, NKBZ 47: 252.

“Hey, goody-woody-Yohino-woody (*y/Yoshino-gi*), oak-woody (*kashi no ki*), crapemyrtle (*sarusuberi*).”<sup>48</sup>  
ヲツトよしの木柏の木さるすべり

By lining up the name of the trees this way, the humor is augmented. A “crapemytle” (*sarusuberi*) has a funny connotation in Japanese, since it literally means “monkey slipping.” Since the bark of this shrub is so smooth, even the monkeys, who are supposed to be good at climbing, slip and fall down. It seems that some of these people who are either at the demimondes or at drinking parties require themselves not to reply in a simple or straightforward way, to show off their ability in playing with words. In particular, we can find many other puns using “*Yoshino*,” the place name, and I would like to examine its relation to courtly elegance later.

We find another variation of the word play on “come over here,” in *Tatsumi no sono* 辰巳之園 (Garden of Fukagawa), a *sharebon* work published in 1770 under the name of Muchû-sanjin Negoto sensei, 夢中散人寢言先生 (Scatterman in a dream, professor sleepwalker). ST 4: 370.

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Shin-san! Ahoy, hoy-soy, soybean-flowered rice cake!<sup>48</sup>

新さんこつちへ。きなこ餅きなこ餅

[*Shin-san! kocchi e kinako-mochi*]

“Soybean-flowered rice cake” was another popular food which is still commonly eaten as a meal, a snack or a dessert. It is a roasted rice cake (*mochi*) coated with sweetened soybean flour. Here “come (*ki*)” is accompanied with a particle “*na*” and the two syllables “*ki*” and “*na*” coincide the first two sounds of name of the soybean-flowered rice cake, “*kinako-mochi*.<sup>49</sup>”

<sup>49</sup> The word, *sanjin* 散人 [Ch.sanren] can be observed in *Zhuangzi. Sôji* 1, ed. Kanaya Osamu, p.136. *Zhuangzi*, trans. Brook Ziporyn, p.30.

<sup>50</sup> *ST* 4: 373.

<sup>51</sup> The phrase: “the gold and silver button-top-shell-marbles 金銀の細螺はじきに” is used to indicate that the character was raised in well-off environment. *ST* 14: 39.

<sup>52</sup> *Hanashibon taikei* 17, p.127.

<sup>53</sup> This story is collected in *Haru-asobi kigen-bukuro* 春遊機嫌袋 (Springtime ramble bag of moods) published in 1775 (five years after *Tatsumi no sono*), and many of the stories in this collection became routine jokes for “*rakugo* 落語,” a comical style of storytelling in the traditional manner, i.e. sitting on the legs on a floor mat, dressed in a kimono.

## Chapter II

### “Demimonde” as the First Meaning of *Share* : The Edo Demimonde and Tokugawa Society

In the last chapter, we examined the emergence of *sharebon* and the five meanings of *share*, three original meanings plus two extended meanings. I also proposed that the clarification of these five meanings, each of which defines some attributes of *sharebon* literature, will help us to grasp the distinctive Edo aesthetics seen in these literary works whose subject matter exclusively concerns the demimonde. In this chapter, I would like to conduct a survey on the “merry-makers,” that is, the patrons of the demimonde as well as the courtesans, as an elaboration on the first meaning of the word *share*. I will try to focus on the perspectives of contemporaneous writers in the course of illuminating the function of the demimonde and the way it locates itself in Edo, Tokugawa society. (As to the institutional system pertaining to the demimonde, we already have a thorough work conducted by Cecila Segawa Seigle. Please see *The Glittering World of the Japanese Courtesan* for this topic.<sup>1</sup>)

Before we proceed, I would like to discuss some peculiarities of the language used to describe the demimondes and all related people. Students of foreign languages and literature would do well to cultivate a heightened awareness of the ways in which the fecundity of certain types of vocabulary in each language represents at least one aspect of

its culture. As Downer points out on the basis of her experience in Kyoto, the Japanese language includes an extremely extensive arsenal of expressions for denoting demimondes, and an even greater wealth of terms for the women employed there. As she puts it:

Just as there are many words for “snow” in Eskimo languages, for “sand” in Arabic, and for “rain” in English, so there are many words for the differing ranks and varieties of prostitute and courtesan in Japanese. The different terms varied city by city and also changed over the centuries. English unfortunately has very few, so I will use “prostitute” to mean low-level workers who were freelance and unrecognized by society and “courtesan” for the trained professionals who held a recognized position in society.<sup>2</sup>

Following Downer, I, too, use the words, “courtesan” and “prostitute” here under the same rule. However, this is a regrettable necessity, since each word and expression denoting these people and their workplaces conveys a different sentiment and a different type of rhetorical beauty. There are already several words to describe demimondes. When it comes to the courtesans, the multitude of names and titles is truly enormous. Some simply indicate their talented-ness in entertaining, i.e., dancing, singing, and poetry making, some imply the women’s miserable life, and others even evince common people’s respect and longing for the women. Also many of these terms reveal the influence of Chinese literature and culture. Though citing the names indicating demimondes and courtesans/demimondeans will require considerable space, I would like to introduce some of them later in this chapter and also in the last chapter.

Now let us investigate how the Edo official demimonde starts first. Then we will move on to the matter of the Edo ethos that derives from the contemporary views toward

the demimonde, which also draws our attention to the Edo economy and the function of the demimonde in Edo society. We also want to take a grasp on the location of the demimonde within the Edo class system. A little survey on the vocabulary will come last.

## A. The Geneology the the Edo Demimonde

In 1603, the first Tokugawa shogun, Ieyasu (1543-1616) established the shogunate capital in the Edo area (now the east side of Tokyo). The new capital was located 500 km west of Kyoto, which had been the residence and capital in all the preceding centuries. During the more than two hundred years of the Tokugawa shogunate, Japan enjoyed a sustained period of civil order and peace, the “Pax Tokugawana” that lasted until 1868, when the last shogun yielded to the Meiji Emperor and the Meiji Restoration (1868-1912), officially the first period of Japan’s modernization, began. Just four years later, in 1872, under pressure from the Euro-American world over basic human rights, the new Meiji government issued an order freeing courtesans who had been confined in the official and unofficial demimondes,. Until then, the Tokugawa shogunate had maintained the government-accredited demimondes and courtesans.<sup>3</sup>

Prior to the Edo or Tokugawa shogunate (1603-1868), there had already been a few legal demimondes accredited by the previous hegemon in the Kyoto area. Before Ieyasu defeated him and moved the capital to Edo, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537-1598) reigned over Japan for a short period after unifying Japan in 1590. He set the capital in

the Kyoto area that had been the ancient capital and longtime site of the Palace. He also had a few official demimondes in that area. Since there were none in the Edo area when Tokugawa Ieyasu took over, he decided to construct one there in order to concentrate the profession and its related activities in one locus. The place was originally thickly surrounded by reeds and other plants, and therefore came to be called Yoshiwara, reed field. This Yoshiwara was the first official demimonde in the Edo area.

There is a record depicting the history of Yoshiwara called *Dōbō goen* 洞房語園 (Demimonde story).<sup>4</sup> According to *Dōbō goen*, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, the previous ruler in Kyoto, had already initiated a policy concentrating the courtesans, formerly scattered throughout the cities and rest stops along the road, into one place, giving them official sanction. Thus did the first official demimonde emerge in Osaka in 1585, followed by one in Kyoto in 1589. Shōji Jin’emon submitted a petition to open the first government-accredited demimonde in the Edo area in 1612. He made three points in the petition to clarify the benefits of his proposition: (1) To prevent customers (many of whom were samurai warriors) from committing embezzlement (due to the cost of visiting the demimonde). By collecting the demimondes in one place, Jin’emon argues that it is easier to supervise each customer. (2) To prevent illegal abductions. Again, it is easier to supervise and information from the government can easily be disseminated in the demimonde. (3) Convenience in searching for criminals. The assumption was that criminals tend to flee to demimondes.

The Tokugawa shogunate decided to accept Jin’emon’s proposition and expanded the policy from the precedent into the Edo area. The government accepted the petition with five conditions, giving Jin’emon free barren land in the northeast side of Edo castle,

later called Yoshiwara. The five conditions are as follows. (1) Do not conduct business outside the designated area. Do not send women beyond the designated area. (2) Customers cannot stay more than one day and one night. (3) Use indigo blue dyed clothes for the courtesans and do not use gold and silver embroideries. (4) The buildings should be modest. All duties required at the local meetings must be performed. (5) No matter what social class the customers belong to, anyone engaging in suspicious behavior should be reported to the police.<sup>5</sup>

Around that time, downtown Edo had a much higher population of men than women. This was mainly due to one of the shogunate policies called *sankin koutai* 参勤交代, alternate attendance. A similar system can be observed during the reign of King Louis XIV of France. He asked the French nobility (*noblesse d'épée*) to stay in the Versailles Palace every other six months. In Edo Japan, beginning in 1635, the regional samurai lords or daimyo 大名 were required to reside in Edo during alternate years, which caused their separation, along with their attendant samurai, from their conjugal partners. There were also the merchants who needed to travel to obtain and sell goods in Edo. The shogunate government realized the sexual needs created by this situation and permitted the demimonde to function as a safety valve out of necessity. It seems that the original intention of the shogunate lay in utilizing the demimonde to maintain public peace and order under the unstable conditions created by its policy of alternate attendance. Thus in 1619, Yoshiwara started business and since then prospered as the center of Edo art for two hundred years, as long as the Tokugawa shogunate ruled the country.

At this point I would like to quickly introduce an episode concerning Shôji Jin'emon's natal origin, as it helps us to locate the ruling class, i.e., the samurai, in

relation to the demimonde. There are two theories regarding Jin’emon’s origins. The *Shahon dōbō goen* (the manuscript copy version of *Dōbō goen*, different from *Ihon dōbōgoen*) says that he came from the Hōjō samurai clan who used to rule the Odawara area. After the fall of the clan in 1590, it is said that he came to Edo and became the founder of the Yoshiwara demimonde. Another legend claims that Jin’emon was the son of an innkeeper or a courtesan house owner in Sunpu, Ieyasu’s birthplace (present-day Shizuoka). This latter story insists that the rumor of being a fallen samurai was only created to elevate the status of the Shōji family, especially since its source was written by one of Jin’emon’s own descendants. This is quite plausible, but on the other hand, we also need to consider what motivated Jin’emon and his family to desire such enhanced prestige. Now I would like to suggest that this could be evidence that most of Yoshiwara’s patrons, especially in the early period, were samurai. It is possible that the owners merely wanted to keep up with the social status of their patrons. I will address the possibility that the samurai were the major patrons for the demimonde later in this thesis. For now let us observe how the Edoites discusses demimonde and courtesans.

## B. Terms for the “Demimonde”

As a starter for the inspection of contemporaneous perspectives, let us pull out one word as a sampling from the diverse vocabularies indicating demimonde and courtesan in the contemporaneous Edo writings. I hope the examination of this sampling will bring us deeper knowledge of the socio-economic aspect and environment surrounding the demimonde. The word I would like to examine here is *kutsuwa* 轆.

When it is used narrowly, it means official demimonde owners, and when broadly it can include the demimonde itself and all the people involved in it. There is another word, pronounced *kuruwa* 廓／曲輪, which is more commonly found. According to one theory, the word, *kuruwa* implies something used to restrain freedom and life, in this case those of the courtesans. Another theory holds that the word came from the word “*kutsuwa*” which we are about to examine.

For the examination of the word, *kutsuwa* 轆, I would like to start with a passage from one of the historical essays written in late 19th century, which is late Edo period, by Kitagawa Morisada 喜田川守貞 (1810?-?). Morisada moved to Edo due to his being adopted into a family engaged in sugar production in the area. Starting from 1837 and for the next 30 years, he investigated and wrote down his observations concerning the manners and customs in Edo. Entitled *Morisada mankō* 守貞謾稿 (Morisada's phony manuscript), known also as *Kinsei fūzoku-shi* 近世風俗志 (Pre-modern historical record on customs and manners), his book of essays has been considered one of the most reliable contemporaneous encyclopedic depictions of Edo life. In that work, he tells us:

In the old days, the houses for courtesans were chiefly called *kutsuwa* 轆. Nobody uses this term any more. Some books say that the Chinese characters, *wanpā* 亡八, Devoid of the Eight [Virtues], were used later to explain this term, since they have lost the eight [Confucian] virtues of mercifulness, justice, courtesy, wisdom and so on.<sup>6</sup> (parenthesis added.)

昔は専ら遊女屋を轆（くつわ）と云ふ。今はこれを轆といふ人更にこれなし。物の本にくつわ、亡八の仮字して仁義礼智等の八つ失す故と名と云へるは附会ならん。

The passage explains that the word *kutsuwa* written with one Chinese character indicating an equestrian equipment, was mostly replaced with a different set of two Chinese characters sometimes pronounced as *wanpā*, in later times.<sup>7</sup> Now I would like to conduct an investigation of two things. First, why was the equestrian terminology used to indicate the official demimonde in the first place? Second, we need to think about why the second set of Chinese characters was then applied to represent the word, while preserving the sound from the equestrian terminology.

Let us start with the first question. The word *kutsuwa* denotes a bridle for horses. We can deduce that people at that time who were involved with the demimonde, i.e., visitors, started using the term as a kind of secret code among them. The derivation of the equestrian terminology to denote the demimondes is mentioned in *Dōbō goen*, a record on Yoshiwara, mentioned above. According to Jin’emon, the word originally comes from Kyoto during Toyotomi Hideyoshi’s rule. Toyotomi Hideyoshi made one of his horsemen a supervisor for the official demimonde in the Kyoto area. Since then the word *kutsuwa* began to be used to indicate “the official demimonde.”<sup>8</sup>

Then, taking the same sound, people started to apply two different Chinese characters, which are “to lose” and number “8,” even though the characters are normally never pronounced as *kutsuwa*. This is the second but more important aspect to discuss here. What these two Chinese characters will reveal to us is that demimonde is the place where some group of 8 were/are/will be lost. What set of eight was, is and will be lost in demimonde? With the hint of four characters in the passage, we can easily detect that these eight words have to do with a particular ethical code. Especially the character/word

*jin* 仁 [Ch. ren] (mercifulness/benevolence), suggests no other than the core notions of Confucius (552 - 479 BCE) to even contemporary readers of Japanese literature.

What arouses our interest here is that the ideas of Confucianism had a big influence on the conduct of daily life during the Edo era. The passage above from a popular essay only confirms that Confucianism functioned as an ethical code to follow in people's minds. It will be important for us to obtain some basic knowledge of Confucianism and especially its acceptance in Edo period. Simply from the passage above, we can comprehend that the demimondes and its people were located at the opposite extreme from the ethical code probably aspired to by Edo people. What then was the content of these eight virtues? Let us explore these virtues since they are an important way of locating the demimonde within Tokugawa society and its moralities, as well as to understand how the reception of Chinese serves to develop the Edo aesthetics.

### C. The Eight Cardinal Virtues

Later, in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, we find a passage blaming those who were related to the demimonde, especially the owners, for the loss of the Eight Virtues, and listing all eight virtues. It says:

[People in the demimonde] conduct an inhuman livelihood. Therefore they are considered to be a different sort of people and common people do not mingle with them. This is called Devoid of the Eight [Virtues] since people forget about the Eight Merits of filial piety, respecting elders, loyalty, trustworthiness, propriety, justice, uprightness and

shame. (*kō, tei, chū, shin, rei, gi, ren, chi*, 孝悌忠信礼義廉恥)  
Chinese people admonished thus.<sup>9</sup> (Emphasis Added)

Here, it is clearly stated that people in the demimondes are to be blamed since they are the ones who have lost all these eight virtues that are the basic ethics for human beings.

The author of the passage is Katô Ebian 加藤曳尾庵 (1763-?, fl:1804-1817), a medical doctor serving in one of the provincial government offices in Edo. After his retirement Ebian started teaching at a private school 寺小屋 (*terakoya*) and wrote a light essay titled *Waga Koromo* 我衣 (My Clothes) on social phenomena and gossip in Edo at that time. Ebian obviously took the position that the Eight Virtues are to be observed. Right after this passage, he enumerates the Seven Demerits of approaching the courtesans. These are: “Harm to a master’s temper. Harm to one’s own fortune. Harm to one’s own life. Increase of wicked knowledge and harm to right knowledge. Harm to one’s own honesty. Harm to one’s own filial piety. Harm to one’s own personality, including even cases of losing one’s own life.”<sup>10</sup> Thus to Ebian, people in the demimondes do not pursue the virtues and therefore they belong to a different group from ordinary, decent people.

Now let us ask how these eight virtues are practiced in the Edo society, where they came from, and what they could possibly suggest to us.<sup>11</sup> Though we cannot find a direct list of this set of *eight* virtues in scholarly works, we do find it in a little essay promoting the eight virtues written in 1786. This seems to be early enough to allow time for the notion to prevail, and since the essay uses simple language, directed at parents rather than elite officials, we could guess that it might have been spread among commoners rather than scholars. This little essay is written by Hayashi Shihei 林子平

(1738-93), and titled *Fu-kei kun* 父兄訓 (Address to fathers and elder brothers [guardians]). Hayashi Shihei is rather famous as an author of *Kaikoku heidan* 海国兵談 (Sea country military talk), in which he claims the importance of defense of the Japanese coastal areas. The shogunate banned the book in 1792 as a cause of public unrest.

Hayashi Shihei studied Confucianism by following the footsteps of Ogyû Sorai 萩生徂徠 (1666-1728) who was the founder of the Kobunjigaku 古文辞学 (studies of ancient rhetoric) school of Confucianism in Edo Japan. Sorai was also a political adviser to a high official, Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu 柳沢吉保 (1658-1714), in the Tokugawa government till 1709. After that he opened up his private school and taught there. In later years, Sorai secretly worked on a series of admonitions on politics and kept presenting them as *Seidan* 政談 (Political Talk) till 1727 to the eighth-generation Tokugawa shogun, Yoshimune 德川吉宗 (1684-1751) who has a reputation as an intelligent and excellent leader. Later in this chapter, I will discuss Sorai's view on the demimonde presented as one of the admonitions to the shogunate.

Hayashi Shihei also promoted a notion of political change based on Sorai's Confucianism, but he was unable to obtain a governmental post throughout his life. In the midst of all this, he wrote this essay on education. In this essay, he professed that the Eight Virtues were fundamental for human ethics and asserted that they should be inculcated through home discipline. He starts his essay thus:

Teaching children is not a particularly difficult or laborious thing to do. Just tell them carefully about the Eight Virtues of Filial piety 孝 (*kô*), Respect for elders 悌 (*tei*), Loyalty to superiors 忠 (*chû*), and Good Faith/Trustworthiness 信 (*shin*) which are sprung out of intelligence 文 (*bun*), and Courage 勇 (*yû*), Righteousness 義 (*gi*), Uprightness/Integrity 廉 (*ren*), and [Avoiding] Disgrace 恥

(*chi*) which are sprung out of physical strength 武 (*bu*), so that the children will know in their hearts that the Eight Virtues of Filial piety, Respect for elders (*tei*), Loyalty to superiors (*chū*), Good Faith/Trustworthiness (*shin*), Courage (*yū*), Righteousness (*gi*), Uprightness/Integrity (*ren*), and [Avoiding] Disgrace (*chi*) are the foundation of being a person 人.<sup>12</sup>

子を教える道とて別段むずかしき事にもしかたき事にもあらず。  
ただ孝悌忠信（文より生ず）勇義廉恥（武より生ず）の八徳を  
丁寧に語りきかせて、児心にも孝悌忠信勇義廉恥の八徳は人の  
土台なることを呑み込べし。 . . .

Here the list of the Eight Virtues coincides almost perfectly with the previous passage in *Waga koromo* by Katō Ebian, except for one word; the word “*rei* (courtesy)” is used instead of “*yū* (courage).” Shihei regrets the moral ignorance of contemporaneous parents. According to Shihei, some of them even did not know what the right virtues were. He repeatedly insists on how important and essential the Eight Virtues are to being a decent person. He categorizes the Eight Virtues into two subgroups, those sprung from intelligence and the others from physical strength or warriorship, *bushidō*, i.e., the way of samurai. As intelligence he says people should value, “filial to parents, respect toward elder members of your family, faithful to your master and being trustworthy 孝悌忠信。” Then “having courage, righteousness, and uprightness/integrity, and knowing what is disgrace 勇義廉恥” are the factors derived from physical strength. In actual fact, these Eight Virtues do not contain the notion of “*jin* 仁 [Ch. *ren*] (Humanity, Goodness, benevolence, mercifulness),” which is the essential term for the ethics of Confucius, however, by proceeding his essay we understand that Shihei’s notion of “*yū* 勇 [Ch. *yong*] (Courage)” can be considered as equivalent to Confucian “*jin* 仁 [Ch. *ren*]

(Humanity).” This is understandable when we consider the philosophy of the rulers in Edo period was based on warrior-ship, *bushidō*. Shihei explains:

As to teaching children and little brothers, learning is the beginning of the samurai's accomplishment. A sword is the samurai's spirit. A horse is the samurai's legs. A bow, a lance, and sumo wrestling are the samurai's taste. You must inculcate in them that a strong mind (勝氣) is the basis for improving the accomplishment 芸 of learning and the military arts 文武. A strong mind means Courage 勇, which Confucius was constantly teaching. Among the Three virtues of Wisdom 智, Benevolence 仁, and Courage 勇, courage is the essential.<sup>13</sup>

子弟を教えるには学問は武士の芸始なり。刀は武士の精神なり、馬は武士の足なり弓鎗角力は武士のたしなみなり、勝氣は文武の芸の上達する根本なりということをよくのみこますべし。ただし勝氣とは孔子のしきりに教えたまいし勇のことなり、智仁勇の三徳別してこの勇を根本とす。

As we can tell from the passage above, when Shihei talks about courage, we can deduce that for him it simultaneously includes Wisdom and Benevolence, which are the most essential ideas in Confucianism. What draws our attention here is how these virtues are enumerated according to a certain order. It might be said that merely the better linguistic rhythm decided the order. But I would like to note what comes first. Here intelligence comes before warrior-ship. We can also say that being filial and faithful comes before the most essential thought of Confucianism. We can detect here a reflection of the characteristics desired by the shogunate for its subjects around that time, which I would like to discuss in later chapters. Here we learn that the eight cardinal virtues functioned as the fundamental moral code utilized in the education of Edo society, especially for the children of the ruling warrior class.

The term *kutsuwa*, written as *wanpa* 亡八 indicating the demimondes and demimondeans thus reveals to us a trace of the ethical background of the time. Since this term shows that the demimondeans are those who do not practice the Eight Virtues, the implication is that the non-demimondeans were believed to be at least trying to accomplish these Eight Virtues. A brief review of Confucianism and its virtues, and how these were received in Edo Japan, can perhaps reveal to us certain important social aspects pertaining to the demimonde. This will give us a deeper understanding of the prevailing notions of human ethics in the Edo period that constitute the social and philosophical environment of *sharebon* literature.

Confucius compiled the doctrines of the ancient Chinese sages into a comprehensive exposition. His words and acts were recorded by his disciples into a book called *Analects* [Ch. *Lunyu*, J. *Rongo*].<sup>14</sup> Confucius considered Zhou Gong Dan 周公旦, the Duke of Zhou (? -1105B.C.E.) of the Zhou Dynasty (?-256B.C.E.) as an exemplary person and ideal ruler, and advocated governing the country through virtue (*tokuji* 德治 or *jinsei* 仁政). He especially emphasized the importance of *ren* 仁 [J. *jin*] (variously rendered as humanity, goodness, benevolence, mercifulness), but we cannot find a clear definition of the word in *Analects*. Instead, what he did was to cite negative examples and characterize them as not *ren*, and to use other vocabulary for the explanation. Depending on the difference in the character of the disciple to whom he was speaking on any given occasion, he tried to clarify the concept of *ren* through such terms as “conscientiousness and reciprocity” 忠恕 “self-overcoming and returning to ritual propriety” 克己復禮 “love” 愛 and “filial piety and younger-brotherliness” 孝悌. Confucius proposed ritual, based on familial feelings of affection and hierarchies of

respect, as an alternative to positive penal law as a means of ensuring social order and cohesion. The mastery of the ritual forms was a way in which this social embedded-ness would both express and develop a personality characterized by *ren*, originally a term used to describe the typical bearing of a noble person. It is commonly understood that the *Analects* had been brought to Japan through Korean peninsula 百濟 [J. Kudara] around 285 CE.

Confucian thought reached fuller and more diverse development through the work of early figures such as Mencius (372 BCE? -289 BCE?) and Xunzi. During Han dynasty (202 BCE-8 CE, 25 CE-220), Confucianism, as reinterpreted in Dong Zhongshu's 薰仲舒 [J. Tô Chûjo] (176BCE?-104BCE?) doctrine became the official orthodox teaching in China, and since then, it had served as an indispensable intellectual and ethical requirement for Chinese bureaucrats. In actual fact, it is hard to find the direct citation of the “eight virtues” as a set in the writings of Confucian scholars. The closest we can get is “The Three Cords and Five Constants 三綱五常,” whose reception among the Edo scholars I will discuss more below. Actually Dong Zhongshu makes an explicit set of “The Five Unchangeables and the Three Items,” adding up the numbers to make eight, in his chief work *Chunqiu fanlu* 春秋繁露 [J. *Shunjû hanro*] (Luxuriant dew of the spring and autumn annals), as we will examine later. This might be the origin of the Eight Virtues conceived as a set.

“The Biography of Dong Zhongshu” 薰仲舒伝 in the *Hanshu* 漢書 [J. *Kanjo*] (Official History of the Han Dynasty) describes Dong as teaching that correct human behavior is to be manifested in the relations of sovereign and subject, parent and child, elder brother and younger brother, husband and wife, friend and friend. A man should

also display in his conduct the five virtues of Goodness 仁, Righteousness 義, Propriety 礼, Enlightenment 智, and Good Faith 信. These are called the Five Ethical Relationships and the Five Constants 五倫五常 respectively. In the *Chunqiu fanlu* mentioned above, a book compiled mostly by Dong Zhongshu , we also find the admonition to “follow the Three General Principles and the Three Guiding Cords, comprehending the eight-pronged principle; be loyal and trustworthy but also loving to all; be generous and kind but also delight in the ritual forms 循三綱五紀、通八端之理、忠信而博愛、敦厚而好.”<sup>15</sup> Here, we can see a kind of arithmetic formula that produces the number eight, although not the explicit list of the Eight Virtues as presented in Edo Confucianism.

Confucianism developed into several schools, being affected by contemporaneous social and political background in China. From Han through Tang (618-907), Confucian thinkers mainly focused on philology (漢唐訓詁學) and exposition of the classical texts. In the Song Dynasty (960-1279), Zhuzi 朱子 (1130-1200) re-organized and re-established the whole metaphysical and ethical system of Confucianism. Originally, Confucianism required one to cultivate oneself in a broad variety of fields, including literature, music and the arts. Later it developed a conception of the natural world as an embodiment of principles to be emulated in the cultivation of human virtue. Zhu Xi 朱熹 (better known as Zhuzi) developed his own natural philosophy as the foundation of his system and constructed a discourse on the humanities based on it. As Aston, a diplomat and a scholar of Japanese literature in the 19th century puts it, “ethics are in the Chu Hsi [i.e., Zhu Xi] system a branch of natural philosophy.”<sup>16</sup> Its basic moral code was that if the sovereign practices the virtues observed from the patterns of the universe in his own

person, the people will naturally imitate his example, and good government will be the result.

Zhu Xi's doctrine eventually became systematized into well-organized catechisms and textbooks. As a result of this, the social order was also clarified, which turned out to be a strong support for feudal society. The idea of "the Five Constants" provoked by Dong Zhongshu found a nice niche in this well systematized Zhu Xi doctrine. In his *Commentary to the Analects* 論語集注 [J. Rongo shitchû], Zhu Xi states: "The Five Constants means Benevolence, Righteousness, Ritual Propriety, Wisdom and Trustworthiness 五常謂仁義禮智信," and continues, "These are so-called because they are the constant norm for all [between] Heaven and Earth" 所謂天地之常經也. He also defines the "Three Cords" 三綱: "The Three Cords mean that the ruler is the controlling cord for the minister, the father is the controlling cord for the son, and the husband is the controlling cord for the wife" 三綱謂君為臣綱、父為子綱、夫為妻綱.<sup>17</sup> In Zhu Xi's doctrine, i.e., Neo-Confucianism, "Three Cords and Five Constants" are the basis of human *li* 理 which emanated from the *li* 理 that is the principle of the Universe. In Zhu Xi's doctrine, the principle patterning the universe is identical to the moral code human beings should obey.

Zhu Xi's doctrine also added a stricter definition of Confucian ideology by which to distinguish orthodoxy from heterodoxy. Song China was repeatedly threatened by the "barbarians" from the north, which perhaps encouraged the need to proclaim a political orthodoxy. In order to promote the orthodoxy for the (Southern) Song, Zhu Xi also discussed the idea of "the great righteousness of according with/fulfilling one's designated role" 大義名分 [J. *taigi meibun*, Ch. *ta-yi mingfen*], in the book called *Zizhi*

*Tongjian Gangmu* 資治通鑑綱目 [J. *Shijitsugan kōmoku*] (Compendium of comprehensive mirror to aid in government), written as a refutation to *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑 [J. *Shijitsugan*] (Comprehensive mirror to aid in government), by Sima Guang 司馬光 [J. Shiba Kō] (1019-1986). This doctrine proved to be an effective method by which rulers could get their subordinates to vow absolute faithfulness.

Moreover, in order to grasp the principle patterning the universe that underlies the moral code that human beings should obey, it was considered crucial to observe the behavior of the universe (including both observations of nature and of history) closely. This also encourages the development of a certain rational faculty, which was an important attribute expected of government officials at that time, who needed to know clearly what was going on under their jurisdiction in order to effectively design a counter-plan. It also encouraged a deepening of individual introspection.

In this way, Zhu Xi's doctrine proved very useful in the creation of obedient bureaucrats, which we may assume is the reason it was readily adopted as the orthodox ideology of the ruling powers, demanding the allegiance of all government officials, throughout the Yuan (1279-1368), Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1911) dynasties, with only occasional interruption. The Tokugawa shogunate in Japan also decided to utilize its thought, which had already been imported by Zen monks and prevailed by the 14th century in Japan, in order to consolidate social control. Among other things, "Three Cords and Five Constants" 五常 had been one of the catch phrases repeatedly used whenever Zhu Xi scholars in Edo period introduced Zhu Xi's doctrine.

## D. Tokugawa Rule and the Reception of Neo Confucianism

After Tokugawa Ieyasu stabilized the country with his military force, Japan became a warless state. A new political doctrine that would take the place of the exercise of military power was needed for Ieyasu to maintain his power to control a peaceful Japan. He needed to introduce another standard for evaluation besides physical strength. What he utilized for this purpose was the Zhu Xi doctrine from Song China. By capitalizing on this system of thought, he could maintain both the power of the shogunate and permanent peace in Japan. The shogunate also wished to overcome the previous wartime mentality of *gekokujō* 下克上 (the world turned upside down/*époque de renversements*), an inverted social order when the lowly reigned over the elite. When Tokugawa Ieyasu stabilized Japan by force, he did not necessarily initiate the absolute uniform control over the land and people. The local lords (*daimyō* 大名) still stayed in their places with their own forces. The shogunate and the *daimyōs* did not stand in an absolute relation of sovereign and subordinates. The *daimyōs* were not necessarily one hundred percent faithful to the shogunate. Ieyasu used military power to unify the country, and that simultaneously meant that the shogunate might have to yield to any new power that appeared with stronger military force. What the Tokugawa shogunate needed then was an effective political ideology to protect their controlling system. For this reason, Zhu Xi Confucianism was encouraged and considered to be a requirement for all samurai.

Ieyasu devoted himself to the collection of books both domestically and from overseas, many of which concerned forms of Neo-Confucianism brought from the

Korean peninsula and China. His library is still extant, preserved through many generations and now known as the Hôza Library 蓬左文庫, located in Owari (present-day Nagoya), Ieyasu's birthplace.

In 1605, Ieyasu invited a Neo-Confucian scholar, Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583-1657), to be a government-funded official scholar. Hayashi Razan was a high disciple of Fujiwara Seika 藤原惺窓 (1561-1619), who is known as the founder of Neo-Confucianism in Japan. In 1630, the third Tokugawa shogun, Iemitsu, gave a large parcel of land near their castle to Hayashi Razan in order to open up a government accredited professional school for scholars specializing in the study of Zhu Xi doctrine. This was called Shôhei-zaka Gakumon-jo 昌平坂学問所 (Shôhei-zaka Academic Institute). The shogunate asked the Hayashi family to specialize in the Neo-Confucianism there.

Around that time, Hayashi Razan published a book titled *Shunkan shô* 春鑑抄 (Spring mirror notes, 1629?) to promote Zhu Xi doctrine. In order to give a clear explanation of it, in this book he focused on the notion of “Five Constants” in a colloquial style and frequently quoted the *Analects* and *Mencius*. The book starts with a chapter called “The Five Constants.” It begins:

These five [virtues] of Benevolence, Righteousness, Propriety, Wisdom, and Good Faith are called the Five Constants. ... Constant means to be constantly, without changing. The Way of these five is stable and not changeable. As long as human beings exist, ever since the beginning of Heaven and Earth and until the last generation, this Way will not change, thus it is called constant. Therefore it is called a Law that does not change even over ten thousand generations.<sup>18</sup>

仁義礼智信の五つを五常という。・・・常というは、物の常にありてかわらざるをいう。仁義礼智信の五つの道は、常にしてかわらず。人というものだにあらば、天地開闢より以来、末代

にいたるまでに、この道はかわることはあるまいほどに、常と  
いう。ゆえに、万代不易之法という。

He also cites the Five Constants and Three Cords as essential elements for rulers to obtain and advocate to subordinates. He says, “Using the Five Constants and Three Cords to rectify human ethics, the country becomes peaceful and people are saved” 人倫の五常三綱を正さしめたほどに、國も太平にて万民が助かる.<sup>19</sup> People possess these ethics of Five Constants within themselves by nature and it is the ruler’s responsibility to develop these virtues in the people by practicing the Five Constants himself. This thought provided the backbone of Tokugawa feudalism. This can be well observed in a series of wood block prints titled, “Five Constants” produced in 1767 by Suzuki Harunobu 鈴木春信 (?-1770). (Please see Appendices. It is interesting to see two male courtesans portrayed for the second painting representing “courage.”)

During the rule of the fifth-generation Tokugawa shogun, Tsunayoshi 綱吉 (1646-1709, r. 1680-1709,), a temple to Confucius was built in Yushima, Edo in 1690. At the time of the eighth shogun, Yoshimune, the economy enjoyed great prosperity, especially during the Genroku period (1688-1704). The economic system facilitated the rise of the merchant class, whose power kept on increasing while the downfall of the samurai class began. The skills required of the samurai were no longer physical strength or martial prowess, but bureaucratic talent. They were required to reassert a new identity as samurai in a peaceful society. In order to support their self-image, Zhu Xi’s Confucianism was very useful.

We should note here that there were also other schools of Confucianism besides that of Zhu Xi during Edo era. For example, as we saw earlier, Ogyû Sorai, the mentor of

Hayashi Shihei, who advocated for the Eight Virtues, founded the Studies of Ancient Rhetoric (Kobunjigaku 古文辞学) school of Confucianism. Itô Jinsai 伊藤仁斎 (1627-1705) advocated the study of the original *Lunyu* (*Alalects*), the original teaching of Confucius, and Mencius, and founded the Kogigaku 古義學 (studies of ancient meaning) school of thought as opposed to Neo-Confucianism. Sorai and Jinsai repeated the dispute though originally Sorai and Jinsai came from the same place and both schools subsequently became part of the larger Kogaku 古学 (studies of antiquity) school.

There was also the Yômeigaku 陽明学 (studies of Wang Yangming) school based on the teaching of Ô Yômei [Ch. Wang Yangming] 王陽明 (1472-1528) from Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) China. Wang Yangming held that the strict self-control enjoined by Zhu Xi's Neo-Confucianism has a detrimental effect on the human spirit, and therefore promoted the importance of letting the mind work freely. He advocates manifesting the unity of knowledge and action 知行合一 through "innate knowledge of the good 良知." Nakae Tôju 中江藤樹 (1608-1648) and Kumazawa Banzan 熊沢蕃山 (1619-1691) are prominent Wang Yangming scholars in Japan, who advocated "filiality" as the basis of the cultivation of the Innate Knowledge of the Good. Yômeigaku became popular at the end of Edo period, and played an important role in the Meiji Restoration. However, Neo-Confucianism was the dominant thought throughout the Tokugawa reign.<sup>20</sup>

In 1790, the eleventh shogun, Ienari 家斉 (1773-1841, r. 1787-1837) issued the act called "Kansei Embargo on Heretical Confucianism," as a part of Kansei Reformation (1787-1793) conducted by the shogunate's advisor, Matsudaira Sadanobu 松平定信 (1759-1829), who is also the head master of the Shôhei-zaka school. The Embargo made Zhu

Xi's doctrine the orthodox ideology of Japan and prohibited other schools such as Kogaku 古学 (studies of antiquity) and Yômeigaku 陽明学 (studies of Wang Yangming). It is around this time that Hayashi Shihei, the follower of Sorai, master of the Kogaku sect, published *Fukei-kun*, the book advocating the Eight Virtues, as we have discussed above. Until the Tokugawa shogunate finally yielded their power to the family in 1867, Neo-Confucianism, especially that of Zhu Xi, had been one of the strong threads woven into the backbone of the Tokugawa Edo era. Ironically, perhaps because of the ideology of "the great righteousness of fulfilling one's designated role" 大義名分, the transfer of power from the shogunate to the emperor proceeded rather smoothly. That is, the Tokugawa shogunate was flipped over by the very foundation it was standing on. In other words, the shogunate had been counting on a source of support that in the end brought them to ruin. The demimonde had been accredited by this shogunate. Its legitimacy had been affirmed by it, yet at the same time, it had been blamed by the orthodox ideology for its virtue-less existence.

## E. The Five Constants and Demimonde Visits

Now I would like to examine some passages that describe the Five Constants as well as the demimonde in the same context. First, let us take a look at the coming-out work of Ôta Nanpo 大田南畝 (1749-1823), one of the most prominent *gesakusha* 戯作者 (playful writers) in Edo. He seems very prolific and popular, and obviously uses various pennames, of which I will discuss in Chapter 5.<sup>21</sup> When he was nineteen years old, he

published *Neboke-sensei bunshū* 寢惚先生文集 (Writings of Master Sleepy-head), a collection of comical/satirical verses (*kyōka* 狂歌) and essays (*kyōbun* 狂文) written in Chinese, and the entire book can be taken as a parody of *Tō shisen* 唐詩選 (Collection of Tang poetry). In the penname Nanpo uses, Ketō: Chinpunkan Shikaku 毛唐 陳奮翰子角 (Hairy China-man [sic]: Make-no-sense Squarely-serious)," we can sense both his (and probably almost all the literati's at this time) attraction to China and at the same time his sneering at this same longing, a self-contradictory pose that generates tremendous humor. The book with its unique observations on Edo life was well accepted by a variety of readers including intellectuals and he became a leading literary light of the day. In this collection there is an essay entitled "Mizukake ron" 水掛論 (A futile discussion or An endless dispute), where Nanpo mentions "The Three Cords and Five Constants" and ridicules several Edo Confucian scholars:

The Zhu Xi scholars among the Confucians have faces like a lion-ornamented hot pot, and a body like armor [stiff and awkward], bound with the rope of the Three Cords and the Five Constants, trying their luck with such dregs as "the Investigation of Things and the Extension of Knowledge." Their ultimate learning amounts to no more than coiling together some shit and then regarding it as a living sage.<sup>22</sup>

夫儒之為朱子学者、面如師囉火鉢体如金甲、縛以三綱五常之繩、嘗以格物致知之糟。奧手之許則便結糞而為生聖也。

The passage is written in Chinese, and for Japanese readers looks at first sight the same as these scholarly works by Confucians quoted above. However, it is obviously far from being either official or scholarly. The essential Edo ethical code of "Three Cords and Five Constants" is ridiculed completely. He even compares their appearance to the objects with ridiculous association, i.e., a lion-ornamented hot pot and armor. It might be

noteworthy that Santô Kyôden 山東京伝 (1761-1816) also makes the same comparison and even includes an illustration. (Please see Appendices.) The passage suggests that by using the notion, it is easy to start criticizing other people's behavior easily, and the criticism does not imply scholarly critique. It is also clear from the following sentences that Nanpo considers their meetings as the deed placed with courting. That is, the author belittles the whole philosophical system of Neo-Confucianism, and treated the lofty knowledge of the universes as a tool of nitpicking and chasing women.

Then Nanpo's teasing attack shifts to Sorai, the founder of Kobunjigaku school (studies of old rhetoric), who advocated a faithful reading of *Analects*. Nanpo continues thus:

As for the Sorai school scholars, their topknot looks like a goldfish, and their bodies are like a dried cod. They hum “Sunny Spring White Snow” [a Chinese classic tune], and have liquor bottles and courtesans at their study meetings. They call [each other] “your highness” and answer with “I, this worthless one.”<sup>23</sup>

為徂徠派者髻如金魚體如棒鱈。以陽春白雪為鼻歌、以酒樽妓女雜會謳、呼足下答不俟。

The description here is graphic enough for us to configure how these scholars look and behave. “Sunny Spring White Snow” is a Chinese classic tune that was supposed to be lofty. These passages succeed to portray a certain type of pretentious person.<sup>24</sup> Setting aside the question of whether it is in good taste to ridicule how people look, from this passage we get a rather vivid impression of what these scholars were like. They apparently liked to act as if they were Chinese, using Chinese language, singing Chinese songs, and the place where they held their study meetings is where they can have liquor and courtesans, which is none other than the demimonde. As a matter of fact Sorai's

school omitted the practice of ethics and therefore we can easily detect that many of the disciples led a dissipated life.

From Nanpo's observation, we learn that these Confucian scholars make themselves resourceful as patrons of the demimonde, whether or not it is true that these philosophical catch phrases such as the Three Cords and the Five Constants, worked to impress the courtesans there. We saw that Confucianism had been functioning as the backbone of Tokugawa thought, and especially Neo-Confucianism had been serving as the official ideology for the Tokugawa hegemony. Given the satirical passage above, it might not be far-fetched to consider that the ruling class, i.e., samurai warriors and bureaucrats also used to utilize the demimonde as their gathering places.

Now I would like to take a look at another passage. I would like to quote the passage from a book called *Shikidō showake Naniwa dora* 色道諸分難波鉢 (Rules, customs and manners in the way of love: A prodigal in Naniwa [present-day Osaka]), published in 1680, 10 years before the construction of the official Confucius temple and 50 years after *Shunkan shō*, Razan's book on Zhu Xi doctrine, was published. This book is categorized as a "courtesans review" 遊女評判記, which also can be utilized as guidebooks on the rules and manners in the demimondes. Nakano Mitsutoshi cites "Impartial List of Ladies of Pleasure in Edinburgh" published in 1775, as a kind of English counterpart.<sup>25</sup>

The author of the book is still unknown, although the introduction lists the name of the author as Shusuian Mutei Koji, a humorous penname meaning literally "heavy drinker." The book consists of questions and answers between a prodigal and courtesans in Osaka-Shinmachi in Naniwa (present-day Osaka). In the aforementioned *Morisada*

*Mankō* 守貞謾稿 (Morisada's phony manuscript), also known as *Kinsei Fuzoku-shi* (Pre-modern historical record on Custom and Manners), there is a description on the origin of the demimonde in Osaka Shinmachi. We are told that the founder was Kimura Matajirō, a retainer of the lord (*daimyō*) of the Kimura clan, who gave the land to Matajirō for the demimonde.<sup>26</sup> The prodigal, who is a regular patron of the Shinmachi officially-licensed demimonde, poses questions, and in the courtesans' answers, we learn not only the customs and manners of the demimonde but also the wisdom and skills of the courtesans.

In this book, we can find a chapter entitled "The Five Constants," in which a regular customer says that although the duties of the courtesans might be hard, all they have to do is to please the customers. He wonders whether the people in the pleasure quarters have elaborate rules or not. One of the courtesans, named Okayama, answers thus:

"What are you talking about!! The hardships of courtesans are greater than those of gentlemen. Besides, there is this thing, the Five Constants." Man: "Is that the Five Constants of Benevolence (*jin* 仁), Righteousness (*gi* 義), Propriety (*rei* 礼), Wisdom (*chi* 智), Trustworthiness (*shin* 信)?" Okayama: "No, not those. Ours are Yin (*on* 隅) and Yang (*yō* 陽), Compliance (*jun* 順) and Disobedience (*gyaku* 逆), and Wetness (*ju* 濡). So I was taught. How tasteful!"<sup>27</sup>

"Yin," according to Okayama, means here a secret meeting with a customer behind the demimonde master's back. This way, customers tend to have an impression that the courtesan has a sincere feeling, and therefore he will come and visit her more often at her "official site." "Yang" is committing love suicide or showing jealousy in front of the customer. "Compliance" is to be obedient to the customer or to act to please him. "Disobedience," (Okayama pronounces this word as *sakau*, using Japanese native way of

the pronunciation), is to go against the customer or jilt him. The last one is pronounced *nururu*, and means to stick together being wet, according to Okayama.

From this passage, we can easily say that by the late 17th century, the ethical code of the Five Constants was so prevalent as the ethical code that the topic was discussed even in the demimondes. That is one way to look at the above passage, but I would also like to suggest here that this shows many of the patrons there at the time were versed in Chinese thought. That is to say, many of the demimonde visitors had knowledge of Confucianism, even if they were not scholars. We can speculate that, besides the Neo-Confucian scholars, a major part of the patrons in the early Edo period would have been samurai officials. Samurai officials and students from samurai families seeking official employment with the shogunal bureaucracy were required to study Neo-Confucianism at that time. They were so erudite in it that they even used the phrases to impress the courtesans as we can see from Nanpo's essay.

Here the patrons' erudition in Chinese triggered the courtesans, who consequently came to know these terminology and phrases and even modified them to suit themselves. That is, we can also speculate that the courtesans, especially those who belonged to the licensed demimondes, were well educated and therefore mastered this core notion of Chinese philosophy as a sort of required knowledge for official courtesans. I will discuss the knowledge the courtesans mastered in the last chapter regarding the reception of Chinese culture. Here I would like to just point out that their knowledge was designed to meet the needs and tastes of the patrons, i.e., we are dealing here with the courtesans' reception of their patrons' Chinese erudition.

## F. The Demimonde and the Tokugawa Economy

Now a new question arises here. It is intriguing to think how these patrons who were, or at least, tried to be, a learned Neo-Confucian, compromise to practice their Confucian virtues when they visited the places without the virtues, i.e., demimonde. Let us investigate this further. Reviewing this question actually will reveal the economic dimension of the Edo demimondes. First, I would like to take a look at the following passage from *Endō tsūgan* 艷道通鑑 (Comprehensive mirror on the way of erotic love), written by a Shinto scholar, Masuho Zankō 増穂残口 (1655-?). The essay was written in order to advocate Shintoism and published around 1715. In his essay, he avows that the groundwork of Shintoism is the joy of marital conjugation, i.e., sexual relationship between men and women, and from this stance, he was not against the demimonde institution and cites the courtesans as the embodiment of true love. I will discuss this view in greater detail in the next chapter, but here I would like to introduce one passage from this essay to begin a clarification of the economic situation in the Edo period:

[People] sell their sons and make them actors 野郎  
[male courtesan], sell their daughters and make them  
courtesans 御山 [actress/ female impersonator].  
[People] used to be scared of [the people who dealt  
with] selling and buying people as if they were some  
sort of demon. ... Now buying people and selling  
people [happens] a lot in every corner of every country.  
<sup>28</sup>

Masuho Zankō continues his lamentation on the tendency of people to try to cash in on anything or anybody they can, and worries over the declining of morality among the common people who, he says, are also given to cheating and betrayal, as well as selling

and buying people. Is it true that at that time, the selling and buying of individual human beings had become so prevalent?

We saw Ebian who listed the eight virtues that demimondeans were supposed to lack, also mentions this issue. It says:

As to the courtesans, in order to earn a living, good looking women are purchased, put make-up on, increase their beauty, don a beautiful kimono, deceive people, wear perfume to erase body odor, entrapping many people into a pit that will lead them on a wrong course or sometimes even to the loss of their lives. They conduct a merciless livelihood.<sup>29</sup>

He stated that the courtesans were bought, and according to him, he considers this is why they were virtue-less.

We can also observe the description of this phenomenon in the travel journals written by Europeans who stayed in Edo during the later Edo period. A Dutch merchant, J.F. van Overmeer Fisscher, who stayed in Japan during 1820-9, wrote a book titled *Bijdrage tot de kennis van het Japansche Rijk* (Contribution to the Knowledge on Japan). In the introductory chapter of the book, he mentions that even in a small and poor village, there were several big and beautiful teahouses that provide anything desired for the right price. As to the girls employed in the teahouses, he explains, “the girls in these pleasure centers were usually sold because their parents were in poverty.”<sup>30</sup> Here Fisscher records that the courtesans were the result of the human trafficking.

Heinrich Schliemann, a European millionaire who later discovered the remains of Troy and therefore remains well known as an archeologist, visited Japan in 1865, also left his observation on this matter. He tells us:

It is legally acknowledged that poor parents sell their under-aged daughters to brothels. When the contract expires, they can either take their daughters back or renew the contract. During the transaction, parents only feel the same kind of little sadness as we Europeans feel when we send our daughters to finishing schools. For being a prostitute is not necessarily embarrassing or shameful; it is considered as a legitimate means for life even when compared with other occupations.<sup>31</sup>

Here Schlieman clearly states that human trafficking was “legally acknowledged” in the Edo period, with the condition that the parents were able to “take their daughters back” when “the contract expires.” Now what does this indicate? Schliemann also mentions that selling daughters to the demimonde was like sending a daughter to “finishing school.” I will discuss this point further in the next chapter. Here I would like to say a bit more about “selling daughters to the demimonde” and the economic situation at that time, along with the shogunate’s attitude toward this situation.

In actual fact, the Tokugawa shogunate had not authorized human trafficking at all. On the contrary, starting from 1619, the shogunate repeatedly issued prohibitions on human trafficking, for this was important for them as a means by which to maintain their class system, i.e., they wanted to stabilize people where they originally were, both in terms of geographical location and social class. When cases of human trafficking were discovered, the punishment was severe.<sup>32</sup> We need to examine the content of the shogunate’s prohibition of human trafficking more closely. According to Maki Hidemasa, a scholar on human trafficking from ancient to modern Japan, the prohibition by the shogunate only applied to selling and buying someone into a new and eternal status that would last the “entire lifetime of the individual” 永代壳 for this was seen as

undermining the class system. Selling and buying a “limited portion of an individual’s lifetime” 年季壳, was considered a sale of “labor” or “service,” not of the individual human being as such.<sup>33</sup>

At the beginning of the Edo era, the class-system economy did not offer employment for starving people without land or master. For these people and for all but the eldest children of merchants and craftsmen, putting themselves into such ‘labor’- selling markets was one of the few possibilities for survival. These children and young people were often taken into service as apprentices with other merchants or craftsmen as their master. They usually lived with the master’s family and the masters took every care of the “apprentice” children and gave them professional training. After the training, the apprentice children became independent or started receiving salaries. Maki states that making the daughters courtesans can be basically considered the same as such a sale of labor. As he puts it, “in the Edo period, they used the phrase ‘selling daughters’ to mean that they put them into service in the demimonde and restaurants as courtesans, even in the legal documents.”<sup>34</sup>

Though there were other options for sold labor such as live-in maids or errand boys, “selling” to the demimonde brought much more money instantaneously. The starving people were mainly farmers, especially during severe famines when they still had to pay a heavy sum of tax rice to the local lords. They had no choice other than to “sell” their daughters and even wives to the demimondes. Maki claims that in every single official contract recording the transaction of “selling” women, the sentence “due to the inability to pay their taxes” was added.<sup>35</sup> Nakayama Tarô makes the same point in his compilation on historical research on prostitution, *Baishô sanzen-nen-shi* (Three thousand

years history of selling smiles [i.e., prostitution]).<sup>36</sup> As Schliemann pointed out, there were cases when these courtesans fulfilled the contract and became free afterwards.

But there were also cases where they were forced to keep renewing their contract because their debt was just too much from the beginning. There were also lucky cases. Occasionally a wealthy patron paid their debt and took them into his household, sometimes as a wife and sometimes as one of his mistresses. Later in the Edo period more and more merchants took this wealthy patron role but in the early period, these are mainly samurai officials. There is an essay titled *Takao kō* 高尾考 (Takao Report) written by Harabu-dayū 原武太夫 (1697-1776/1792?), a samurai official but at the same time a musician, essayist, and comic verse poet. Ôta Nanpo was one of his verse making companions and he was renowned as the author of a samisen textbook. This essay is all about the courtesans named Takao. Several resources say there were seven generations of Takao and others say there were eleven or even twelve. Harabu gives the number as seven generations, and in his essay he introduced all seven Takao's. According to this source, four of them were either married off to or had their debt for leaving the demimonde early settled by samurai lords and officials. The first generation Takao (?-1659) was looked after by the Lord of Sendai, the second (?-1660) by Mogami Kichiemon, an advisor to the Kii clan, the fourth by Asano, Lord of Iki (present-day Kyūshū), and the sixth by Lord Sakakibara of Takada (present-day Niigata). The third Takao one was looked after by Mizutani Rokubei, a merchant who had close business ties with the Mito clan, one of three main shogunate relatives.<sup>37</sup> In any case, the contract was made only between the guardians or family member and the masters, without the women's consent. Maki explains that these contracts were usually decided to the

masters' advantage. The human rights of the person concerned was of zero relevance here.<sup>38</sup>

As I mentioned, in the Edo era, it was mainly farmers who lived under the most extreme forms of poverty, but I should add that some of the samurai were also in poverty and therefore it is said that women from samurai families could not avoid utilizing this means for survival. There were many cases of local lords losing their lands for economic and political reasons. This produced the *rōnin* 浪人, master-less samurai without employment. The expropriation of lands belonging to local lords was one of the strategies by which the Tokugawa shogunate maintained its hegemony. At the beginning of the Edo period, especially, the lords who opposed the Tokugawa clan lost their lands at the battle of Sekigahara (1600) and Osaka (1614 and 1615), making many of these samurai into *rōnin*. Renowned among these lords was Ishida Mitsunari 石田三成 (1560-1600), a prominent and faithful subject of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, Ieyasu's opponent. It is a well-known story that a daughter of Mitsunari became a famous *maiko* 舞妓, an apprentice courtesan. We can find this story in *Rōjin zatsuwa* 老人雜話 (Old person's miscellaneous anecdotes) compiled in 1710 by Itō Tan'an 伊藤坦庵 (1623-1708), a Confucian scholar who recorded his teacher Emura Sensai's 江村宗具(/専斎) (?-1664) anecdotes.<sup>39</sup> These anecdotes are based on hearsay and therefore considered not to be a reliable resource. Nakayama also cites several courtesans of samurai origin, though he did not clarify the source. He says famous courtesans such as Yoshino 吉野, Usugumo 薄雲, and Agemaki 揚巻 were from samurai families.<sup>40</sup>

In any case, many of these girls, and sometimes boys, put themselves or were forced into the demimondes so that many of their family members could survive. As

Sone Hiromi puts it in her essay on Edo prostitutes, “public power admitted prostitution [including unofficial sites] probably tacitly as a mean of ‘survival’ for ‘starving people.’ This is exactly the reason why the government tried to control and at the same time admitted the prostitution business as a ‘social luxury.’”<sup>41</sup> That is, due to their economic state, a paradoxical position was taken by the shogunate toward the demimondes and the courtesans. It seems obtaining better knowledge of the Edo economy will thus bring us a better understanding of the Edo demimondes. We will learn that there was a big economic change that reveals the glaring paradox in the life conditions of samurai warriors under the Edo hegemony and the shogunate system itself.

## **G. The Rise of the Monetary Economy**

In the Edo era, monetary economy had rapidly advanced after having no unified monetary system for a long time, as a result of the development of manufacturing and mechanisms of distribution, and the discovery of gold and silver mines in the northwest of Japan. Originally the economic system the shogunate was founded on was a rice-based economy. Agriculture was what the shogunate wished to promote officially. We can easily tell this since they put the farmers as the second highest rank in their class system next to the samurai warriors. The farmers paid their taxes by handing over bales of rice, and the remuneration for the samurai were also paid with bales of rice. According to an economist, Mikami Ryûzô, “Ieyasu had enough financial power to be able to pay cash for the annual remuneration for the samurai. Instead, he ventured to put

the farmers next highest in the social rank, made agriculture the basic industry for the country, and promoted the social system with a rice-based economy.”<sup>42</sup>

However, the shogunate had not let the samurai class own farming land. The government did not want the lords to have close attachment to their local regions and become powerful enough to overthrow the Tokugawa government. The shogunate even assigned these local samurai lords to stay in Edo every other year to show their loyalty, in the system known as *sankin kōtai* 参勤交代, alternate attendance, as mentioned in the previous chapter. Thus during the Edo era, there were many people who did not produce by themselves but consumed and were engaged in ruling the society. The farmers had to live a hard life to support the ruling class by producing rice. We can see this from the catch phrase prevailing at that time. It goes, “For both sesame oil and farmers, the more you squeeze, the more comes out.” Though they were valued as the foundation of the nation, at the same time they were to be exploited to such a degree that their very survival was in peril.

This separation of military and agricultural classes was another cause that promoted the monetary system. The samurai were remunerated in rice and therefore they needed to sell these bales of rice to obtain money for commodities. This created a massive flow of the currency. Ogyū Sorai remarks on the cash flowing to the palaces in his admonition, *Seidan* 政談 (Political talk):

In the old days, there was no cash at all, and many people purchased things not with money, but with rice and wheat. This is what I learned in the countryside. I heard that these days, ever since the Genroku period [1688-1703], money has been spreading even in the countryside, and money is now used for purchasing goods.<sup>43</sup>

The usage of cash even in the countryside meant that currency was basically circulating almost everywhere in Japan at that time. However, it is ironic that the monetary economy that developed partially because of the rice-based samurai economy started putting financial pressure on the ruling class. Ogyū Sorai, the founder of the studies of antiquity school of Confucianism, and Kumazawa Banzan, a Confucian scholar of the Yōmeigaku school mentioned above, even suggested samurai should “go back to farming” to fortify the rice-based economy, but Sorai knew that such a policy would actually overthrow the mode of existence of the Tokugawa shogunate.<sup>44</sup>

Samurai did not produce any products. They also did not engage in any operations involving the minting of currency. The shogunate had left the mint in the charge of the merchant class, not the samurai bureaucrats. Mikami suspects that this could be Tokugawa’s secret plot to “keep samurai and the rice-based economy from being contaminated by the monetary system.” The idea behind this was that money was considered to be defiled or impure, and therefore caring and dealing with money was considered shameful. (This can be still observed in modern Japanese society. It is such a taboo to just hand over the naked bill to your elders or teachers. It has to be wrapped or placed in an envelope, and the bills should be new crisp notes.) This idea was prevalent not only among the samurai class but also among farmers. This was why the merchant class, whose chief business was the flow and accumulation of money, was considered the lowest class, but at the same time, the shogunate tried to utilize that class. Mikami called this state of affairs “a paradox of the system.”<sup>45</sup> Replacing the upper class, the lowest class started having the most power in the developing monetary economy in Edo.

Thus the monetary system rapidly prevailed in Edo. Ihara Saikaku 井原西鶴 (1642-1693), a prominent poet and novelist of the Edo era, started out two collections of his short stories with the topic of loaning money. The very first story of the first volume in *Honchō nijūfukō* 本朝二十不孝 (Twenty unfilial children in our country), published in 1686, was about an unfilial son who loaned money by mortgaging his parents' life, i.e., property.<sup>46</sup> The title here was a pun and parodied the Chinese Classic, *Nijū-shi kō* 二十四孝 [Ch. *Ershisi xiao*] (The twenty-four filial exemplars) written by Guo Jujing (1260-1368). This collection of twenty-four stories of filial sons was well read already in Muromachi era.<sup>47</sup> Another story is titled *Nippon eitai kura* 日本永代蔵 (The eternal storehouse of Japan, 1688).<sup>48</sup> The very first story of the first volume here is also about loaning money, but has a happy ending. From these stories we can get a clear view of the prevalence of the monetary system.

By the 18<sup>th</sup> century, consumer society became even more widespread. Scholars at this time started discussing the shift toward mercantilism from agricultural production. Honda Toshiaki 本多利明 (1744-1821) proclaims that samurai also should act like merchants in his book *Keisei hisaku* 経世秘策 (Secret strategy for governing the world). From a comical verse, we can also see the overflow of cash in the capital.

Sankasho e  
Senkin no furu  
Hanjō sa

At the three places  
a thousands gold pieces falling--.  
Such prosperity!<sup>49</sup>

"The three places" here indicates the fish market at Nihonbashi in the morning, the three theaters in Edo in the afternoon, and the Yoshiwara demimonde at night.

City dwellers were fascinated by the convenience of the monetary system and some of them became nouveau riche overnight millionaires. On the other hand, many families in the countryside became impoverished. Honda Toshiaki describes the result of the monetary system thus in the *Keisei hisaku*):

The merchants obtain all the circulating gold and silver. All the millionaires are merchants, and the samurai class that used to be rich are all in poverty now. Therefore commerce is developing and the merchants are at the top of all four kinds of peoples. ... If you divide the country of Japan into 16, fifteen parts belong to the merchants and the remaining one part to the samurai class.<sup>50</sup>

By this time life could no longer be lived without currency. The farmers without cash income became impoverished. The life of samurai who received their salary in rice fluctuated due to the price of rice, since they were obliged to exchange their rice stipends for cash. On the other hand, there were merchants who invested their capital into the development of new rice field and other industries. The farmers were engulfed in the monetary economy through selling their agricultural products and due to their poverty had to sell their land for cash. Then where did these farmers without land go? Some had to be hired by other farmers who still owned land and some probably had to flow into the cities. The threat to the farmers simultaneously spelled a threat to the samurai. Many of them, especially the lower-ranked samurai, became impoverished, and this led to an increase in the rice tax levied on the farmers. The solid class system made it difficult for them to change their occupation permanently.

Thus the development of commodities and the currency economy promoted the emergence of a dichotomy between the rich class in cities and the poor class in farming

villages. In the cities, there were more and more people who had to engage in daily wage work, and in the farming villages, more and more impoverished farmers who lost or did not own their own land, and had to count on a cash income. However, since pre-modern society was not able to provide a large scale working market, the chance to earn money was scarce. There did not exist any governmental welfare system, either. Under these conditions, the more the economy developed, the more miserable the life these people, especially farmers, had to lead. At that time, working in the city without any connections could easily lead to death from poverty. What else could these people do besides offering their own body and life for money? In this way, the supply of available women to the demimonde was never depleted. At bottom, there were more and more impoverished farming villages and samurai who depended on their products. In extreme circumstances, the sacrifice usually started with the socially weak. Newborn babies were killed, and daughters and wives were sold. This kind of human trafficking continued till 1872 and Maki claims that till then, “it was considered right and proper for the parents to do it.”<sup>51</sup>

## **H. Sacrificing Oneself for Parents--Were the Courtesans Filial or Unfilial?**

First, I would like to quickly note that the practice of sacrificing children for the sake of their parents did not start in the Edo period. We can find stories on this subject in Buddhist legendary narratives written in the early Middle Age. In *Shaseki shū* 沙石集 (Collection of sand and stone), written by a Buddhist monk in the 13th century (1283?), there is a story called “Selling oneself to nourish mother.” According to this story,

during 1264-1274, there was a long drought that caused a famine. I should note that the Kamakura shogunate (1192-1333) ruling at that time issued repeated prohibitions on human trafficking. Nonetheless, a young man decided to sell himself to support his mother, saying, “as long as we have lives, we might be able to see each other.” The story concludes, ”his wish to be filial was so thorough, it was just like that seen in the olden days. It seems hard to do and deeply pitiful.”<sup>52</sup> The last sentence here suggests that this self-sacrificing filiality was seen as going back even further than the Middle Age.

In this case, a son sold himself for his mother’s sake; whom he sold himself to is not clarified. If he had been sold to the demimonde, would he still have been considered to be filial? What if it were a daughter instead of a son? Earlier in this chapter we examined Katô Ebian’s essay written in the Edo period, referring to people related to demimonde as “Devoid of the Eight [Virtues],” which includes not being filial. Are they really unfilial because they have lost all these eight virtues? Was it considered a virtuous deed if children decided to sacrifice themselves and became courtesans in order to save their parents, or not? Let us take a look at several passages.

We can actually find praise of the filial-ness of courtesans in the essay entitled *Wasure nokori* 忘れ残り (Remnants of forgetfulness). This essay, from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, was written by Shihekian Mochô 四壁庵茂鶯, who is considered to be a *haikai* poet. One passage describes a courtesan, Mayuzumi, spending a lot of money to commemorate her parents’ anniversary. The paragraph ends with praise for her filiality.<sup>53</sup> We have seen that it was considered a virtuous deed if children decided to sacrifice themselves in order to save their parents in medieval times. From these passages we can say it was still regarded as filial for children to be courtesans. In the end, the author

concludes that we should be careful and not be fooled by the phrase “Devoid of the Eight [Virtues],” which is really an allegorical expression meant to promote chastity or asceticism.

We find further praise in an essay entitled *Unpyō zasshi* 雲萍雜志 (Cloud and floating duckweed essay). This essay was supposedly written by Yanagisawa Kien 柳沢淇園 (1706-58), famous for being a well-established literati artist, and published in 1843.<sup>54</sup> In this essay, we find the following:

Demimondes are called Kuzuwa, which is written Devoid of the Eight [Virtues] in [Chinese] characters. There is a theory that [in the demimondes] people lose the Way of Filiality 孝, Respect for Elders 恰, Loyalty 忠, Trustworthiness 信, Ritual Propriety 礼, Righteousness 義, Integrity 廉 and Shame 恥. However, in the demimondes, there are girls who were sold for the sake of filial piety 孝 and respect for their elders 恰.<sup>55</sup>

After introducing how the demimondes are referred to, and the aspect of “Devoid of the Eight [Virtues]” embedded in it, the author starts opposing the idea of calling them “Devoid of the Eight [Virtues].” According to him, in sacrificing themselves, the courtesans embody the first two virtues of the basic Eight,. As we have seen, in exchange for their labor, the demimondes paid money sufficient to support the courtesan’s entire family. Whether willingly or unwillingly, they helped to save their parents and families from poverty, and in this way they were very filial 孝 and respectful to their elders 恰. This list of eight virtues here (*kō, tei, chū, shin, rei, gi, ren, chi*, 孝悌忠信礼義廉恥), coincides with the one in *Waga koromo* (My Clothes), cited above.

The author, i.e., Yamagisawa Kien, continues to praise the virtues displayed by the courtesans. In addition to the first two virtues of “filiality” and “respect for elders,” they have other virtues, too. The passage continues:

As they grow, they serve their masters well, exhaust their loyalty 忠 and help support the family business, with trustworthiness 信 they have tête-a-tête with sympathetic customers, they do not embrace two hearts [hidden feeling], they develop their compassion 慈悲 [can be interpreted as *jin* [Ch. ren] 仁 or benevolence] and there is no time they are not courteous 行儀. Then why should we call them those Devoid of the Eight [Virtues]? Sincere truth 実 is hidden deep in [behind] the false. Just because they are loose women 浮かれ女, that does not mean they have different human emotions 人情 from the rest of us. Since this [practice of calling them those Devoid of the Eight [Virtues]] is only a literary construct designed to admonish people against piling up the night clothes [committing adultery], we should not be so quick to say that they have lost filial piety, respect for elders, loyalty and trustworthiness 孝悌忠信.<sup>56</sup>

(Emphasis Added)

In short, the author asserts that the courtesans are praiseworthy for being supportive and compassionate toward their parents, their employer, and their customers, and they should not be criticized as virtue-less people. We might wonder about the “sincerity” of a courtesan: why does the author say that there is “sincere truth 実 deep in [behind] the false”? We realize here that the author makes this conditional on the behavior of the patron: he says courtesans sit down and talk sincerely as long as the patron is “sympathetic.”

In *Waga koromo*, written by Ebian, we have observed a critical attitude toward the demimonde since it is the place where people lost their basic Eight Virtues. Here, in

*Unpyō zasshi*, the disposition toward the demimonde is quite the opposite. The author proclaims; “we should not be so quick to say that they have lost filial piety, respect for elders, loyalty and trustworthiness.” For calling the demimonde “Devoid of the Eight [Virtues]” is “only a literary construct” used to promote chastity. We have two different perspectives from Edo essays, directly opposed to each other. We might understand this as suggesting that “Devoid of the Eight [Virtues]” only refers to the demimonde manager and patrons, and not the courtesans. The courtesans are even exemplars of being filial, as we have seen in the medieval story. We can perceive something similar in the following *senryū*, comical verse.

Kôkô to fukô to narabu nii makura	Filial and Unfilial lying together: New pillow[bridal bed]. <sup>57</sup>
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“Filial” here indicates a courtesan and “unfilial,” a patron. A demimonde visit is costly and expends a lot of money from the parents’ fortune. Therefore being a patron is considered to be unfilial to your parents. The poem is a caricature of a characteristic demimonde scene. Let us look at another verse.

Kôkô ni urare, fukô ni ukedasare	For filiality [she was] Sold, and an unfilial [son] Redeemed [her]. <sup>58</sup>
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A woman had been sold into the life of a courtesan, fulfilling a filial duty, and was later redeemed by an unfilial son. Since their labor was based on a contract, after the stipulated period, the courtesans were set free, but even within the period of the contract,

as long as the debt was paid, the courtesans could be free. There were cases where rich patrons paid off the debt for them and took them as wife or mistress.

This structure of “filial vs unfilial” looks clear-cut, and probably many cases might fit into this structure. Then the author of *Unpyō zasshi* questions, “Then why could we call them Devoid of the Eight [Virtues]?” This suggests that many people were still calling the courtesans “Devoid of the Eight [Virtues].” Here rather than offering a definitive explanation, we simply want to note the inherently paradoxical social and moral status of the courtesans. The courtesans are “Devoid of the Eight [Virtues]” and at the same time, they are not “Devoid of the Eight [Virtues].” Starting out with being filial, they turned out to be promoting being unfilial. Demimondes made filial children and at the same time produced unfilial children. The demimonde did not seem to fit into the ethical code the ruling class wished to promote, and from this point, it is quite natural to find contemporaneous essays being critical toward the demimonde and their related people as virtue-less. However, in reality, the demimonde had been approved by the shogunate for political and economic reasons. We might say that the paradoxical existence of the shogunate placed the demimondes also into a paradoxical realm.

## I. The Tokugawa Class System--Were the Courtesans Ignoble or Sacred?

There is one last thing we should pursue regarding the location of the demimonde and courtesans in Tokugawa society. Previously we saw that Katô Ebi'an agrees to call the demimondeans as “Devoid of Eight Virtues.” He concludes thus:

They [people in the demimonde] conduct a merciless livelihood. Therefore they are considered to be a different sort of people and common people do not mingle with them.<sup>59</sup>

Here, he suggests that the demimondeans do not position themselves within Tokugawa society. We should further examine the system of Tokugawa society and how the demimondeans were located. I would like to take a look at the writing by Ogyû Sorai for this. As we have seen before, until 1727 Sorai repeatedly presented admonitions, in the form of *Seidan* 政談 (Political Talk), to the eighth generation shogun, Tokugawa Yoshimune 德川吉宗. In one such admonition, we can find the following passage referring to the demimondes:

We can see that both the Japanese and the Chinese texts, old and new, consider the courtesans [遊女: female entertainer] and the river people [河原者 : group of strolling players] to be ignoble people[賤しき者]. Since these people have primarily emanated from diverse natal origins, they have been classified as ignoble people and put under the control of Danza'e-mon [supervisor for the outcasts]. However, in recent years, the ancient law has been lost.<sup>60</sup>

It is rather shocking to see the word “ignoble” used here for describing other human beings and making them social outcasts, especially in the writings of a renowned Confucian scholar. The annotator of Sorai’s text, Tsuji Tatsuya, actually gives us a long note on this passage, saying, Sorai is being wrongheaded on this matter of discrimination

due to natal conditions, especially when he presumed that the system has been in effect since the mythological era of the country. Harada Tomohiko, a scholar specializing in the outcast groups of pre-modern Japan, makes a similar claim: “From the contemporary academic standard, it is clear that the historical starting point of this group lies in the beginning of the 17th century when the Tokugawa government started to establish their system of control, and that discrimination toward outcast groups was actually first produced by pre-modern feudal control.”<sup>61</sup> As the annotator explains, it seems tenable for us to conclude, “Sorai’s view was not based on historical scrutiny but rooted in discrimination.”<sup>62</sup> What made Sorai see the matter this way? What kind of social situation made Sorai consider, or wish to consider the courtesans and demimonde people as “ignoble”? Before we investigate this, I would like first to turn our eyes upon this social system established by the Tokugawa.

## J. The Other Hemisphere

It is widely known that the Tokugawa government promoted class differentiation, and this allowed them to fortify their feudalistic hegemony, as we have already shown. Under the samurai warriors, the shogunate divided people into three classes, ranked from the top down, i.e., the agricultural, industrial, and commercial. Under this caste system, there existed social outcasts, and they were divided into two groups, *eta* 穢多 and *hinin* 非人. The system forced people to stay in their own position and encouraged them to exert themselves for their occupation. This made government control easier. Though there

were exceptions, the basic idea here was that people were born into a certain class and concluded their life in the same class. Also the existence of a lower strata of outcasts gave other classes a certain pride, at least superficially. This provided people with an ideological rationale for enduring their own hardships, especially for the farmers who did not own their land, and who lived and labored under extremely difficult physical conditions.

The life of these outcast people is commonly understood as follows. They usually were made to build their houses in places that were difficult to live in, such as a gorge, the recess of a mountain, sloping ground, barren ground, a marsh, river side and so on. They were prohibited from moving out from these designated places. They are not allowed to mingle with or marry with people from the other castes. Their residence and clothes were also restricted. They engaged in disposing of dead cows and horses, peeling the fur and skin off, and making them into leather goods. They also produced sandals and bamboo crafts. They did cleaning, and assisted in the prosecution of punishments. Some made their living by entertainment such as dancing and singing, and some embarked on faith healing and praying, along with dancing and singing.

A passage on these people and their villages can be found in a journal written by the German physician, Philipp Franz von Siebold, who had a big influence upon Dutch Studies around this time, as we have already mentioned. He found a sign issued by the samurai governor of the district at the entrance of several shabby villages. He wrote, “it says: ‘these villages are too poor. Beggars, do not enter.’ In this area, many people are called *eta*, and engage only in leather production. Their tribes are special and avoided and hated by others. Their residences are in a separated village. They do not share the

same civil rights as others. They are even prohibited to enter other residences....”<sup>63</sup> His observation on these people continues, describing the degraded and miserable existence of these outcasts. As a physician, he is sadly astonished to see how a few generations of such a lifestyle even changes how people look, and wonders how the existence of such a system began.

Though we do not find any document telling of the legal establishment of this “ignoble” stratum, as we have seen before, it is believed that the system was first promoted in the middle of the 17th century, when the Tokugawa hegemony was established. Many scholarly works tell us there were these specialized or differentiated groups from the ancient period, but it seems impossible to find the direct connection between these groups from ancient times and the ones from the early modern period, and therefore to claim their origin from the mythological time of the country seems beside the point. Moreover, when we see what happened prior to Edo in Japan, i.e., the period of constant civil war, tracing back their origin seems even more difficult. Before the Tokugawa unification, Japan had a long war period called *gekokujō* (upside down hegemony) [F. *époque de renversements*] which means rulers could fall to the rank of infantry and hostages, and the slaves and hostages could be in the ruler’s class in one day. We can imagine there were many changes in social strata and many if not all of these “ignoble” groups probably overcame their status at that time.

The medieval historian Amino Yoshihiko pointed out in his book, *Hinin to yūjo* 非人と遊女 (Outcasts and courtesans), that here were groups specialized in cleansing and entertaining and they were considered sacred. Therefore during the Kamakura period, there was not any systematic discrimination or disdain toward these people. Up to the

middle of the medieval period, people were equally accepted no matter what their occupations were; intellectuals, *hinin* and foreigners were all the same, according to Amino.<sup>64</sup> A pre-modern historian, Harada Tomohiko, mentioned earlier, explains that the ancient system of differentiating an outcast “ignoble” group disappeared in the early Heian era (794-1192). In the medieval period, these groups were floating and unsettled, and therefore hard to define as a social system. He claims that the early modern “ignoble” system is neither a revival of the ancient “ignoble” system, nor the succession of the strata considered as “ignoble” in the medieval period. He claims that it was instituted by the Tokugawa government.<sup>65</sup> This seems to me the most defensible position on this matter.

Now let us inspect the Danzaemon quoted in Sorai’s passage. We want to know who and what was Danzaemon, what kind of relationship Danzaemon had with the demimonde, and what kind of control was performed here. To answer these questions, let us take a look at the meaning of “Danzaemon.” Danzaemon actually plays an important role here, as the head of the outcast groups. First, I would like to introduce Uramoto Yoshifumi’s explication of discriminated groups in Japan.<sup>66</sup> Prior to Ieyasu’s unification of the country (1603) and his occupation of Edo castle (1590), there were groups who guarded the Edo castle and its neighborhood as well as other castles nearby and their towns. The groups also disposed of dead horses and cows. Uramoto presumes that the heads of the groups must have had close contact with the lords of the castles at that time.<sup>67</sup> Around that time, Tarôzaemon, the head of the outcast groups, had been serving the Hôjô clan who settled in a castle in Odawara (around 80 km west from Edo/Tokyo) and had had considerable power over the whole Kanto plain including

Odawara and Edo over the centuries. Uramoto concluded that the Tokugawa government wanted to utilize the existing system to govern the area but at the same time, they wished to displace the persons in power as much as possible. Danzaemon, who was head of other small groups in Edo area, entered the stage here.

According to *Danzeamon Yuishogaki* (Pedigree of Danzaemon), which was submitted to the shogunate in 1715, the first generation of Danzaemon was permitted to be the head of the outcast groups in the Edo area in the year of 1590 when Ieyasu entered the Edo castle.<sup>68</sup> It can easily be presumed that in order to displace the hegemonic power of the Tarôzaemon clan, the government appointed “Danzaemon” as a ruler of all the “ignoble” groups in the Edo area, when he submitted his request on the basis of his “Pedigree.” The attached document, which purported to trace his pedigree from the time of Minamoto Yoritomo, the founder of the Kamakura shogunate (1192-1333), was obviously false, but the new government utilized this opportunity to unseat the old order by appointing him. Nakayama Tarô also explains this decision in the, *Baishô sanzen-nen-shi* thus: “The basic policy of the Tokugawa shogunate was to govern without governing. They tried to utilize the autonomous administration, especially over the specialized occupations with unique traditions. Though the permission submitted by the Dan clan [the first Danzaemon] looked very doubtful, the shogunate jumped at the opportunity. This way the shogunate could govern these specialized groups with their special traditions without governing them directly.”<sup>69</sup> From then on, the position and the name was inherited through generations; the Danzaemon control over the differentiated people and their occupations lasted for thirteen generations until 1871. This system supported and contributed to the Tokugawa hegemony by stabilizing the class system.

These Danzaemon's governed the outcast groups as if they were another shogunate ruling over the underside of Edo life.

Now let us go back to the Sorai passage in order to obtain a deeper knowledge of the position of the demimonde in Tokugawa society. I would like to suggest two possible interpretations. The first is to read the passage as part of an admonition to the shogunate within the context of the social and economic situation at that time. The second is to read it as an objection to the specific Tokugawa policy at that time. This will bring us a deeper understanding of the position of the courtesans and demimonde in Edo society.

Let us start with the first possibility. In the admonition, Sorai seeks the basic causes of social and economic problems during that time, and discusses the prevailing policy. He observes that many of the samurai warriors stay outside the castle, that is, they walk around Edo town and engage themselves mostly in consumption, to the detriment of their duties or any productive work. This means that the samurai are doing partially “merchants/townspeople” activities. Therefore the social order based on the class system becomes chaotic, he diagnoses. And he points out that these problems were partially due to the lax control of the shogunate. (Mostly, as we have seen, Sorai pointed out the self-contradictory class system of the shogunate, i.e., he felt that the separation of agriculture and the ruling/military class caused the problems.) Then what? He suggests that the shogunate should encourage the samurai to go back to hold their own posts, bring back the order into the class system, reduce unnecessary expenses, restrain the inflation of commodity prices, and so on. He even hints negatively that the local samurai lords' be naturalized to their reigning places. He thought owning the land would fortify the lords'

power. However, since he knows that such a policy would undermine the whole shogunate system, he did not advocate this idea strongly.

After the passage quoted above, he started to criticize the social phenomena of “ordinary persons” selling their daughters to be courtesans, and “river persons” becoming merchants. People should stick to their position, he advocates. He continues by condemning the practice of marrying courtesans. Because of this inter-class socializing, he is afraid that the lax and extravagant manners and customs from the demimondes will be transmitted to the samurai and other classes. For example, he does not want to see the samurai talking and behaving like kabuki actors [/male courtesan] and samurai wives and daughters behaving like courtesans. (At that time, the languages people in each class used were slightly different from each other. For example, demimondes were called “*arinsu* country,” a name derived from the unique sentence-ending expression used in courtesan language.) He repeatedly asserts that the samurai should be like samurai, the courtesans should be like courtesans, the kabuki actors should be kabuki actors, and advocates that the shogunate should prohibit any inter-class lifestyle. This is rather ironic and even amusing when we think of Nanpo’s criticism of Sorai and his disciples and followers as being themselves denizens of the demimonde. In any case, Sorai promotes the policy of preserving the differences among the classes and the shogunate’s utilization of other classes as public policy.

We can easily criticize Sorai’s lack of thorough research on the origin of the outcasted people and the courtesans. However, we should also be cognizant of the social situation at the same time. That is, this can tell us that movement across class boundaries was rapidly progressing, and therefore Sorai felt the urgent zeal to straighten up the

samurai-ruled Edo system. Let us see one incident as an example. In July of 1785, sixty years after Sorai's last admonition, Fujieda Geki 藤枝外記 (1758-1785), a samurai official who lived near the National Confucius Temple, committed love suicide with the courtesan Ayaginu 紗衣 (?-1785), and the song rhapsodizing samurai prioritizing love with the courtesans over their duty was revived and became very popular. The lyrics, which are still well known to this day, goes:

kimi to neyaro ka	Shall I sleep with you, dear?
go-sen goku toroka	Or take the five thousand bales?
nan'no go-sen goku	No need for five thousand.
kimi to neyo	Sleep with you I will.
shôgai na	What does the other matter? <sup>70</sup>

君と寝やろか/五千石とろか/なんの五千石/君と寝よ/  
しようがいな

This kind of popular romantic song played mostly in demimondes is called *kouta* 小唄 (short song, ditty) sung with accompaniment of *shamisen*, a three stringed guitar. (For *shamisen*, please see appendices.) This *kouta* was originally written in 1751 and after the love suicide, the song became very popular in Edo. Around that time, love suicide had become a social phenomenon. And this means there were more and more forbidden relationships between the classes. When samurai were not involved in serious relationships, they frequently visited theaters and drinking places. Love, or at least the enjoyment of life, had become the center of some samurai warriors' lives.

We can see other evidence of the collapse of the samurai ethos. An essay entitled *Chirizuka dan* 墓塚談 (Dust mound talk) was published in 1814. The author, Ogawa Kendô 小川顕道 (1737-1816) was the fifth generation physician for Koishikawa Yôjôsho 小石川養生所, a free medical clinic for commoners run by the shogunate. He remarked

that the Confucian scholars and medical doctors at that time resembled the entertainers 芸者芸者, imitated their behavior, and the social manners had become frivolous. He continues:

Now even among samurai warriors, many have adopted a fickle manner and lost any sincere intentions. We have a verse that says:

Yononaka wa sayô de gozaru gomottomo nani to gozaruka shika to zonzezu	Such is the way of the world, indeed. You are quite right. And what way is that? I have no idea!
--	--

世の中は／さやうで御座る／御もつとも／なにとござるか  
／しかと存ぜず

The samurai behavior is thus. It is completely like the merchants' attitude.<sup>71</sup>

Here we cannot observe any courage or chivalry in this kind of frivolous posturing. We can say that the society has been progressing toward what Sorai feared and was concerned to prevent. The boundaries between the classes were breaking down in Edo society, and obviously the phenomenon had started from the demimonde. For security reasons, samurai had their swords taken away at the entrance of the demimonde, but this simultaneously means that they no longer carried their status symbol there. From the beginning, all the patrons were treated equally in the demimonde anyway. This can be one of the reasons Sorai wanted to “differentiate” the demimonde world from their ruling-class world. He did not approve of the relatively free intercourse as well as romantic love within the demimonde.

Under these circumstances, it is understandable that Sorai wanted to show his objection to one decision the shogunate government made in 1708, and this is the second possibility. In 1708, the incident called *Kachi ōgi* 勝扇 (Victory Fan) occurred.<sup>72</sup> The shogunate issued an edict stating that Kabuki players were not under the Danzaemon's control, though in reality, the Danzaemon had been organizing and administering the right to perform in the theaters. Miyoshi Iheiji indicated that entertainments such as puppet plays (originated from art of *kugutsu* 傀儡 people), kabuki plays, and sumō wrestling have a legitimate genealogy in miscellaneous entertainments performed by the differentiated strata since medieval times, and the performance rights were held by the *eta* groups.<sup>73</sup> However, a kabuki player from Kyoto, the ancient city, appealed to the shogunate, saying that they did not belong to the *eta* group. He explained that during occasions of celebration and prayer, these actors sometimes performed for aristocrats and even in the presence. The actor claimed that his troupe had been invited by the Emperor. If they were *eta*, Emperors could not call on them, since *eta* were believed to transmit *e* (dirtiness). To declare the actors *eta* would mean that the shogunate is depriving the Emperor of one of his prerogatives. Moreover, these entertainment troupes originated as far back as the medieval period, while the Danzaemon only started in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century. That is, these acting groups existed long before the institution of Danzaemon control; therefore it is not legitimate for the Danzaemon to insist on governing them. The shogunate admitted the Kabuki actor's request, probably not only because they did not want the Danzaemon to have too much power but also because they were hesitant to interfere with Kyoto and imperial matters.

When we read Sorai in this context, we can understand it as Sorai's precise proposition toward the stance of the shogunate on this issue, that is, the passage can be interpreted to clarify what he thinks about which direction the shogunate should take on the treatment of the actors and the courtesans, i.e., entertainers. He obviously believes it would be wiser for the shogunate to let the Danzaemon govern the entertainment area as well as other specialized areas. This would underscore the nature of Tokugawa hegemony that had been based on the disciplining by the Neo-Confucian system, in which entertainment and romantic love do not find any niche.

If we considered the Tokugawa shogun as the king of the sunny side of the world, the Danzaemon would be the kings of the dark side. The Tokugawa governed one bright and official hemisphere and the Danzaemon the other. One was in reverse relation to the other. The Danzaemon had been organized and extended their influence in their domain over many generations. While recognizing the risk that giving the Danzaemon more area to govern would allow them too much power, Sorai still could not help insisting on pushing the courtesans and the entertainers into the other hemisphere. However, we should note that this incident only concerned kabuki plays. We do not observe similar legal victories over Danzaemon control for people from the demimonde.

In this connection, let us say a bit more about the social status of the demimonde. I would like to start with an early guidebook of the demimondes, *Naniwa dora*, published in 1680. We have already looked at the chapter on the "Five Constants" in this book. Let us take a look at another chapter titled "Sleeves Crest." In this chapter, the scene starts when the patron found his favorite courtesan was using a different crest from his own.

He got very jealous and started asking whose crest it was. The courtesan replied that the question was utter nonsense. She gave the reason thus:

“What if I had a *setta*-sandal mark as my crest? People would say [that would show] the Danzaemon clan. In that case, you precious patron[/client], it is as if you were seeing an *eta* courtesan.”<sup>74</sup>”

As we have seen before, sandal making was also exclusively managed by *eta* clans. What this passage indicates is directly at odds with Sorai’s claim. The courtesans here are described specifically as not belonging to *eta* clans. Moreover, the passage would not be funny at all if the general social notion was that the courtesans really are of the Danzaemon clan. The premise here should be that at least in the 17th century, it must have been commonly understood that courtesans were not “under the control of the Danzaemon.”

However, we can also observe the reminiscence of the demimonde owner Enomoto Kikaku 榎本其角 (1661-1707), who was a disciple of the most prominent Edo *haikai* poet, Matsuo Bashô 松尾芭蕉 (1644-94). It is said that Kikaku was also a demimonde visitor. The memoir is reported in *Zatzudan shû* 雜談集 (Collection of chats) published in 1691, ten years after the appearance of the *Naniwa dora* guidebook quoted above. Kikaku talks about a *haikai* poet Chôseki (dates unknown) 正木堂鳥跡, who also owned a courtesan house. Chôseki belonged to the *haikai* circle but because of his occupation, he was asked not to attend its gatherings, and friends started to leave him one by one. Chôseki lamented his fate and committed suicide by jumping into a pond in a snowy wood, leaving a poem behind.<sup>75</sup> (“Please stop by--/dripping from the tea scoop,

/remains of the snow” とめこかし／茶酌の雫／雪の跡). Kikaku recollects that it has been ten years since this happened, that is, at about the same year the guidebook appeared.

Looking at both the description given in the guidebook and this anecdote, we get a mixed message, but at least we can conclude that there might have been a budding prejudice toward demimonde-related people, especially courtesan-house owners, among some haikai poetic circles.

According to Nakayama Tarô, in 1680, under the 5th generation Shogun, it was decided that the residents of Yoshiwara would be excluded from a celebrated Nô drama where the shogunate was in attendance. This is the same year as the appearance of the guidebook, *Naniwadora*, we saw above. Prior to that, they had already been prohibited from showing up at the castle to celebrate the New Year. The demimonde-related people apparently made an effort to recover their acquired rights and status, but in vain.<sup>76</sup>

We should note another reminiscence from the collection of the observations and memoirs titled *Tankai* 譚海 (Ocean of stories) by Tsumura Sôan 津村涼庵 (1736-1806). The second volume, published in 1785, includes the record of a legal battle over property rights of a demimonde owner. He lost the case because, according to the essay, “under the shogunate law, demimonde owners are under the four classes and should be treated the same as ‘ignobles (*eta*).’”<sup>77</sup> That is, the demimonde-related people had to submit to treatment as discriminated or outcast people. Thus, unlike the Kabuki troupes, and despite Sorai’s worry, it appears that the demimondeans were unable to establish a solid status in Tokugawa society.

What we have to realize here is that Sorai never suggests that the courtesans and demimondes should be abolished. What he was insisting on was that everybody should

hold his or her own position. He never offered any criticism of the existence of the demimondes itself or what they are doing. He does not discourage romantic love outside of marriage either. He just wanted to differentiate them, not to deny them. This makes sense when we remember what Nanpo said about him and his school in his first essay. Nanpo identifies them as the regular demimonde visitors. In fact, Sorai was utilizing the system, according to this Nanpo essay and other Edo writings. Precisely because Sorai wished to utilize it, was probably why he wanted to differentiate it. Within the system of Neo-Confucianism, human sexual urges and longings have to be displayed in an ethical manner and can never shift toward romantic love. The power of romantic love falls outside the system. If the courtesans and demimonde exist within the same hemisphere as Sorai and the samurai class in their daily life, their Neo-Confucianism cannot explain the world any more. On the other hand, Sorai cannot deny the fundamental urge toward romantic love. This could be another reason he needed to differentiate the courtesans.

## K. The Sacred Courtesans as an Imperial Tradition

So far we have learned that the entertainment world, which is excluded from the system constructed by Neo-Confucianism, located itself in the other, “dark” hemisphere of the Edo world. It seems to be the inevitable way to maintain the hegemonic order that Sorai insisted on preserving. Beside this, we should also consider the attributes of the courtesans themselves. I would like to take a look at another passage from Heinrich Schliemann, the European traveler to Edo Japan whose travel journal we already saw

earlier in this chapter. He also left his observation on how the courtesans were accepted in Edo in *La Chine et le Japon au temps présent*.

On the left side of the hall there hung the portraits of Edo courtesans with graceful beauty. The portraits were drawn in silk and paper and each one was beautifully framed. Nothing tells us Europeans more about the life in Japan than the fact that the courtesans' portraits are enshrined in the main hall of the most famous temple in the country.

In other countries, people pity and permit prostitutes but their status is low and disgraceful. So I, too, would never have dreamt that Japanese people consider "courtesan" to be a respectable occupation. Japanese people even worship these women, who are supposed to be low and disgraceful in other countries. When I saw the sight -- which seems to me an extraordinary paradox nobody has ever heard of -- I stood speechless for a long time in front of the pictures that make prostitutes into divine figures.<sup>78</sup>

Schliemann stopped by a prominent temple called Sensōji (Konryū-zan Temple of Asakusa), at Asakusa in the downtown Edo area and composed the travel note cited above. But there was more to it. He did not fail to notice that pieces of crumpled paper were fastened to the surface of these portraits. When pilgrims had wishes to be granted, they tied their offerings to the Buddha statues and paintings. If the paintings were too high for them to reach, they would write their wish on a piece of paper, crumple it into a ball, wet it and throw it to the paintings so that the wish paper stuck to the paintings. Schliemann found these paper balls on the portraits of the courtesans.

Now what does the observation by this European traveler indicate? What this possibly suggests is that people in Edo era worshiped courtesans just as they did the Buddha. That is, far from being ignoble, the courtesans and prostitution were envisioned

as sacred in Edo Japan, while they were considered mere social evil as Schliemann suggested in European countries. We can also consult another diary, written by Henry Heusken, who worked as a translator in late Edo era Japan for Townsend Harris, who became the first US Consulate General to Japan and successfully negotiated the historic Treaty of Peace and Commerce between the US and Japan in 1858. Heusken visited the same temple in the same year, and also espied the portrait of the courtesans in the temple. He writes his observation on the same temple thus:

Thursday, April 29, 1858

This morning, Mr. Harris and I went to the temple of Vishnu [sic] Kannon [at Sensô-ji temple]. There was a great crowd there. At the entrance to the Temple there were two statues, one was the God of Casks and the other the God of Wine. Passing through this portal which opens in a double swinging door, we came to a wide avenue which was bordered on each side by rows of shops. It was, in short, like a fair. Having walked for about ten minutes we reached another gate; then, finally beyond that, the temple proper. After having ascended a stairway of approximately thirty steps, we enter the temple. Because of its sanctity this temple is visited daily by great crowds of people. There was a toe of [illegible] and a statue which, having been touched so many times by the worshiping faithful, had lost its nose and its eyes and showed only the faint contours of a [illegible] with a faint trace that a mouth had existed. The temple is very beautiful, but very dirty. There were a number of idols, a lantern, curious objects hanging in the air of [placed] below, a painting depicting some twenty young ladies representing the beauties of the Yoshiwara, the quarter of prostitutes.<sup>79</sup>

He remarks: “In this temple the Japanese carry their religion to extremes.” Though we cannot sense the same kind of excitement as Schliemann showed in this diary, Heusken, too, does not fail to recognize the courtesans as a sort of religious figure. Though we cannot hastily conclude on the basis of the two passages written by foreign observers that courtesans were divine figures in Edo Japan, neither can we ignore them, since they reveal another aspect of how Edoites regarded the courtesans and the demimondes. The implication is that the courtesans were sacred. They were beautiful and served as objects of longing for the common people, and not just for boys and men but also for girls and women. In actual fact, Origuchi Shinobu, one of the distinguished folklorists of Japan and a disciple of Yanagida Kunio, endorses the conclusions of these European travelers. In his essay, *Miko to Yûjo to* 巫女と遊女と (Divine women and courtesans), he states:

Reading the novels and essays from the Edo era makes us realize that the Edo townspeople paid respect to the life of the demimonde.<sup>80</sup>

Now how do these two opposite aspects, being ignoble and being sacred, come to be so closely associated with one another? I would like to suggest two reasons. First, it can be considered to be caused by certain common features of the human psyche. It seems hard for us human beings to handle too much holiness and sacredness in the shameful course of our daily lives. I would like to suggest that in order to maintain equilibrium, many humans probably have a tendency to add some kind of “stain” to something inwardly sacred. Then the figure has to be pushed away to a peripheral area as “something different” from daily life. The burdens of the courtesans as outsiders can be

considered a reflection of their divinity. The “ignobility” had to be added to their sacredness, not as its contradiction but as its counterweight.

Another thing to which we should pay attention, regarding their ignobility/divinity, is the genealogy of the courtesans and how and by whom they had been received in Japan. Ever since the names of several courtesans and their poems first appeared in *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 (Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves), the oldest collection of poetry, compiled during late 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries, they had usually been described as sacred figures whose role was to console and entertain the imperial members and aristocrats. The term used for these women in the *Man'yōshū* is basically “entertaining/singing woman,” written as 遊行女婦 (play + wander, stroll + woman, lady) and pronounced as *ukare-me* 浮かれ女 (floating women). They are thought to function as sacred courtesans for the court nobles, according to the majority of Japanese scholars studying the history of the Japanese courtesans, such as Saeki Junko in *Yûjo no bunka-shi* (Cultural history of the courtesans, 1987), Ôwa Iwao in *Yûjo to ten'nô*, (The courtesans and the emperors, 1993), and many others.<sup>81</sup>

We can find these women engaging in exchanges of poetry with the emperors and other court nobles; they functioned as entertainers and divine mediums, or courtesans, in the Collections of Poetry such as *Kokinwakashû* 古今和歌集 (Collection of ancient and modern poetry, 905), *Gosenwakashû* 後撰和歌集 (Later collection of poetry, ca.960), *Goshûiwakashû* 後拾遺和歌集 (Collection of later gleanings of poetry, 1086), and others.<sup>82</sup> From these poems and the introductory prose explaining their context, we learn that the emperors and the court nobles often made journeys to mountains located along a river, lake, or ocean, where they were entertained by these women who were seen as divine

figures capable of healing and revitalizing their overnight partners. This kind of sojourn to remote areas such as the Yoshino 吉野 hills and river valleys (present-day Nara prefecture, southeast of Kyoto) by the emperors, empresses, and the court nobles, seeking partners as a medium for a divine experience, is often mentioned in *Kojiki* 古事記 (Record of Ancient Matters), the oldest official chronicle of the history of Japan's emperors and empresses, also compiled in the 8<sup>th</sup> century.

While the ancient reference to the forerunners of courtesans as sacred stem from the native Shinto religion, popular Buddhism apparently adopted the belief as well. An anecdote about a courtesan who turned out to be Fugen Bosatsu 普賢菩薩 [Skt: Samantabhadra Bodhisattva], the Bodhisattva of Universal Virtue, whom the emperors as well as the commoners worship, appears in *Senjūshō* 撰集抄 (1183), *Kojidan* 古事談 (1160-1215), and *Jikkishō* 十訓抄 (1252). In *Yûjo no ki* 遊女記 (Record of courtesans), written in 1087, Ôe Masafusa 大江匡房 (1041-1111), a court noble and poet, made notes on several courtesans such as Eguchi 江口 (?-?) and Kanzaki 神崎 (?-?). He describes a visit to these women thus:

There are many singing girls. They row a little boat with a helm, arrive at the travelling lodge, and serve up the “pillow seat.” Their voices hover with the clouds in the mountain peaks and the melody floats with the wind over the water. ...It is the most pleasurable place in the entire world.<sup>83</sup>

倡女成群、棹扁舟着旅舶、以薦枕席、声遏溪雲、韻飄水  
風・・・蓋天下第一之樂也

Then he lists other examples of such trips involving emperors and/or retired emperors on excursions to the shrines and temples on mountainsides and their experiences are said to

evoke the bliss of paradise.<sup>84</sup>

There is also the case of Emperor Godaigo 後醍醐天皇 (r:1318-1339, 1288-1339), who leaves his poems and anecdotes about courtesans in *Ryōjin hishō* 梁塵秘抄 (Secret selection of animating songs). The title literally indicates “debris and dust” becoming animated enough to dance, so splendid and inspiring are the songs. Interestingly, this emperor even tried to establish a new religious sect seeking salvation in romantic love and the both healing and inspiring experience with the courtesans.<sup>85</sup> Thus the courtesans had been not just offering entertainment but also functioning as divine figures within the courtly tradition. Needless to say, we should not forget that this tradition put emphasis on “*iro-gonomi*,” that is, being amorous, as an essential aspect of courtly behavior and ideology since ancient times.

As a matter of fact, in his essay *Miko to Yūjo to* (Shamanesses and courtesans), Origuchi Shinobu declares that the demimonde visit in the Edo period is basically an imitation of the ritual acts that had been practiced with the context of the courtly tradition involving these divine and entertaining women cum courtesans. By visiting the demimonde and spending time with the courtesans, according to Origuchi, the visitors were able to experience what the ancient kings used to do. That is the purpose of the excursion to Yoshiwara and such places, and he points out that prostitution is not the direct aim of the patrons. In other words, we can infer that the Tokugawa ruling class had longings for the romantic love adumbrated in the literary tradition of the imperial court, but at the same time, they had to deny it in order to maintain their own military regime. That is probably why the Edo courtesans were put into this enigmatic position, i.e., ignoble and at the same time holy. In a later chapter, I will discuss further how these

two, the courtly tradition and the Tokugawa ethos, influenced the reception of Chinese culture and literature as seen in the demimonde and *sharebon* literature, and how this helped to generate the peculiar Edo aesthetics.

In this chapter, we viewed the genealogy and the function of the Edo demimonde as well as its economic and philosophical background. As a result, we learned the unique characteristics of the demimonde in Edo society. It worked as a safety net and it also simultaneously functioned as an undesired and a desired object. Also, we inferred that the demimonde might be a realm of relative freedom of speech, and samurai and Confucian scholars were the major patrons of the demimonde. The demimonde, in the end, had taken charge of excessive emotional intensities that could not be contained in the Edo ideology constituted mainly by Neo-Confucianism, and started to play the honored role as the center of Edo culture and aesthetics, as we can see perhaps most clearly in the passage from Nagai Kafū at the beginning of the previous chapter. Kafū proposed that Edo aesthetics and culture are characterized and represented by “women,” or more strictly, by “courtesans.” We are also cognizant of the concept of the sacredness of the courtesans generated by the courtly tradition, and the paradoxical sacred/ignoble face of the courtesans in Edo discourse. This is the context in which we can locate a group of literary works categorized as *sharebon*, a subgenre of Edo playful writings (*gesaku*) set exclusively in the demimondes.



Utagawa Hiroshige,  
One Hundred Famous Views of Edo 100,  
Asakusa Konryūsan

## ENDNOTES:

### Chapter 2

<sup>1</sup> Cecilia Segawa Seigle, *Yoshiwara : The Glittering World of the Japanese Courtesan*.

<sup>2</sup> Lesley Downer, *Women of the Pleasure Quarters*, p.271.

<sup>3</sup> This order concerned the respect for basic human rights and only served to set the courtesans free from the restraints of demimondes. In actual fact, it did not prohibit prostitution itself. As long as the courtesans and prostitutes proclaimed that they worked on their free will, it was legally accepted. Until the Act Against Prostitution was issued in 1958, prostitution was not illegal in Japan.

<sup>4</sup> There is also different manuscript source for this work, which is called *Ihon dōbō goen* 異本洞房語園 (Different manuscript source of demimonde story) with self introduction written in 1720 by Shōji Katsutomi 庄司勝富, who is the sixth generation from Shōji Jin'emon 庄司甚右衛門, the founder of Yoshiwara.

<sup>5</sup> Shōji Katsutomi, *Ihon Dōbō goen*, in *Enseki jisshu* 3, esp. pp.4-5.

See also, Abe Jirō, “Tokugawa jidai no geijutsu to shakai,” *Abe Jirō zenshū* 6, p.80.

<sup>6</sup> Kitagawa Morisada, *Kinsei fūzokushi* 3, p.248.

<sup>7</sup> We can find “wanpā” as the pronunciation of these two characters in *Zusetsu Edo-jidai shoku-seikatsu jiten*.

<sup>8</sup> Shōji Katsutomi, *Dōbō goen* in *Enseki jisshu* 3, p.10-11.

<sup>9</sup> Katō Ebian, *Wagakoromo* in *Enseki jisshu dai-1*, p.142.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.142.

<sup>11</sup> The first thing that will come to the mind of a modern reader, when it comes to eight Confucian virtue in Edo, is the names of the eight brothers in a novel titled *Nan-sō satomi hakken den* 南総里見八犬伝 written by Takizawa Bakin 滝沢馬琴 (1767-1848). In the novel, the main characters are named after the Confucian virtues. These are kindness 仁 (*jin*), justice 義 (*gi*), moral courtesy 礼 (*rei*), wisdom 智 (*chi*), trustworthiness 信 (*shin*), faithfulness 忠 (*chū*), filial piety 孝 (*kō*), and respect to elders 恃 (*tei*), suggesting something of the importance of these eight virtues at that time. The novel appeared in 1814 and this is only twenty years or so before Kitagawa Morisada’s encyclopedial essay was published. This is actually 200 years after the official demimondes started in Yoshiwara. Though the name, “wanpā (devoid of the Eight [Virtues]),” had not started right away, it would be difficult to claim that Bakin’s novel influenced the name used for the demimonde; it is unlikely that a new term would have spread so quickly. It is far more likely that the influence moved in the other direction: the “wanpā (devoid of the Eight [Virtues]) title preceded the novel. Therefore this does not apply as a source for the Eight Virtues indicated in the term for demimonde.

<sup>12</sup> *Shipen: Hayashi Shihei zenshū* 3, p.99.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.107-8.

<sup>14</sup> *The Analects*, trans. Arthur Waley.

<sup>15</sup> Dong Zhongshu, *Chungqui fanlu jiaoshi (jiaobuben)* 2, p.677.

<sup>16</sup> W.G.Aston, *Nihon bungakushi*, p.227.

<sup>17</sup> Zhu xi, *Lunyu jizhu buzheng shushu*, ed. Ynag Jialuo, pp.85-6.

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<sup>18</sup> *Fujiwara Seika, Hayashi Razan, NST* 28: 116.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p.120, p.145.

<sup>20</sup> Let us take a brief overview of other Edo scholarly trends here. Besides these Confucian and Buddhist schools, Kokugaku 国学 (national studies) and Rangaku 蘭学 (Dutch studies) also appeared. National studies was a restoration movement and its thought is based on the interpretation of classical Japanese texts and literary sources. One of the prominent scholars of this school, Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730-1801) wanted to eradicate the influence of Buddhism and Confucianism as “*Karagokokoro* 漢意 (Chinese mind)” and to promote “*Yamatogokoro* 大和心 (Japanese mind)” instead, claiming that people in Japan should go back to the state before Buddhism and Confucianism, i.e., the ancient state of mind, which is peculiar to Japan. However, when we take a close look, the “Japanese mind” (*Yamatogokoro*) he was promoting is also deeply founded in Chinese classics. Motoori also studied *The Tale of Genji* from this point of view, developing a unique style of literary criticism.

Dutch studies 蘭学 began to gain prominence from the beginning of the 18th century. The scholars of this school translated Dutch anatomy books and Newton’s theories about the physical world. Many of the Dutch Studies scholars were directly or indirectly the disciples of the German physician, Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796-1866), who was sent to Dejima, an artificial island just for trading next to Nagasaki, as a resident physician and scientist in 1823. He was the first European who taught western medicine in Japan, and later he compiled the 30 volumes of *Flora Japonica*. The scholars of Dutch Studies promoted objective and rational observation of nature, analyzed it and applied it to social and political issues.

<sup>21</sup> For example, Ôta Nanpo left many works of comic/satirical verses under the name of Yomo no Akara 四方赤良. He also left many works of essays as Shokusanjin 蜀山人. Yamate no Bakahito 山手馬鹿人 is often considered as one of his pennames, however, the identification has not been clarified and still being refuted. Ôta Nanpo was from low class samurai family confined to rather ignominious duties. He grew up in poverty and decided in his childhood that there would have been no other way for him to make his own living than to study hard in order to be a scholar or pass the bureaucratic exam. However, he was unable to pass the bureaucratic examination until 1794 when he was almost forty-six.

<sup>22</sup> Ôta Nampo, *Neboke sensei bunshû*, SNKBT 84: 39.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p.39.

<sup>24</sup> Tô Keiei, “Chûgoku no bi-on,” *Chûgoku minzoku kigaku-kyoku hakuran, dokusougakkyoku sangenkyoku-fu* 1.

<sup>25</sup> Yûsuian mutei-koji, *Shikidô showake Naniwa dora :Yûjo hyôbanki*, p.253.

<sup>26</sup> Kitagawa Morisada, *op.cit.*, pp.252-3.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p.121.

<sup>28</sup> Masuho Zankô, *Endô Tsûgan*, in *NST* 60: 339-40.

<sup>29</sup> Katô Ebian, in *Enseki Jisshu dai-1*, p.142.

<sup>30</sup> Fisshâ (Fisscher), *Nihon fûzoku bikô* 1, pp.77-8. A translation from Fisscher, Johan Frederik van Overmeer, “Bijdrage tot de kennis van het Japansche Rijk,” Amsterdam: 1833.

<sup>31</sup> Schliemann, *op.cit.*, pp.90-91.

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- <sup>32</sup> *Tokugawa kinrei kō*, pp.234-7.
- <sup>33</sup> Maki Hidemasa, *Jinshin baibai*, p.104.
- <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.2-4.
- <sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.144-5.
- <sup>36</sup> Nakayama Tarô, *Baishô sanzen-nen shi*, p.509.
- <sup>37</sup> *Enseki Jisshu* 1, p.2.
- <sup>38</sup> Maki, *op.cit.*, p.2.
- <sup>39</sup> *Rōjin zatsuwa*, in *Kaitei shiseki shûran dai-10-satsu, sanroku-rui*, p.42.
- <sup>40</sup> Nakamura, *op.cit.*, pp.431-2.
- <sup>41</sup> Sone Hiromi, “Baijo kō,” *Nihon josei seikatsu-chi* (3) *Pre-modern*, p.140.
- <sup>42</sup> Mikami Ryûzô, *Edo no kahei monogatari*, pp.135-7.
- <sup>43</sup> Ogyû Sorai, *Seidan*, in *NST* 36: 330.
- <sup>44</sup> Kumazawa Banzan, *Daigaku aruhito-tou*, in *NST* 33, pp.439-442. He advocates samurai should also be the farmers.
- Ogyû Sorai, *Seidan*, esp. pp.300-301: The reason why the *daimyo* lords were not able to obtain their own land; pp.295-6, 305-7, 311: Samurai’s unsetabilized status and they should settle down.
- <sup>45</sup> Mikami, *op.cit.*, pp.135-7.
- <sup>46</sup> Ihara Saikaku, *Honchô nijû fukô*, SNKBT 76.
- <sup>47</sup> *Nijû-shi kô*, NKBT 38.
- <sup>48</sup> Ihara Saikaku, *Nippon Eitai Kura*.
- <sup>49</sup> Mikami, *op.cit.*, pp.135-7.
- <sup>50</sup> Honda Toshiaki, *Keisei Hi-saku* in *NST* 44:33.
- <sup>51</sup> Maki, *op.cit.*, p.4.
- <sup>52</sup> *Shaseki shû*, in SNKBZ 52: 375-377.
- <sup>53</sup> Shiheki-an Mochô, in *Zoku Enseki Jisshu* 1, p.447.
- <sup>54</sup> We should also note here that there is some doubt about the authorship of this essay, and the real author remains still unknown. Mori Senzô, “*Unphôzasshi ni tsuite no utagai*,” in *Unpyô zasshi*. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1979, pp.123-138. Wherever the truth lies, both the author and publisher at that time at least wished to present the writing under the name of Yanagisawa Kien, that is, the published writing here was to be read with the contemporaneous background knowledge of the putative author, Yanagisawa Kien. In that sense, introducing a little about Yanagisawa Kien might not be harmful here. He was born in high-ranked samurai family and deeply versed in Neo-Confucianism, Buddhism, Chinese and Japanese poetry, calligraphy, medicine, tea ceremony as well as literati painting. Literati painting in Japan at that time had been practice under the auspices of strong longings toward China and its culture. As a Confucian, he was very close friend with Ogyû Sorai, the Confucian scholar we have cited before. As we see, we can find many writings on demimonde by samurai not just *sharebon* but also just essays and art in demimonde. This just shows us that the demimonde visit must have been a popular activity of the samurai.
- <sup>55</sup> Yanagisawa Kien, *Unpyô zasshi*, pp.99.
- <sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.99-100.
- <sup>57</sup> From Rakugo *Bun-shich motoyui*.
- <sup>58</sup> From Rakugo *Kuruwanoana*.

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- <sup>59</sup> Katô Ebian In *Enseki jisshu dai-1*, p.142.
- <sup>60</sup> Ogyû Sorai, *NST* 36: 259-445.
- <sup>61</sup> Harada Tomohiko, *Buraku kô, Nihon shomin seikatsu shiryô shûsei 14 buraku*, pp.2-3.
- <sup>62</sup> Notes by Tsuji Tatsuya in Ogi'u Sorai, *op.cit.*, pp.601-2.
- <sup>63</sup> Shîboruto (Siebold), *Edo sanpu kikô, Ikoku sôsho fukkoku-ban*, pp.361-2.  
Original title: "Reise nach dem Hofe des sjogun in Jahre 1826" in "Nippon, Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan und dessen Neben – und Schutzlaendern, Jezo mit den südelichen Kerilen, Sachalien, Koorai und den Liukiunseln."
- <sup>64</sup> Amino Yoshihiko, *Chûsei no hinin to yûjo*, p.48.
- <sup>65</sup> Harada, *op.cit.*, p.3
- <sup>66</sup> Uramoto Yoshifumi, *Edo-Tokyo no hi-sabetsu buraku no rekishi: Danza'emon to hi-sabetsu minshû*.
- <sup>67</sup> Edo castle was first settled by Edo Shirô, one of Taira clan, in the early 12th century, and in 1457, due to an order by Uesugi Sadamasa, a samurai lord, Ôta Dôkan built a part of the present castle. The castle was occupied by Hôjô clan till Toyotomi Hideyoshi defeated them and ordered Ieyasu to move in 1590. Komatsu Kazuhiro, *Edojô: sono rekishi to kôzô*, pp.1-16.
- <sup>68</sup> *Danzaemon yuisho-gaki*, in *Nihon shomin seikatsu shiryô shûsei 14, buraku*, pp.431-442.
- <sup>69</sup> Nakayama, *op.cit.*, p.490.
- <sup>70</sup> *Edo kouta*, ed. by Kimura Kikutaro, p.198.
- <sup>71</sup> Ogawa Kendô, "Chirizuka-dan," *Enseki Jisshu*, 1, p.244.
- <sup>72</sup> *Kachi ôgi* in *Nihon shomin seikatsu shiryô shûsei 14, buraku*, pp.443-361.
- <sup>73</sup> Miyoshi Iheiji, *Douwa mondai no rekishiteki kenkyû, Buraku mondai shiryô bunken sôsho* 6, pp.208-221.
- <sup>74</sup> *Naniwadora*, p.182.
- <sup>75</sup> Enomoto Kikaku, *Kikaku zenshû shirîzu: Haikai bunko dai-4 hen*, pp.29-30.
- <sup>76</sup> Nakayama, *op.cit.*, p.490-491.
- <sup>77</sup> Tsumura Sôan, *Tankai* in *Nihon shomin seikatsu shiryô shûsei 8, kenbunki*, p.46.
- <sup>78</sup> *Schlieman Travel Record, Ch'ing and Japan*, p.140.
- <sup>79</sup> Henry Heusken, *Japan Journal: 1855-1861*, pp.206-7.
- <sup>80</sup> Miko to yûjo to; *Nihon geinou-shi rokkou*, in *Origuchi Shinobu zenshû* 21, p.190.
- <sup>81</sup> Saeki Junko, *Yûjo no bunka-shi; hare no onna-tachi*. Tokyo: Chûôkôronsha, 1987.  
Ôwa Iwao, *Yûjo to Tennô*. Tokyo: Hakusuisha, 1993.

For instance, in *Man'yô shû*, we can see the following poems exchanged between Ôtomono Yakamochi 大伴家持, a court noble and an *ukare-me*, Hanishi 土師.

U-no-hana no saku tsuki tachinu hototogisu ki naki toyomeyo fufumitari tomo	Rabbit-flowers will bloom now the Fourth Month came. Cuckoos, come and chirp thou also for I would enjoy thy song, although flowers are still in the bud.
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Ôtomono Yakamochi  
maki18-4066

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[rabbit flowers means *utsugi* or *deutzia crenata*]

Futagami no	In the mountains
yama ni komoreru	at Futagami, hiding are
hototogisu	cuckoos.
ima mo nakanu ka	Come out and sing now
kimi ni kikasemu	for my lord.

*Ukare-me*, Hanishi  
maki 18-4067

There are more entries by these women such as maki6-956 and 966, maki18-4046 to 4048, and maki19-4232.

Though, taking the courtesans and entertainers as sacred figures has been the main stream in Japanese academia, there are other scholars who put emphasis on other aspects. For example, Takizawa Masajirô tries to clarify their origin from the Korean peninsula in *Yûjo no rekishi*. Tokyo: Shibundo, 1965. Fukutô Sanae takes Marxist point of view in “Ukareme kara yûjo e” in *Nihon josei seikatsu-shi* 1. Tokyo: Tokyô Daigaku shuppankai, 1990. Suwa Haruo criticizes that the main stream get a little emotionally involved though he also admit the religious function in these ancient entertainer/courtesans in *Ten'nou to josei reiryoku*. Tokyo: Shintensha, 2008.

<sup>82</sup> For example, please see maki 8-387 and 388 in *Kokinwakashû*. Poems by a courtesan Higaki is in maki 17-1219 in *Gosenwakashû*, SNKBT 6: 368. A poem by a courtesan, Miyagi is in dai 20-1197 in *Goshûiwakashû*, SNKBT 8: 389. A translation of Kokinshû is available by Laurel Rasplica Rodd, *Kokinshû: A Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern*, New Jersey: Princeton University, 1984.

<sup>83</sup> *NST* 8:154-5, 307-8.

<sup>84</sup> 長保年中、東三条院參詣住吉社天王寺、此時禪定大相國被寵小觀音、長元年中、上東門院又有御行、此時宇治大相國被賞中君、延久年中、後三条院同幸此神社、狛犬犢等之類、並舟而来、人謂神仙、近代之勝事也、

<sup>85</sup> *Ryôjin hishô*. A translation is available by Yung-Hee Kim, *Songs to Make the Dust Dance: “Ryojin Hisho” of Twelfth-Century Japan*, Berekeley: U. of California Press, 1994.

## Chapter III

### “To pretend” as the Second Meaning of *Share*: *Sharebon*, the Books that “Pretend” as Seen in *Yûshi hôgen* (Vagabond dialect)

In the first chapter, we investigated at the meanings of the word *share*, three traditional or pre-existing meanings and the two that are my own additions. I also proposed to conduct my study by examining each aspect of *sharebon* literature revealed by these five meanings in the hope of clarifying how the Edo aesthetics was constituted. In the previous chapter, we examined the reception of the demimonde in Edo society in order to obtain an understanding of the *sharebon* genre’s exclusive subject matter. In the process, we discussed the major features of the Edo ethical system and explored the socio-economic context in which the demimonde is located. We also drew out the contradictory existence of the courtesans as both sacred and ignoble, rooted in the peculiar traits of Tokugawa society, and their own genealogy as representative of the old courtly tradition. In this chapter, I will utilize the notion of “pretending” as the second meaning of *share*, to expand our investigation of the traits of *sharebon* and its aesthetics.

Though we do not find this meaning of *share* in any Japanese dictionary, we saw in the first chapter that pretending and role-playing are firmly embedded in the usages of this term. As mentioned earlier, *Yûshi hôgen* (Vagabond dialect), a prototypical *sharebon*

work, will be used as a specimen throughout this thesis. I would like to start with an examination of the content of the text per se, first by focusing on the notion of “pretending.” Then I will move on to an interrogation of the *format* of the work, that is, I would like to see how the work looks from the outside, or what kind of impression the work gives at first glance. I would also like to take a look at the “author,” or what is presented as the author, of the work. The notion of “pretense” will be useful to appreciate not only *sharebon* literature but Edo art in general, that is, if we can call it “art” at all. Also in this chapter, I will address one aspect of the problem regarding the names of the *sharebon* authors, and continue the discussion of authorship in the next chapter through the perspective of the third meaning of *share*, that is, “being stylish.” In the last two chapters, I will examine the “Title” and “Preface” in detail from the perspective of the fourth and fifth meaning of *share*, i.e., “word play” and “splash,” while presenting what the text reveals of the Edo reception of Chinese literary culture.

Now let us proceed to the content of the work. When we turn the opening pages and start reading the text per se, to our astonishment, “pretending” immediately comes to mind as a key word.

## A. Content (Text per se) of *Yûshi hôgen* (Vagabond dialect)

As we saw in the introduction of this dissertation, the text of *Yûshi hôgen* opens at Yanagibashi with the appearance on the scene of a man over thirty, who turns out to be a

kind of know-it-all. He meets his friend, who assumes a submissive role toward him, and the two of them agree to take a boat trip together. In the first section of the book, their boat trip from Yanagibashi to the Yoshiwara demimonde is portrayed vividly through the conversations between the two men, with a boathouse lady, a boatman, and a teahouse lady. We also see another demimonde visitor who reveals through his diction that he is a samurai and who has a conversation with a teahouse lady and an apprentice courtesan at a teahouse in Yoshiwara. Then the visitors move to a parlor where they have parties with the courtesans, and the first two chapters end.

Then we have a beautifully rhapsodized interlude, portraying the period from dusk till midnight; it starts with a description of *sugagaki* music played by samisen guitars, announcing the opening of each parlor in Yoshiwara. This middle section, written in the classical verse form of alternating 5- and 7- syllable lines, embeds many layers of literary allusions and is imbued with a different tone and atmosphere from the previous section.

After this short melodious section, the text goes back to the rejoicing conversational style to portray several demimonde visitors in their parties at the parlor until the sunrise is sounded by the crowing of crows. Though it is not described precisely, we can easily imagine from their conversation that the submissive neophyte had an intimate time with a courtesan, while the know-it-all self-proclaimed Mr. Savvy did not. In the end, with birds chirping and morning temple bells, the samurai has a personal conversation with his partner-courtesan and bids her a long good-bye, and then the text ends describing his departure with a phrase from a popular song. Thus the content, i.e., the text per se, of *Yûshi hôgen* begins following the table of contents, all of which are

written in a mixture of Chinese graphs and Japanese *kana* (syllabary, phonetic symbols) and formatted basically like the script of a drama, that is, a record faithfully rendering the dialogue of the characters.

## 1. Mimicry, A Popular Entertainment

Now before the examining the text per se with regard to the key word here, i.e., “pretending,” I would like to introduce a performance called *ukiyo monomane* 浮世物真似 (lit., floating world mimicry), or *kowairo* 声色 (lit., sound and sight) that seems to have become popular around that time. In Morisada’s historical essay, *Kinsei Fûzokushi*, we can find:

In Edo, it is called *kowairo* (sound and sight), in Kyoto and Osaka, *monomane* (mimicry). It is a narrative technique of imitating [pretending] the voices of [known] actors. It first started in the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. They sometimes use fans [as props]. ... The impersonator sometimes performs solo, just doing the mimicry, and sometimes with an instrument, such as the samisen. It started out as a hobby performed at parties. Then we start seeing the street impersonator working for money.<sup>1</sup>  
(Emphasis Added)

Both *ukiyo monomane* and *kowairo* usually indicate an impersonation of kabuki actors. It is interesting to observe here that not only the imitation of another person on the part of the impersonator himself, but also the way a fan is used for make-believe: the fans function to represent (or “pretend” to be) several objects, such as a liquor bottle, a glass, a letter, a sword and so on. There are other Edo writings reporting these recreational activities such as *Sanyô zakki* 三養雜記 (Three nurturing miscellaneous notes, 1846), written by Yamazaki Yoshinari 山崎美成 (1796-1856).<sup>2</sup> Some people did not limit their

repertoire of mimicry to the kabuki actors, but also started imitating all sorts of other figures such as street vendors, birds, animals and so on. That is, both *ukiyo monomane* and *ukiyo kowairo* were a form of entertainment by story-telling and mimicry and obviously one of the entertaining activities the Edo people did at social gatherings.

Next, I would like to draw our attention to the introductory part of a *sharebon* work titled, *Yobukodori* 呼子鳥 (A piping bird, 1779) written by Rou-tei 鷺鳥亭 (Master Heron and Crow), below:

At the end of the year celebration, ... many friends got together and had a great time playing *samisen* guitar, singing *naga-uta* and *jôruri* songs, enjoying impersonation, and so on. In particular one of them performed *ukiyo-kowairo* 浮世声色、which greatly amused us, so that we wrote it down. Later it was published by one of our friends, Iseya... and became this little volume here.<sup>3</sup>  
(Emphasis Added)

#### 序

今年は浅草の年の市の豆蒔と我也われもと祝い寿ぐなかにも幸なるかな年忘れせんと朋友ども大勢あつまり三味線長唄淨瑠璃声色の大きわぎ中にも浮世こわいろを得てたら者余りにおもしろさ書うつしけるを朋友のうち書林伊勢屋の某（なにがし）桜木にちりはめむ事をこいて呼子鳥の名付けて小冊とはなり

This opening passage of the preface explains the origin of the work as a direct record of or dictation from an actual *ukiyo-kowairo*, a story-telling performance among friends at a party. Actually this text itself starts out with the vivid shouting calls of the horse drivers.<sup>4</sup>

Here I would like to suggest that these *sharebon* works can be described as “novels for listening” rather than “novels for reading.” Readers presumably read the work out loud, or at least perused the pages imagining the sound of each line. If it was some kind of group occasion, probably the work was read out loud so that all the people

gathered there could enjoy the work at the same time. In any case, the act of “reading” a *sharebon* work proceeded when the imagination of a reciter (rather than a “reader”) is appended to the original work, thus probably amplifying its humor and irony.

This work is not the only one that reveals its origin in this kind of impersonation entertainment. Let us examine the Preface to *Futsuka-yoi ôsakazuki* 二日酔巻 \* [\*=角單] (Hangover wine beakers and cups, 1783), written by Manzôtei 万象亭 (Master of ten thousand images). Unlike typical Prefaces of other *sharebon* works, which are usually written in Chinese, the Preface to this work faithfully reproduces the way an author talks to an audience. The sentences are incomplete, as in spoken language. They continue one after another without grammatically correct completion. The quotation marks are not applied. Though the sentences keep going on and on, the whole introduction is not verbose. It is rather vivacious. It is regrettable that my translation limits the liveliness and humor of the Preface. I have added phrases in brackets to make it sense out of the original sentences, which have their own distinctive style.

“Write a wasteful book.” So they say. “Leave it to me,” I replied. I swallowed the order [without chewing] like a cormorant swallows a fish. [How the book goes] all depends on the mouth of a mynah bird[/the author] I will show you the real stuff. It [the book] is captured alive at Tanba and no bogus. It is a *sharebon* in appearance, and its world is *Kyôgen* [comic interlude skit in Nô play ]. Its chirping voice is just like an *ômu-seki* (parrot-stone)” … Please laugh, do please laugh!<sup>5</sup>

#### 序

・・・無駄本を書けという。まかせておけろとうのみにのみこみ。きゅうかんちようの口から出次第。二日替りの二日能（よい）を。とりもなおさず外題に居（すえ）。大入盃の8はいきげん。されども生酔い本性たがわづ。つづりし文句のつまりづまりは。聞きはつたるせりふ附の。正のものをお目にかける。丹波の生どり偽なし。見かけは洒落本世界は狂言。鳴声鸚鵡石

に似たりける。鶴のようなる化鳥な書き物鴛鴦（おし）のつよ  
くわるい所は木兎曳（づくびき）の目引袖引笑っておくれ笑つ  
ておくれ

This Preface contains some crucial information on the traits of the *sharebon* literature.

First it says the *sharebon* works (or at least this one) are “a wasteful book.” I would like to cite this passage again in the last chapter when we discuss the last meaning of *share*, i.e., “splashing dissipation.” Then it mentions the difference between the “appearance” and the “content” of the book. I will further discuss the gap between the inside and the outside of the books later in this chapter. In the end, it also reveals their aim, that is, to make people laugh. The style of this Preface is consistent with the frequent use of bird similes in it, and toward the end, we see the word, *ōmu-seki* (parrot-stone), which the “chirping voice” of the book resembles. The phrase “the chirping voice of the book” already suggests the quality of being “novels for listening,” but here let us take a look at what the word *ōmu-seki* reveals.

An *ōmu-seki* originally indicates a certain type of stone. These stones are usually large enough to be able to create an echo effect, and therefore it sounds like the stone repeats whatever sound or voices anyone makes while speaking, singing or playing musical instruments. In *Yûken shôroku* 輻軒小錄 (Yûken little record), an encyclopedic book on things and events in Edo, written by Itô Tôgai 伊藤東涯 (1670-1736), we find an entry on an *ōmu-seki*. He describes the location (Ise; present-day Mi'e prefecture), its size and color, and continues:

On top, several people spread blankets and sat. If you talk from there, the stone repeats what you say. [When people] chant *utai* (recitativo part of Nô drama) songs, beat drums, and play samisen guitars, the stone makes exactly the same

sounds. When you whisper, it also whispers, and when you yell, it yells back. This is as if a person were behind a screen or something.<sup>6</sup>

Kikuoka Senryô 菊岡沾涼 (1680-1747) is known as an author of *Seji dan* 世事談 (Talks on things, 1733) and *Edo sunago* 江戸砂子 (Edo sprinkles, 1732), both of which can also be counted as one of these encyclopedic reference books. Senryô also published *Shokoku rjin dan* 諸国里人談 (Villagers' talk from various regions), another reference book, in 1743. In this book there is also an entry on the *ōmu-seki* (parrot-stone), which were apparently regarded as mysterious phenomena connected to the Shinto belief in the deities inspiring nature.<sup>7</sup>

Hence the word *ōmu-seki* obtained another meaning, which is to parrot perfectly the sounds and voices of other persons. It is probably for this reason that books called *ōmu-seki* came to be published. Collections of the famous lines from Kabuki plays started to be published to facilitate the practicing of various tones of voice. According to Kitagawa Morisada's *Kinsei fûzokushi*, *ōmu-seki* is also called *kowairo-bon* 声色本 (mimicry book), which recorded the lines of each actor from the highlighted scenes of a *kabuki* play, they were published and delivered at each performance of a *kabuki* play so that the fans were able to recreate the scenes by themselves. They were also sold at the picture-book stores.<sup>8</sup>

Mutô Sadao asserts that the first book that contains *ōmu-seki* in the title appeared in 1772, and he also mentions that there is another stream of *ōmu-seki* collections, such as *Chinsaku Ōmu-seki* 珍作鸚鵡石 (Curious production, parrot-stone) published in 1769.<sup>9</sup> These are collections of jokes, some of which were commonly told at that time and some of which were performed on the occasion of a *hanashi-kai* (talk meeting). Santô Kyôden

山東京伝 (1761-1816) produced *Harasuji ômu-seki* 腹筋逢夢石 (lit. Stomach-muscle parrot-stone, 1811), whose title indicates “the book is so funny it will strain the readers’ stomach muscles”). Here we find a series of comical comments made by little animals such as a frog, dog, cat, sparrow, crab, or daily life objects, such as a lion-ornamented hot pot, and so on. Utagawa Toyokuni added illustrations of people imitating these animals and objects.<sup>10</sup>

Since one set of the *ômu-seki*, i.e., the collections of joke lines, were used for informal performances, it is natural to consider that the other, i.e., the collections of kabuki lines, were also acted out, or at least, read out loud with varying of tones, and other expressive verbal gestures such as one would hear on stage. Thus when Manzôtei announces that his *sharebon* piece resembles *ômu-seki*, it is clear that his work is also meant to be read aloud. Here we want to take a look at the description in *Shinya meidan / Karano cha-banashi* 莘野茗談 (Luxuriant field tea talk), written by Hezutsu Tôsaku 平秩東作 (1726-1789), who was known as a comical verse writer.<sup>11</sup> In this essay, Hezutsu Tôsaku discloses the author of *Yûshi hôgen*, as well as its origin. He explains that the work comes from the art of *ukiyo-shi*:

The person named Tanba-ya Rihei 丹波屋利兵衛 made [a book] out of the performance of *ukiyo-shi*, titled *Yûshi hôgen*, sent it to Suhara-ya Ichibei [須原屋市兵衛 one of the major publishers in Edo], had it printed, and it was widely circulated.”<sup>12</sup>

The context of the passage here suggests that *Yûshi hôgen* was considered among these impersonating entertainments. That is, we can say again that these texts would have been

meant to be read aloud, imitating the tone of voice of people of various occupations, ages, genders and so on, and listened to as such.

## 2. Mimicry, i.e., “Pretending” for Social Gatherings

Before we start examining the trait of “pretending” seen in *Yûshi hôgen*, we should probably make clear the setting in which these works were read aloud. To do so, let us take a look at the Preface of *Chinsaku Ômu-seki* (Curious Work, Parrot-stone), the title of which we have already listed:

I was so bored in the long, long autumn nights, but being a foolish man by nature, of *waka* poetry, *renga* or *haikai*, flower arrangement, kick-ball, tea ceremony, Nô dancing, Nô chanting, hand-drums, big drums, flute, *koto*-harp, *samisen*-guitar, *kokyû*-Chinese guitar, popular ditties, *jôruri*-reciting, *go*-games, *shôgi*-games, and other board games – I have not the slightest understanding of any one of these pursuits. I didn’t know what to do. So I discussed it with my friends. Though we have careless ears [do not remember much], we gathered up whatever we remembered. We kept writing these things on various wasted sheets of paper. ... learning from the old [sayings], and making them into the new words. Would not others, depending on the person, of course, find them funny? We titled the collection *Curious Work, Parrot-stone*. The style is so rude, it’s fit for country bumpkins, idiots, and stutterers. Let’s laugh then, Let’s laugh.<sup>13</sup>

秋の夜のなかなかしきを明かしかね、生得愚かなれば、歌連歌  
俳諧、立花、蹴鞠（しゅうきく）茶の湯、舞謡、鼓太鼓笛、琴  
三味線小弓（こきゅう）、小歌淨瑠璃、碁将棋双六、ひとつと  
して知らされば、仕様がなさに、おもう朋友とはなし（口+  
出）合い、籠耳の底に残りしを、方々の端に書き集め、古はな  
しも難波の芦（あし）は伊勢の濱荻（はまおぎ）、所によつて  
名も替わる、人家によつて珍しからんか。古（ふるき）をもつ  
て新しきとす語を引いて、珍作鸚鵡石と題す。筆のまわらぬ文  
の賤しきは、野夫（やぶ）に免じ、愚（ぐ）か重口（をもち）、一笑い一笑い。

Since detailed information about the author, Baiô 梅鶯 or possibly Ume-ni-uguisu, has not yet been discovered, a discussion of his biographical “idiotism” is not possible here. But I would like to take her/his presentation of her/himself as significant in its own right, even if it was intended as humility or sarcasm, in that the author tries to locate their activity in the context of this list of traditional Japanese arts and hobbies, which are always contextualized within a certain type of social gathering.<sup>14</sup>

In other words, we can say that this recreational activity of mimicry and telling stories was most likely done at some kind of social gatherings. From the works by Ihara Saikaku, we can also ascertain that these kinds of gatherings for telling funny stories by pretending and mimicry were often held throughout Edo, Kyoto and the Osaka area around that time. In *Honchô nijûfukô* 本朝二十不孝 (Twenty cases of filial impiety in Japan, 1686), in 1-4, we can find, “At that time, making funny stories and acquiring points were in vogue, [and a man] devoted his mind to pondering over these topics from mornings to the evenings.”<sup>15</sup> From here we know that there was some kind of competition involved, where the participants acquired points for their performance. In *Budô denrai ki* 武道伝来記 (Record of transmission of the way of the warrior, 1687), in 5-4, there is a description of one such gathering, which says, “There are four to five good old friends who get together and tell funny stories, taking advantage of the long night.”<sup>16</sup>

We should also remember the expression of “the members of the button-top-shells-at-a-rain-ditch club 雨おちのきしやご仲間,” i.e., “share club,” when we discussed the meanings of *share* in the first chapter.<sup>17</sup> Here, a social gathering is also implied. The main activities at these gatherings seem to have been to gossip about the courtesans and make jokes. In *Kôman-sai angya nikki* 高慢齋行脚日記 (Travel diary of Maestro

Conceited) by Koikawa Harumachi 恋川春町 (1744-1789), we find a character called Murata Jikyō holding a flower arrangement party and thereby assembling all his disciples and guests, as well as making some money.<sup>18</sup> We also find many other passages referring to the gatherings and telling of comic stories, such as *Eda sangoju* 枝珊瑚樹, *Karukuchi ôwarai* 輕口大笑, *Tôsei teuchi warai* 当世手打笑, and many others.<sup>19</sup> We can also find a guidebook for several performances and mimicries at the occasions of the gatherings, such as *Chinjutsu zangebukuro* 珍術ざんげ袋 (Bag of curious techniques) by Kanchûsen 環中仙 (ca. 1730).<sup>20</sup>

A book such as *Yorozu no takara* 万の宝 (Ten thousand treasures, 1789) records not only the humorous stories told at a gathering but also the result of a game called “*takara-awase*” 宝合 (treasure competition), in which members bring daily objects and “pretend” they are some kind of treasure.<sup>21</sup> According to Hamada Giichirō, the first meeting of *takara-awase* was held in 1773 at a temple near Yanagibashi, and thereafter it came into vogue, especially among Edo literati.<sup>22</sup> There still exists one of the records of these meetings, titled as *Takara awase no ki* 宝合の記 (Recorded of treasure competition)<sup>23</sup>

A definitely noteworthy aspect of these social gatherings is Edo people's enthusiasm for performing as an amateur. Let us examine a journal kept by a samurai lord in Nara, Yanagisawa Nobutoki (柳沢信鴻 1724-1792) to show us the background basis for this kind of activity. In his journal titled as *En'yû nikki* 宴遊日記 (Journal of parties and play), we see a detailed record of the entertainments held in his household. Let us take a look at the autumn of 1773. For September 15<sup>th</sup>, he writes:

Night Dance Program  
Seven Transformations:  
-*Kanjo* (court attendant) ... Kumakichi  
-*Harukoma* (toy horse dance) ... Mankichi  
-*Yari-Odori* (spear dance) ... Senkichi  
-*Sanzoku* (bandit) ... Kumakichi  
-*Sarashi* (call-girl) ... Mine  
-*Keisei* (courtesan)... Yô  
-*Sono sugata Shichi-mai Kishô* (That appearance, seven promises") ... Mine  
Beside these, we had *Sengen-dake* (Mt. Sengen) and *Shunrangiku* (Terrestrial orchids and mums").<sup>24</sup>

The names of the performances are listed on the left side and the performers' names, are on the right. The names end with “—*kichi*” indicate that these were the attendants who served in his household. From the names of the dances, we can say that some dances probably tried to imitate some specific figures, such as a spear holder, a horse-rider, a bandit, a courtesan and so on. We see this kind of performance noted often in his journal. The programs include dancing, reciting a narration from a scene from Kabuki theater pieces, storytelling and mimicry. In November, the lord even produced a whole kabuki play to be performed by the entire household just for a fun family activity.

I would also like to cite an essay titled *Shizu no odamaki* 賤のをだ巻 (Ancient and humble spool, 1802) written by Moriyama Takamori 森山孝盛 (1738-1815), one of the Edo government samurai officials. As the title implies, this essay is a recollection of the customs and manners in Edo from around 1730 to 1780. He recounts that starting from the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the samisen guitar and impersonation of theater players were tremendously in vogue:

[From the eldest to the second or third child] there is no one who does not play the samisen. In the field and hills, everyday from the morning till night, there is no moment

when the sound ceases. ... The amateur fans used to get together, and play interlude-music, perform a skit and so on. [They] also planned the amateur comic *kyōgen* skits, performances at each samurai mansions here and there. Even the high-officials imitated the river people [actors], playing both female roles, heroes, and enemy roles. They were quite excited by these entertainment.<sup>25</sup>

[歴々の子供、長男だけでなく次男三男も]三味線引かざるものはなし野も山も毎日朝より晩迄音の絶る間はなし此上句下かたといふものになりてかぶきの芝居の鳴物の拍子を素人がよりたかりてうつなり其弊止（や）めがたくて素人狂言を企て所々の屋敷屋敷にて催したり歴々の御旗本河原ものの真似して女がたになり立役かたき役にて立さわぐ戯れなり

Given the popularity of holding these varied amateur performances in the households of the samurai officials of the Tokugawa government, I believe, we consider this as background, we can confidently infer that the reading out of these *sharebon* works was among these recreational activities, as I proposed.

In *Sendō beya* 船頭部屋 (Boatman's room), a *sharebon* work written by Choki sanjin 猪牙散人 (Little boat / Boar's fang Hermit) published in 1807, we find the following line:

I've seen it in a loaned book (*kashi-hon*). It's just a little game (*asobi*) like *sharebon*.<sup>26</sup>

Here, a *sharebon* piece is referred to as a game rather than simply as a book. This can mean that *sharebon* is not just to be read quietly alone, but to get together and enjoy as if it were some kind of game.

We can also see the following address by Mr. Savvy, a know-it-all person when he is preaching to the Youngster on how to be a stylish fellow:

...Besides..., [you] want to... show up...., a bit to the cwubs [clubs]. (20)

・・・そして。会（けい）へちつと。出るよう。したい

Thus it is likely the case that *Yûshi hôgen* and other *sharebon* works were read at some kind of gatherings.<sup>27</sup> When we imagine these works as read aloud to a group, another dimension of the pleasure of reading is coaxed forth, in addition to the enjoyment of perusing a work by listening. It is the joy of gathering and sharing the feelings in company, that is, it is the appreciation of sharing the “Here and Now.” If *sharebon* literature was the outgrowth of these occasions of getting together among literati, it is quite natural to consider that the pieces were read out loud.

### 3. *Sharebon* as “Pretend” Guidebook

Honda Yasuo states that the colloquialisms seen in *sharebon* literature are derived from the performance of *ukiyo-shi* 浮世師 (lit. Master of the Floating World) and introduces the art of *ukiyo monomane* 浮世物真似 (floating world mimicry) who impersonation of all sorts of the caricaturized figures from kabuki players to street vendors, based on the description in *Shin'ya meidan / Karano Cha-banashi* 莘野茗談 (Luxuriant field tea talk), we just cited above.<sup>28</sup> Thus Honda proclaims the strong connection between the art of these impersonators and the interlude part of *Yûshi hôgen*, in which we can find numerous expressions mimicking sound sources. Horikiri Minoru also points out the sound quality seen in the interlude and interprets this sing-songy middle part by utilizing the notion of “Soundscape” advocated by Murray Schafer.<sup>29</sup>

I would like to pursue this quality that is obviously based on the mimicry of sounds, not just for the melodious middle part but for the entire text (or content) of *Yûshi hôgen*. I would like to suggest appreciating this text per se as a guidebook to

“pretending.” In other words, I would like to propose that this text is probably meant to be read out loud and simulate each of the caricaturized characters, and that its distinctive traits as a genre are probably designed with this purpose in mind. I will now present the relevant traits:

#### a. Caricatured Characters

As is made obvious from the very beginning, each character in *Yûshi hôgen* as well as other *sharebon* works, has his or her unique attributes, language and way of speaking. These exaggerated distinctions of manner generate provide cues for reading aloud and creating an expression, giving an opportunity for hamming up these caricatured traits which differentiate and illuminate these characters when the texts are read out loud.

#### b. The Usage of Special Marks

(1) [ - - - ]

After the two main characters are ushered in to the text in descriptive style, the text proceeds mostly with conversational or dialogic format. This is the actual beginning of the story. It starts thus:

Mr. Savvy 【Hey, hey,】 dude, dude! Youngster 【Oh, my, what a surprise!】 How've you been? ... (9)

通り者 【これ／】 色男／＼ むすこ 【いやこれは】 どふでござります。…

Here, “Mr. Savvy,” who is obviously the one presenting himself arrogantly as a lady killer, opens up the story.

First of all, I would like to deliver some remarks about the marks and special usage of the language utilized in this text, as well as other Edo writings. As we saw previously, the names of characters in the *sharebon* works are enclosed in the rectangles “” to indicate the person speaking his or her lines. Besides this indication, I would like to tally four more marks whose usage seems a peculiar trait of the writing style seen in most of the *sharebon* works and a few other Edo writings. They are a single-lined *ko-gaki* 小書 (small writing), a double-lined *ko-gaki*, a full-stop punctuation mark, and a circle. I will use examples from the passages in the first section of *Yûshi hôgen* to illustrate each.

## (2) Single-lined Small Script

In the above conversation, we notice the very first line starts in the smaller script, which I indicate with the mark 【 】. (Please see Appendix for the photograph of the original text.) These small scripts are the *ko-gaki* 小書 (small writing) and can be observed repeatedly in Edo writings. Here, vocalizing a call to the “Youngster” is reproduced in the small script. “Youngster” also replies starting with the small-script words. Here, the small script describes a kind of hesitant call at the beginning, a mumbling interjection as if thrown to the speaker himself, and a drawl. In this way, these small scripts are often used to convey the mumbling sounds, drawls, hesitation noises, and ungrammatical utterance, and help to dictate the conversations faithfully throughout *Yûshi hôgen*, and in many other *sharebon* works. There are mainly two ways to apply these scripts in the text. One is to dictate the vernacular language as faithfully as

possible, as seen above, and the other, to describe the behavior of the characters and/or to portray the scenery. For this usage, the passages are usually written in double-lined script, and I indicate with 【】. I will discuss this usage in more detail below.

(3)。 (Full-stop Punctuation)

Before we discuss the examples of the double-lined small scripts, let us note the examples of another mark “。.” This is a full-stop punctuation in the original text. Throughout the text, we nowhere see the comma-equivalent punctuation marks “、” ; rather, what we always see for all parsing is the period equivalent, i.e., the full-stop punctuation mark “。.” This mark is used much more frequently than necessary, producing a jarring effect.

After the above conversation, Mr. Savvy proposed to invite the Youngster for a temple visit using a *choki*-river-boat, to which the youth agrees, thus sending his attendant back home. (Please see Appendices for a *choki*-river-boat.) What Mr. Savvy meant by “the temple visit” was actually a visit to the Yoshiwara demimonde. “Mr. Savvy” and the “Youngster” arrive at a boathouse, and here, we can observe the full-stop punctuation are used many times. I use “•” to indicate this in my translation. I try to convey where and how often these marks are applied in the texts, strictly speaking in the conversations, as faithfully as possible. The English punctuations are applied to make the translation more natural in English, that is, the English punctuations do not indicate the original full-stop punctuation in the text. Now let us look at some examples:

Mr. Savvy ... This is• the boat lodge everybody uses, it is  
Izu-ya. • This is where I get a ride everyday. • From here•

let's get 【in】 Hey, lady, a *choki*-boat• with a chip-chap• speedy shaping• let's make it push pff at once!

**Landlady at the boat lodge** 【Yes】 May I help you?•

We have a *choki*-boat but• what do you call• the 【other】 one• we don't have it. (11-12)

通り者・・・こゝは。みんなが乗る伊豆屋という舟宿だ。毎日  
おれも乗所だ。こつから。乗ろ【を】 かみさん 猪牙舟。ちょ  
つきり。ぐいづくり。はやく出しとしたいわい 舟宿の女房  
【はい】御出なされませ。猪牙舟はござりますが。【も】一艘な  
んとやら。おっしゃるふねが。ござりませぬ

Let us see the first line. The full-stop marks are applied in two places, after “This is” and at the end of the line. The first one is not grammatically incorrect in Japanese though it looks awkward in English. However, after the first punctuation, the rest of the sentence is a little too long. That is, when we look at the text and take the syntactic balance in the sentence into consideration, this punctuation does not fail to give us an odd impression. Moreover, there is no punctuation between “let's get in” and “Hey, lady.” This is definitely the place that a full-stop punctuation is grammatically required in Japanese (and in English also).

Actually, in many cases, these marks are applied where they are not necessary and not applied where it is more natural to put it. Moreover, these marks are often omitted at the end of the line, where the ending of the sentence is obvious. In other words, the way of applying the marks is quite unnatural, especially from the grammatical point of view as a written language. Now let us see what this possibly tells us. I would like to propose that the usage of this full-stop punctuation must be the result of transcribing the vernacular language as faithfully as possible, and this suggests the possibility that the work was written to be read out loud and possibly even with some postures and gestures.

In the Nō singing texts, we can find similar marks on the side of the lines and appearing repeatedly in the middle of the sentences. What they actually indicate is the place to take a breath. It is quite possible that the same thing might applies to the *Yûshi hôgen* text. That means, the marks are used to show when a reader is supposed to take a breath, or pause in order to act out better. For example, there is no punctuation between “let’s get in” and “hey, lady.” This actually vividly prescribes Mr. Savvy’s diction, that is, he does not put any pause between his suggestion to his companion and his call to the lady at the boat lodge. It gives us the clear image of Mr. Savvy’s hasty and eager behavior, which even makes us giggle.

Actually the conversation between Mr. Savvy and the landlady is quite amusing here. Mr. Savvy who wants to present himself as being savvy, tries to be funny and likable and makes a silly statement with a rhyming alliterative reduplicative for the name of a little boat (*choki*), “a *choki*-boat with a chip-chap, speedy shaping,” but, in vain. It is not clear whether the landlady takes his statement too seriously or she tries to ignore the verbose statement, but in any case, she takes his joke as a name of another kind of boat and responds literally.

#### (4) Double-lined Small Script

Then after this conversation, we can observe the second usage of the small scripts, which is written in double line. I will start with the line by the boathouse lady we just quoted above. To the boathouse lady, Mr. Savvy hastily announces their destination, “the Moat,” which indicates the Yoshiwara demimonde. The Moat is an abbreviation for the San’ya-bori Moat 山谷堀 (San’ya-bori), and the usage of the abbreviation form implies that Mr. Savvy tries to present himself as an expert, as is always the case when using an

abbreviation, which is impossible unless you are in the in-group. I use the “【】” mark to indicate this usage. Here is the passage:

Landlady at the boat lodge 【Yes】 May I help you?•  
We have a choki-boat but• what do you call• the 【other】  
one• we don't have it. Mr. Savvy 【Don't bother】 Just a  
choki-boat is fine. Landlady Where to• are you  
gentlemen heading? Mr. Savvy What do you mean where  
to?• To the Moat, to the Moat! Landlady 【Goes down to  
the bank. A boatman has just come back, wants a rest and is tying a  
boat to the bank.】 Landlady 【Hey】 Goro-don• Sorry to  
impose, but would you 【please】 row one 【more】 boat?•  
(12)

舟宿の女房 【はい】 御出なされませ。猪牙舟はござりますが。  
【も】 一艘なんとやら。おっしゃるふねが。ござりませぬ  
通り者 【いやさ】 猪牙舟ばかりでよしさ 女房 どっち迄  
で。ござります 通り者 どことはどふだ。堀さ／＼ 女房  
【かしへいいづる。船頭は今かへりて、やすもふとおもふて舟をかしへ付け  
ている】 女房 【これ】 五郎どん、太ぎながら 【も】 一艘こ  
いでくだされ 【よ】。 . . .

After Mr. Savvy notifies the landlady at the boat lodge of their destination, her name is displayed within a rectangle and her movements and the boatman's from the boathouse are displayed in the small script. This gives depth to the physical dimension of the story by showing the distance between the house and the boat pier.

The double-lined small scripts are inserted often between the lines and indicate a change of the scenery, as well as the characters' movements and facial expressions, and so on. In other words, we can say that the double-lined small scripts function as a kind of stage directions in the text.

The usage of the small scripts for the indication of a unique choreography can also be observed in the titles of Nô dramas starting around 1745. During the Edo era, Nô drama had been decreed to be the authorized theatrical dance and music for ceremonial

occasions, and the arrangement for each piece was strictly fixed. However, there were some Nô players who wished to apply their own choreography to express themselves a little better, and they started to use these small scripts to indicate they were using the different arrangements from the fixed rules.<sup>30</sup> Since Nô music and dance were required accomplishments for the samurai elites and literati, it is conceivable that the usage of these small scripts in Nô drama influenced the style of the *sharebon* works. Nakamura actually points out the Kabuki influence for the usage of small scripts in the *sharebon* works. But I believe both directions of influence are possible.<sup>31</sup>

(5) ○ (Large Circle)

Now let us proceed to the inspection of the last example of these marks, the large circle ○, which is definitely different from the full-stop punctuation “。 ” we discussed above. This is bigger than the other one in size and located in the middle of the line, not the bottom. Let us look at an example. The following passage occurs after the boat is ready at the boat lodge in Yanagibashi:

**Boatman** 【Here you go】 please get on board. ○【【The two say• [“]here we go[,”] and get on the boat.】】 **Boatman** Please give the boat a push. ○【【Landlady sees the two off and pushes the boat.】】 **Landlady** A pleasant day• I wish to you. ○【【The boat sails out to the Big [Sumida] river.】】 **Boatman** Make yourselves comfortable, please. **Mr. Savvy** 【Hey】 dude! Let me instruct you on how to ride a *choki*-boat. ... (15-16)

**船頭** 【さあ】おめしなはりやせ ○【【二人はさあと。いふて舟に乗る】】 **船頭** 舟をおし出しておくんなはりやせ ○【【女房二人をおくりふねおしいだす】】 **女房** 御きげんよう。おめし被成ませ ○【【舟は大川へ出る】】 **船頭** おたいらにおめしなはりやせ **通り者** 【これ】色男猪牙舟の乗やうから伝授しましやう . . .

We know now the two are about to get into the boat from the diction of the boatman that goes: “【Here you go】 please get on board.” The conversation continues and depicts the transition from the pier to the river. It is also clear that Mr. Savvy is trying to show off his well-informed experience as a man of taste at the end of the quote above. Now what is this mark supposed to indicate? Akutagawa Ryûnosuke asserts in “Mombu-shô no kana-tsukai kaitei-an ni tsuite (On the Ministry of Education reform plan on kana-orthography),” written in 1925, that; “we are born in the Dark Age of the language when even the basic rules of punctuation have not been established.”<sup>32</sup> That means that in the literature written prior to his age, it is difficult to find fixed rules to figure out the usages for these marks. In other words, it is up to us to restore the significance of these marks.

The natural response to this usage is to insert a pause. In fact, this intuitive reading seems to fit the content. For the first circle, it takes time to get on a boat from a pier, and it is natural to put a pause here. The second and the third are the same way. Let us hypothesize here that these circle marks are to be taken as a rest mark, that is, a sign to indicate a relatively longer pause than the full-stop punctuation we saw above that I would like to proclaim as each indicating a “breath.” And what we observe here is the usage of the circle marks followed by the double-lined small script. Several circle marks are observed throughout the text and all the circles are always located right before the double-lined small script. But not all the double-lined small scripts follow the circle marks, as we saw in the examples of the double-lined small script above. When the passage describes the actions of the landlady and the boatman at the lodge, we do not see the circle mark prior to it. Probably by comparison, the significance of the circle mark

might be illuminated. Let us look at the quote again. (I will quote the same passage again below for convenience sake.)

**Mr. Savvy** What do you mean where to• To the Moat, to the Moat! **Landlady** 【【Goes down to the bank. A boatman has just comes back, wants a rest and is tying a boat to the bank.】】  
**Landlady** 【Hey】 Gorô-don• Sorry to impose, but would you [please] row one [more] boat • [?]

Here, it is even better to put no pause at all at the part of these scripts without the circle mark. That is, the transition between the preceding and following lines of speech, mediated by the description of the landlady's action in small-script, should be done swiftly. This means that the landlady goes through the motions described as a response to Mr. Savvy and his companion, indicating that she wants to be back with her customers immediately, so that she can do a better business. If she were slow and did not return to them right away, they might as well try other boathouses. Consequently, the absence of a circle mark here confirms that indicates a pause.

Let us take a look at another example of this usage. The boatman is stopping the boat at a pier of their destination, "the Moat," i.e., San'ya-bori:

**Boatman** Where• shall I take [you?] 【Hey yo】 **Mr. Savvy** Well, then take [us] up to• Yamamoto's pier.  
**Boatman** Yamamoto-ya!! Yamamoto-ya!!  
**Yamamoto-ya [lodge]** 【Hmm】 Looks like someone's comomg 【【says he and goes down to meet them】】 Oh-this is unusual• [for you] to come here. ... (28)

**船頭**どこへ。つけます【え申】**通り者**そんなら山本の。さん橋へ  
つけろ **船頭**山本屋／＼ **山本や** 【はあ】 どなたかお出なさ  
つたそふな 【【とさんばしへ出むかう】】 これはおめづらしい。  
お出で御座ります。・・・

They are now at the “Yamamoto-ya,” another boathouse at the Moat, and here, we see another sentence in double-lined small script without a circle mark in the line spoken by the landlord from the boathouse. Here we notice that the double-lined small circle mark is put prior to scripts without the circle mark, and directly connected to the previous line. If we put it into a regular sentence, it goes as follows (I underline the part in the double-lined small scripts): ““looks lie someone’s coming,’ says he, and goes down to meet them.” Obviously, the full-stop period should not be put between “coming” and “says” here. Moreover, just as in the case of the lady from the earlier boathouse at Yanagibashi, it is almost certain that the Yamamoto-ya’s welcoming speech. “Oh, this is unusual, [for you] to come here,” is said while he is doing the action indicated in the double-lined small scripted part at the same time. Thus, it can be said that the part in the double-lined small script also connects to the latter sentence. Here, the text does not need the circle mark as a sign to stop or pause. Hence its presence at this point indicates how the text is to be read aloud.

As matter of fact, Shikitei Sanba also uses the big circle in his work, *Namayoi katagi* 酔酊氣質 (Drunken dispositions, 1806), where he explains in the prefatory notes, he explains; “The ○ mark within the text, indicates that there is a short duration and then another person’s line follows.”<sup>33</sup> This explanation coincides with our hypothesis. Let us look at one final verifying example without the circle, i.e., indicating the swift shift before and after the doubled-line small scripts.

In the first half of *Yûshi hôgen*, before the interlude, we meet another visitor whose name is Hira. We can tell he is a samurai from his distinctive somewhat authoritative diction, though his status is not directly announced. Compared to Mr.

Savvy and his companion, Hira is much welcomed at the Yamamoto-ya teahouse.

Meanwhile, Mr. Savvy and his companion have left for a maison de passé, “Odawara-ya.” An apprentice courtesan also from Odawara-ya, comes to pick up Hira at the teahouse. Hira shows his eagerness to go to the maison thus:

[Apprentice courtesan] Always• once [he] decides to come•  
[he is] so restless [my] wait a little please [Madame]  
Hurry• Light• the lantern [Yo!] Your *zōri*-sandals•  
they're the wrong pair• Shall we change them[?] [Hira]  
This is not the place to bother with *zōri*• [I] would like to  
go at once• 【【says he, and starts to run】】 [Apprentice]  
courtesan Wait, please wait• 【【says• she, and follows  
[him]】】 [Errand boy] This lantern• is bad. 【【says• he, and  
makes as if to take back• the lantern, he had just brought to the  
front】】 [Madame] 【【with an irritated face】】 Hurry. Go  
now. (51)

新ぞう いつでも。いい出さつしやると。せわしない【まあ】ま  
ちなんし 女房 はやく。おちやうちんを。付ろ【申】おざ  
うりが。ちがいハ。いたしませんか 平 草履どころではな  
い。はやく行た【【と。とかくかけ出す】】 新ぞう まちなんし  
まちなんし【【と。いふてひつそい行】】 わかい者 此桃灯ハ。  
わるい。【【と。みせまで持つて來た桃灯を。又おくへ持てゆきそふにす  
る】】 女房 【【はら立顔にて】】 はやく。行ッしやいな

Here, Hira's zeal and impatience in hastening to the maison is portrayed vividly by delineating the flurried movement and speech of the teahouse people. It seems Hira even puts on the wrong sandal at the entrance porch. It could be that he has taken somebody else's sandals or those for house-use, or again, he might have put on left side on the right. (For a pair of *zōri*-sandals, please see Appendices.) In any case, in this kind of hasty scene, it is unthinkable to put pauses in between. In other words, since there are no big circle marks, here, in this scene, we do not want to put pauses and that way increases the pacing and thus the humor. The absence of big pause indicates the way the Madame and other people are thrown into comical confusion at the entrance porch of the teahouse in

the evening comically. The text is already funny to read quietly, but, again, the comicality would increase if the text had been read out loud—especially if we imagine the storyteller changing his voice to imitate each character and even adopting some hand gestures.

In this way, the usage of the marks can be understood better when we consider the text is to be read aloud. These marks definitely help when a reader wants to act out, i.e., to pretend to be, each character.

### c. Announcing the Places (rather than narrating)

I would like to observe how place names are mentioned in the text. The first half of the tale describes the trip to the Yoshiwara demimonde, and whenever the boat passes a landmark point, Mr. Savvy announces the name out loud, rather than it being described in the narrative part of the text. For example:

**Mr. Savvy** ...This is, the boathouse (/lodge) everybody uses, it is the Izu-ya. Everyday I use this place.

When the two reach the boathouse, Mr. Savvy broadcasts that they are now in front of the house, saying; “This is, the boathouse (/lodge) everybody uses, it is the Idzu-ya,” instead of utilizing the narration in the small scripts. When they finally arrive at “the Bank,” i.e., Nihon-zutsumi Dyke, just in front of the gate of Yoshiwara demimonde, we have:

**Mr. Savvy** 【Here we are, here we are】 Well! We've come to the bank. 【Hey, hey】 This way. (30)

**通り者** 【さあ／＼】 まあ土手へ来た 【これ／＼】 こちらだよ。

Whether the notification of the location is narrated or told by a character probably does not make that much of a big difference as a piece of information, when the text is read silently. However, when we imagine these two ways of receiving the piece of information, there is an enhancement in the here-and-now feeling when a character tells us what they are doing directly rather than when reading it as a bit of narrated information.

In this way, the major location changes are announced mainly by Mr. Savvy till they arrive at the demimonde. However, I should also mention a case in which Mr. Savvy is not successful in his broadcasting. On the boat, Mr. Savvy asks a boatman:

Mr. Savvy 【My God】 Remarkably this boat is slow. Finally, it's the Shubi no Matsu [Went-well-or-not Pine Tree], isn't it? Boatman The Shubi no Matsu, [we] passed that quite a long time ago. Mr. Savvy Right! [We've] come quite a ways! ... (18)

通り者 【こりや】 大ぶ舟がおそいは。やうやう首尾の松じゃな  
いかの 船頭 首尾の松は。よつほど跡に通り過やした  
通り者 なるほど。よつほど來た。 . . .

The conversation tells us the location of their boat by means of Mr. Savvy's failure in recognizing where they are exactly. We know now the boat has already passed the Shubi no Matsu 首尾の松 (Went-well-or-not pine tree), which is located around half way to the demimonde from Yanagibashi pier. The pine tree seems to have been famous as a landmark since it appears in many Edo writings and paintings. (Please see Appendices.) The tree is named thus because it is said that people on the boats used to ask each other how the things went at the demimonde when they passed by on the river. Here, Mr. Savvy's remark just shows his ignorance in spite of his know-it-all attitude, his

pretending to be a habitué of the demimonde, and his failure must have drawn a laugh from the audience.

#### d. The Description of the “Next [Adjoining] Parlor”

Lastly I would like to discuss the way the “next [adjoining] parlor” is described in the last two sections. In the penultimate section (it is also the second after the interlude), as its title indicates, the night is advancing in Yoshiwara and the conversation occurring in each parlor is described. There are three scenes in each room of the maison de passe. The first part starts with Hira, obviously a samurai. Since his partner courtesan has not come yet, an apprentice courtesan was sent to keep him company while waiting. The *kogaki* (double lined small script) briefly shows the situation, that his partner-courtesan has a previous engagement and he is sitting with her substitute, that is, the apprentice courtesan, and he is shown in to one of the small rooms upstairs through which the courtesans circulate. He keeps complaining to the apprentice courtesan and threatens to leave.

Then a change of location is indicated by the words in larger-sized letters within a larger-sized rectangle, saying, “adjoining parlor” 隣座敷. In the next parlor to Hira’s, there is a blind man with another apprentice courtesan who keeps dozing off. Here, also, a partner courtesan of a blind man has not showed up yet, and he is trying to keep the apprentice courtesan awake to keep company with him. Then the apprentice courtesan whispers, “I don’t like’m!” The blind guest hears this and inquires what she does not like. After she replies to this, the location changes:

**Apprentice courtesan** It's the guest in the adjoining parlor, I am talking about. He keeps joking around. I just don't like'm.

**Adjoining parlor** **Mr.Savvy** /Hey!/ Apprentice!

Where'd you go? /Hey!/ Apprentice! Apprentice!

**[Another] Apprentice courtesan** What is it? Please, do not talk to me so coarsely like that! (64-5)

新ぞう隣座敷の。客の事って。おざんす。いつそ。も。しゃ  
れて。どうもすきんせん

隣座敷 通り者／これ／新／や／どこへいつている／これ／新  
／＼ 新ぞう なんで。おざんす。あんまり。其ように。大たば  
にいッて。おくんなんすな

The guest, who is staying next door to this blind man and is joking around, turns out to be Mr. Savvy, as we can easily guess by the description of his “joking around,” which is apparently not liked. He is also with another apprentice and obviously irritated. He insists that he is leaving since waiting for his partner is getting unbearable for him, while hoping the threat might work to bring him a courtesan. But his attempt fails. The apprentice purposefully takes this literally and encourages him to leave. He sends her to retrieve the Youngster who has gone to another parlor with a relatively high-ranked courtesan. The Youngster, who obviously had a great time with the high-ranked courtesan, finally comes to Mr. Savvy’s little room. This section ends here with the scene in which Mr. Savvy and the Youngster about to go down the stairs to leave the maison de passe, are having a last chat with their partners. In this section, we have three patrons in three cubicles. The text says the first one with Hira adjoins to the second one with a blind man. The second one adjoins to the one with Mr. Savvy in it. Then the last chapter relocates the scene to the parlor where Hira is staying:

**[Adjoining [parlor]]** **[Hira]** 【Hmmmm!】 So noisy. That chatterbox from the last evening, seems to be leaving at last! (70)

**隣** **平** 【あゝ】やかましい。宵からの口きゝが。やうやう  
出て行くそふな。

Again, it starts with a word, “Adjoining [parlor]” in a bigger sized rectangle, and we go back to Hira’s place here in the last chapter. Now the portrait from the previous section starts with Hira, a blind man, and Mr. Savvy, and now we have Hira again, each described as adjoining to the previous one.

Now let us observe this portrait of three cubicles from the point of their physical structure. The design of a house with these three cubicles next to each other is impossible, unless these cubicles are lined up in a circle, which is not plausible. I would like to suggest that we take the notion of “adjoining” indicated in this work as a temporal sequence, not as a spatial arrangement. In other words, this notion is only possible when we consider that this text was acted out by a performer/reciter. When a performer read out loud and used a different tone of voice to differentiate and caricaturize each character, the imagined background, i.e, their rooms, also changes one after another, and this is done by time–sequence. Probably we can take the notion of “adjoining” to indicate “next” in the temporal sense. It can thus be considered to be a “relative” rather than a rigidly “fixed” notion.

Actually, we can find the same technique in *Gonin mawashi* 五人廻し (Five people waiting), a *rakugo* 落語 (comical story telling) piece performed by the second generation Sanyûtei Enba.<sup>34</sup> Saitô Chûichirô claims the usage of this technique goes back to an earlier time and it even influenced the kabuki theatre, in which a rotating stage is actually

used. Toita Kōji explains that a piece titled “Hyakunin-chō Ukina no Yomiuri” 百人町浮名讀 used this rotating stage at Ichimura-za and was first performed in 1852.<sup>35</sup> Thus the notion of “adjoining” seems to be understandable only when we consider this as a text meant to be read out loud in such a way that the “pretending” gets more vivid by comparison.

After the conversation between Hira and his partner-courtesan the text ends with the cackling sound of crows and a temple bell that are used effectively to produce the atmosphere of the time of sunrise.

#### e. The Quotations of Popular Songs

Actually the text closes down thus:

[Courtesan] Without fail, please come again. 【Again the crows go “ka-ah, ka-ah.”】 As if unaware of [their] heart(/s), -- the dawn bell [tolls]. (73-4)

[女郎]かならずお出なんせへ　【またからすかあ／】　心しらずや  
明乃鐘。

After the last line by Hira’s partner courtesan, the crows cackle and the work ends with the phrase “*kokoro* 心 (heart) *shirazu ya* 知らずや (not know), *ake no* 明の (dawn’s) *kane* 鐘 (bell),” in 7 and 5 syllables, i.e., in verse form.

The 5-7-5 verse form has also been used in the *naga-uta*, Edo popular songs accompanied by samisen. The last phrase can be considered an allusion to one of the *naga-uta* songs, if not classical *waka* poetry. We can find a very similar ending phrase in a *naga-uta* song titled “Shin mugen” 新無間 (New [version of] ceaselessness,) from *Tokiwa no tomo* 常磐友 (Friend in eternal country), a *naga-uta* collection, compiled in

1766.<sup>36</sup> The song goes like this:

I thought you were being sincere just to me. It is easy to fall into the depth of amour. I guess [we are] supposed to sink any way. Indeed, not knowing love would be even better. As if unaware of [my] heart or not, -- the dawn's sky.<sup>37</sup>

わしにばかりは誠と思い、はまりやすきは粋の淵、沈むものなれば思えばさいな、ほんに不粋がましじゃもの、心知らずや明の空。

Though we see a little modification here, i.e., instead of “*ake no kane*” (dawn bell), it has “*ake no sora*” (dawn sky), it is permissible to consider the last phrase in *Yûshi hôgen* to be an allusion to the lyric seen in this song. In fact, we have another variation of the song, titled “*Ada makura* 仇枕 (alone in bed, lit. grudge pillow), composed by Utagi Kengyô 歌木検校 (active during 1750-1780). The lyric here is the same except for the last two words, *aki no sora* 秋の空 (autumn sky), a metaphor for the changeable affection of men.<sup>38</sup> Nakano cites another title, “*Omoi no hizakura*” おもひの緋桜 (Sentiment’s rosy-cherry blossoms), for a song which also carries a similar lyric to that in “Shin mugen,” with the last two words, *ake no sora* (dawn’s sky) used as a reference to the last phrase of *Yûshi hôgen*.<sup>39</sup>

In other words, we can say that *Yûshi hôgen* has a format that follows up the ending of the story with some *naga-uta* tune playing. This is, again, another feature showing that the work was presented to resemble some theatrical pieces. With this kind of closing, the work produces the atmosphere of theater, and it is imaginable that it would have been more amusing if the work had been presented during the social gatherings. At

any rate, we can take this as another evidence that the work is an outcome of these gatherings.

In the interlude, we can see more examples of quoting popular songs, though Horikiri does not mention these as a part of what he calls “soundscape.” I would like to add the following to the “soundscape” seen/heard in the interlude. The last part of the interlude goes:

<u>yukari no tsuki</u> ya	Ah, “Nostalgic moon;”
sugagaki no	the <i>sugagaki</i> -song,
mada hiku yotsu no	still being played till midnight’s
hyoushigi mo	clappers.
sore ka aranu ka	If not these, there are [the sounds of]
koma-geta no	‘geta’-sandals.
oto ni iro-meku	imbuing with sensual hue
arisama wa	the milieu--
makoto ni <u>yoru</u> no	It is indeed the brocade
<u>nishiki</u> narikeri	of the night. (54-5)
	(Emphasis Added)

ゆかりの月やすがゝきを。まだひく四ツの拍子木も。それかあ  
らぬか駒下駄の。音に色めく。ありさまハ實に夜の錦なりけり

As I translated above, “*yukari no tsuki*” must have come out of another *naga-uta* titled “Yukari no tsuki” ゆかりの月 (Nostalgic moon).<sup>40</sup> We can also see another song titled “*Yoru no nishiki*” 夜の錦 (Night’s Brocade), which is in the last line in the above verse.<sup>41</sup> This song is also mentioned in *Shunshoku koi no shiranami* 春色恋白波 (Spring color romantic white wave) written by Tamenaga Shunsui 為永春水, which is categorized as *ninjō-bon*.<sup>42</sup>

Miyagi Michio, a renowned *koto* player, proclaims the strong relation between Tokugawa literature and music. He states:

For example, *samisen* in Japan originated from the literature during Tokugawa period.<sup>43</sup>

In other words, Tokugawa literature co-exists with samisen music. This also illuminates the idea that Tokugawa literature should be located within the category of performance art. In this context, it is quite natural to consider *sharebon* literature as meant to be read aloud, that is, as some kind of medium to help in performing, and in which mimicry plays a large part. On the basis of these considerations, I would like to propose that the best way to appreciate *Yûshi hôgen* is to read it aloud and perform the mimicry.

Lastly, let us look at the prefatory notes from *Namayoi katagi* (Drunken dispositions) by Shikitei Sanba again:

When you read to yourself, it is like *sumô*-wrestling by yourself. On the contrary, it [the text] should be read out loud as if someone is beside you. ...If you read carefully for how the words are used, then it sounds like you are really drunken and it becomes interesting. Though this book is funny enough if you read quietly alone, when you read it aloud for other people, that will be even more interesting.<sup>44</sup>

Here, Sanba reveals that the work should be read aloud to another person. It might be thinkable that this other person then took the role of reading aloud and the previous reader became the audience. Thus the examination of the work from the point of view of its imperative to “pretend” allows us to understand the manner in which the “shared moment” is intrinsic to the genre of *sharebon* literature.

## B. Format of *Yûshi hôgen*

Now let us lay our hands on an actual text of *Yûshi hôgen* and take a close look at it from the outside of the book. Our discussion of this text begins with a consideration of the way it is “packaged,” how it meets the eyes of a reader, and some of the semiotic forces that shape its impact and define its function. This will require us to spend a little time on the bibliographical materiality, that is, I would like to examine its typical format as a work in the *sharebon* genre as well as its physical look, and discuss what it might possibly reveal to us regarding the second meaning of “*share*,” that is “to pretend.”

### **1. Size and Color of the Text and Other Edo Books**

The actual size of the text of *Yûshi hôgen* is 9.5 inches in length and 6.5 inches in width, and the color of the front cover is grayish brown or light khaki. Other *sharebon* books usually follow this standard.

We should probably start by reviewing some general knowledge of the books in Edo to enable us to appreciate the impression made by the physical appearance of the book within the context of Edo publications. We should first note that it is known that the Edo publications usually have certain fixed sizes for each genre. Any books with the size of *sharebon*, are called *ko-bon* 小本, meaning, “small [sized] book.” It is a quarter the size of a sheet of *hanshi* 半紙 (half/small-sized) paper (13inch x 9.5inch), which had been used for calligraphy since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the late Muromachi era. A sheet of *hanshi* paper is cut in half, and folded again in half after getting printed, and these printed and folded sheets are bound into a book. A book with half size of *hanshi* paper, i.e., for which a full *hanshi* paper is used, is called *hanshi-bon* 半紙本. The basic sizes for the Edo books are, from the largest, *ô-bon* 大本 (big [sized] book), *hanshi-bon*, *chû-bon* 中本

(middle [sized] book), *ko-bon*, and *mame-hon* 豆本 (bean [sized] book). The size of *ō-bon* is the half size of a sheet of *mino* 美濃 (big-sized, 15.5inch x 10.7inch) size paper. The *chū-bon* books are the half size of *ō-bon*. The *mame-hon* books are anything smaller than the *ko-bon* books.<sup>45</sup>

Though there are some exceptions, in most cases the books in the *sharebon* genre come in the *ko-bon* size. Besides the *sharebon* genre, any playful writings and anything entertaining come in either *ko-bon* or *chū-bon*, while the intellectually serious books are usually larger in size.

We should also note the terms used to differentiate these two categories of the books, i.e., serious academic books and casual *ji-hon* books. For the entertaining books, “*bon/hon*” was used to describe the type of book, such as *e-hon* 絵本 for a “picture book,” *yomi-hon* 讀本 for an “easy reader” or *ryōri-bon* 料理本 for a “cookbook,” not to mention *sharebon*. As opposed to the books with “*b/hon*,” the books labeled with *sho* 書 were generally academic books, for example, a medical book was called *i-sho* 医書. It was not called as *ihon/ibon*. There are also *cha-sho* 茶書 for a “book on tea ceremony,” *nō-sho* 農書 for a “book on agriculture,” *honzō-sho* 本草書 for a “book on medical herbs” and so on. This category of serious books, including Japanese and Chinese classical texts, medicine and nature studies was called *mono no hon* 物の本, and the smaller size book are categorized as *ji-hon* 地本. That is, *ji-hon* 地本 indicates one category classified as anything but the serious academic books. Also *ji* indicates local origin, such as *ji-zake* 地酒 (local sake). That can imply something casual rather than official. When we put the word *k(g)uchi* simply meaning “mouth” to “*ji*” and make it into *jiguchi*, it literally means “daily conversation” or “light chatting,” describing some kind of silly word play

such as puns. We see many varieties of *jiguchi* in the *sharebon* works in the texts, some of which strike modern ears and eyes as quite archaic, but there are some which are still used or are at least comprehensible to modern readers.

Any book categorized as *ji-hon* in most cases comes in the small size. In other words, by looking from the outside, one was able to tell what kind of books these are, what one could expect to read.<sup>46</sup> In terms of the size of the text of *Yûshi hôgen* and other *sharebon* books, a reader can easily make a guess that their contents will be nothing serious. Now I would like to proceed to the next stage, but I would like to point out here that things that have smaller sizes sometimes work as a miniature of something else, something authentic, and therefore generates the humor by their mimicry.

## 2. The Front Cover of Texts and Edo Book Trends

Before we start inspecting the format of *Yûshi hôgen*, I would like to take a glance at the publication background and the influence of Chinese when *Yûshi hôgen* was published in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Especially since we want to focus on the trait of “pretending,” it is important for us to obtain the knowledge of what was considered authentic or official, and widely read, in the Edo publication world. The first thing I would like to point out is the prevalence of all kinds of dictionaries.

Ever since the *Erya* 爾雅 [J. *Jiga*], the first dictionary was compiled in China, various dictionaries followed, including *Shuowen Jiezi* [J. *Setsumon kaiji*] compiled in 100 C.E., all the way up to the *Kangxi Zidan* [J. *Kôki jiten*] published in 1716. *Kangzi Zidan* is still widely used. *Fangyan* is counted as one of these works but specializing in dialects, though it is not that well known compared to these primary lexical dictionaries.

According to Sugimoto Tsutomu, these Chinese dictionaries had a big influence in Japan from the ancient era to early modern times.<sup>47</sup>

The first dictionary in China, *Erya*, which already inspired Minamoto Shitagagō 源順 (911-983) to compile *Wamyō ruiju shō* 和名類聚抄 in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, still had a strong influence in the Edo era. Arai Hakuseki, a Tokugawa government official and the Neo-Confucius scholar we have examined in the previous chapter, assembled *Tōga* 東雅 (Eastern version of *Erya*), published in 1719.<sup>48</sup> We can name similar examples one after another. For example, based on *Shiming* 耘名 [J. Shakumyō] compiled around 200 in China, Kaibara Ekiken published *Nihon Shakumyō* 日本耘名 (Japanese Shakumyō) in 1700.<sup>49</sup> *Yupian* 玉篇 [J. Gyokuhēn/ Gokuhēn] was originally published around 535-551 in China; its reprinted version was brought to Japan around after the 11<sup>th</sup> century and became a model for *Wagokuhēn* 和玉篇 (Japanese *Yupian*) which is said to have been published in 1603 at Ninna Temple in Kyoto. This dictionary was widely used throughout the Muromachi (1336-1573) and Edo (1603-1867) eras, to the extent that the word became a common noun, *wagokuhēn*, indicating any Chinese-Japanese dictionaries.

We should quickly note that dictionaries for European languages were also compiled. Aoki Konyō 青木昆陽 (1698-1769), who is now famous for cultivating sweet potatoes credited with preventing starvation, made *Waran moji ryaku kō* 和蘭文字略考 (Japanese-Dutch dictionary), published in 1746.<sup>50</sup> Not just dictionaries but all kinds of reference books were published during the Edo era by learning and modifying the Chinese originals such as *Bencao Gangmu* 本草綱目 [J. *Honzō komoku*], (Compendium of materia medica) published in 1596 in China.

In Ming Dynasty China, Li Shizhen 李時珍 (1518-1593) compiled a classification of herb components for medical use and published it as *Bencao Gangmu* in 1596. This exhaustive study on plants for medical use was brought into Japan at the latest by 1604 and wielded a great influence since then. An encyclopedia, *Sancai tuhui* 三才図会 [J. *Sansai zue*] was also published during the Ming Dynasty period in China. Influenced by these books, in Japan, the first encyclopedia, *Kinmō zui* 訓蒙図彙 (Educational pictures encyclopedia), was compiled by a Neo-Confucian scholar, Nakamura Tekisai 中村惕斎 (1629-1702) and published in 1666.<sup>51</sup> This work is reproduced in *The History of Japan*, published in 1727 in Europe.<sup>52</sup> This is a collection of fragments from the journals written by Engelbert Kaempfer (1651-1716), a German physician to the Dutch embassy and a traveler, who spent ten years (1683-1693) traveling through Persia and Southeast Asia, including two years in Japan (1690-1692), residing in Nagasaki.

By the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, a Confucian scholar and a medical herbalist, Kaibara Ekiken 貝原益軒 (1630-1714), had finished compiling the medical use of the plants in Japan and published the reslut in 1709 uner title *Yamato honzō* 大和本草 meaning “Materia medica Japonica.”<sup>53</sup> From the title we can easily detect the big influence of *Bencao Gangmu* as well as the ambition and wish of Kaibara Ekiken and his contemporaries, who were longing to have their own version of “Materia medica.” This was followed by the publishing of *Wakan sansai zue* 和漢三才図会 (World pictorial book on Japan and China) in 1713, compiled by a medical herbalist and physician, Terashima Ryōan 寺島良安 (1654-1732).<sup>54</sup> Needless to say, this publication is modeled after *Sancai tuhui* 三才図会 in China.

Thus, when *Yûshi hôgen* was published, the publication of various kinds of dictionaries and reference books was very prevalent, as was the study of dialects. Now let us take a closer look at the text. On grayish brown or light khaki colored front cover, a title label 題簽 is pasted, which reads, *Yûshi hôgen* in four Chinese characters 遊子方言.<sup>55</sup> The title can be translated either as something like “Playboy lingo” or as something like “Traveler’s dialect.” I would like to suggest “Vagabond dialect” as its translation and I will give a close explanation of the translation as well as the title of the work itself in Chapter 4, but here it is sufficient to point out that even a hasty understanding of the title, written in four Chinese characters, indicates that this is a book about “dialect” or “language.”

Within the context of the Edo publication world we just inspected, we can presume that a book with the title, *Yûshi hôgen*, would have looked like a serious scholarly book of linguistic study. From a quick look of the format, it even resembles Chinese books. In other words, we can say that the title “pretends” to be a book which is more refined than it turned out to be or seek to pass itself off as a Chinese classical text.

### **3. The Books that “Pretend” to be Something Refined**

Now let us turn to the front cover and take a look at the beginning of the inside pages of *Yûshi hôgen*. After the brownish front cover adorned with the title label saying *Yûshi hôgen* pasted on the upper left hand side of the book, we find “*Yûshi hôgen* no jo 遊子方言叙 (Preface to *Yûshi hôgen*)” written neatly in Chinese.<sup>56</sup> This Preface is almost three pages long, with the name of the author written at the end of it. I will discuss the content of the Preface further in the last chapter. Almost all the *sharebon* works are

accompanied by a preface 序, many of them written in Chinese, and this text is no exception.<sup>57</sup>

Some prefaces of *sharebon* works were written by the authors themselves, and others were contributed by somebody else, usually their literati friends. Several *sharebon* works have more than two prefaces, with the one by the author coming last. There are also numerous works that contain a “postscript” 跋, in addition to the preface, though *Yûshi hôgen* does not have one. The *sharebon* genre is not the only one that embraces “preface” and/or “postscript,” as other Edo literary works also accommodate one or both of them, though we seldom see either of them in works of modern Japanese literature.

The contents of the “prefaces” vary without obvious relation to the types and qualities of the works; some of these “prefaces” function as the introduction to the texts, some clarify the mission statement and vision of the work, some explain the reasons and the circumstances for producing the texts, which sometimes gives us useful bibliographical information, and others carry an independent context which does not necessarily relate to the texts. For example, the prefaces seen in the *saiken* 紹見, the guidebooks for demimondes visits, usually have an independent content and style of their own, and many *sharebon* authors contributed these Prefaces and presented their ideas, such as their notions of being stylish, and sometimes their unique view of filial piety.

Takagi Gen proclaims that the correlation between the Prefaces and the content of the texts did not matter so much in the books published during the Edo period. According to his study of the Prefaces seen in pre-modern literary works, what carried weight was the physical existence of these Prefaces in the books, not their relevancy to the content of the texts. The embodiment of beauty in the format was more important

and essential than the consistency between these introductory parts and the texts. That is, it seems an irrevocable quality of Edo publications that a book starts with a preface and end with a postscript among the Edo publications, especially for academic books.<sup>58</sup>

This makes us wonder how this kind of format was generated at all. Takagi suggests that it was fashioned after the manner in which Chinese classical books were bound.<sup>59</sup> It is the configuration of the Chinese classical books that usually include preface and postscript, and the Edo writings copied this format, among other elements. We have seen that the Edo literati and samurai class were under the strong influence of Neo-Confucianism, and we have sensed that they had longings to emulate Chinese culture. Under these circumstances, it can be considered quite natural that they tried to produce their works as a reflection of their erudition in the Chinese classics, and at the same time they also tried to publish these works with the resemblance to the format of the Chinese classical books as their model.

This means that *Yûshi hôgen* contains a proper book format with the preface written in Chinese. That is, not just from the outside look but even after turning the first few pages, the book still looks like an academic book resembling the Chinese book format; only the size is smaller than a real scholarly publication. However, the contents are quite contrary to what one would expect to find in the academic works. From the beginning to the end, the theme of *sharebon* concerned the demimondes. When we consider the setting of these works, we could say that the subject matter deals with and addresses the romantic emotions left out from the whole social and ethical system of Edo society based on Neo-Confucianism.

The content of the text is thus actually far from what its appearance may have led us to expect, dealing as it does exclusively with funny observations of people in the demimondes, which would thus have compelled many to conclude that the works are examples of vulgarity rather than refinement. In other words, we can presume that the inclusion of proper Prefaces in their books is another way to exhibit their Chinese erudition, or what we might call “samurai dandyism.” However, this impression of erudition is destined to be belied by the careful reading of the Prefaces, not to mention of the content of the ensuing main texts themselves. Thus the refined outside appearance of the book is distorted and vulgarized by its content and subject matter, and this gap and contrast enhances the humor and ironic beauty. I would like to suggest that the name of this genre insinuates one of its essential traits, which is the co-presence of elegance and vulgarity, which constitute one aspect of the peculiar Edo aesthetics.<sup>60</sup>

#### **4. Refined and Yet Vulgar; Vulgar and Yet Refined**

In a broader sense, we can consider this way of wrapping up the casualness or even vulgarity within a sheath of refinement, as *mitate*見立て-likening, a method distinctive to Japanese (and possibly Korean) aesthetics. The *mitate*-likening aesthetic method started out as one of the approaches to linked verse (*renku*), after which it was applied to the form of the *ukiyo-e* woodblock prints. “Shôshô Hakkei” 潤湘八景 [Ch.Xiaoxiang Bajing] (The Eight Sceneries of Xianxiang), one of the renowned themes in Chinese painting, is a good example. Harunobu draws “Zashiki Hakkei” 座敷八景 (Parlors of the eight sceneries, 1830), based on the original “*bajing*” theme and adds the design of the picture books by Nishikawa Sukenobu 西川祐信 (1671-1750).<sup>61</sup> Utagawa

Hiroshige 歌川広重 (1797-1858) has “Kanazawa Hakkei” 金沢八景 (The eight sceneries at Kanazawa, 1834). There are many other “xx Hakkei” (The eight sceneries of xx) paintings that perform “*mitate*-likening” over the original Xiaoxiang Bajing. These local Japanese sceneries are obviously *not* the ones in China but the viewer tries to superimpose, or, we might say, “pretend” to see the authentic beauty of the original Chinese landscapes. The juxtaposition of the “original” and the “pretend” scenery generates the peculiar comical beauty we find in ukiyo-e and related genres that employ the “*mitate*-likening” method.

Tani Minezô tells us that starting from the publication of *Ehon mitate hyakkachô* 絵本見立百化鳥 (*Mitate*-likening picture book of a hundred transforming birds) in 1755, the *mitate*-likening picture books were quite prevalent, and the meetings to enjoy them together came into vogue. There were other similar activities for which the Edo literary cliques used to get together. We mentioned the type of gathering called *takara-awase* 宝合 (treasures competition) previously. Here, each member brings a daily object and performs *mitate*-likening of it to something refined, sacred or otherworldly.<sup>62</sup>

### C. Author of *Yûshi hôgen*

Now let us take a look at how the name of the author of *Yûshi hôgen* is presented. We find it at the end of the Preface:

Written with care by  
Countryside-aged-person Just-an old-man

<Seal in circle:Life >  
<Seal in square: A Single Pleasure> (5)

田舎老人多田爺謹書  
<○印：人生>  
<□印：一樂>

This is, obviously, a penname. The use of what are obvious pennames is a common feature of *sharebon* works, especially the earlier ones. Kyokutei Bakin edited a biography entitled, *Kinsei mono no hon Edo sakusha burui* 近世物之本江戸作者部類 (Pre-modern authors of the books in Edo by category, 1833-5) in which he lists the names of the authors of Edo playful writings and the *ukiyo-e* carvers/artists. He began the “section on *sharebon* authors” with *Yûshi hôgen* but he just cites the name of the author simply as *yûshi* (a vagabond or a traveler), and says that he is unable to remember the name of the author.<sup>63</sup> As we see from here, the identity of the author of *Yûshi hôgen* was already at this early date an enigmatic matter in literary history. Even now, the identities of the early authors still remain unknown for the most part. In fact, Bakin listed the fourteen names of *sharebon* authors with a provision, saying; “there are doubtless many omissions for the *sharebon* writers.... I only listed the well known ones.”<sup>64</sup> There are several reasons for the omissions, but this also shows us that it was difficult detective work to seek out which pen name belongs to what person and who really wrote which piece.<sup>65</sup> Among these fourteen authors, we do not know the identity of Shinro-tei, and we know Santô Kyôden is from the merchant class. All of the others are, significantly, samurai officers of various ranks, or medical doctors. Sanba is known as a pharmacy owner but it is said that he is originally from a samurai family.

As Suzuki Toshiyuki points out, during the first ten years of the genre's existence (the 1770s), there are hardly any *sharebon* that reveal the true author or even the actual publisher.<sup>66</sup> These authors seem to have little desire to produce their work for any sort of public recognition. During the early stage of the genre's development, since most of the authors were samurai officials, they really did not have any ambition to achieve any fame as a writer of these products at all, especially since their topic is exclusively the demimonde and courtesans, something that did not conform with their legitimate status in the Tokugawa hegemony based on Neo-Confucianism. Or then again, the reason for this anonymity might be simply that the *sharebon* genre started out as a recreational pastime for samurai officials. I would like to suggest another reason, however, for their authors' anonymity, and that their desire to "pretend." That is to say, that these authors sought out the pleasure of deliberately pretending to be a different person beside themselves. Their usage of playfully obscuring pennames conceals the true identity of the *sharebon* authors and that makes it extremely laborious to draw any conclusion about the works based on discerning a characteristic tendency of their particular authors. In later stages in the genre's development, this anonymity contributed to produce the social occasions where the participants were treated as equals in spite of their social class in real life. The literati, i.e., the samurai high officials, samurai secretaries, the merchants and others, possibly just wished to become somebody else as a way of stepping out of their daily routine and social roles.

Their exclusive topic, the demimonde and the courtesans, was well-suited for this pursuit of their counter-life, since demimondes were located in a socially "other" realm, where the visitors left their social ranks and constrictions behind and became equal to

each other with the help of the courtesans, as we have seen in a previous chapter. By restricting the topic exclusively to the demimondes, the authors put themselves in a dimension far away from daily life and there they set themselves free to be as playful as they wished. Indeed, this seems to be one of the essential aims behind the production of *sharebon*, and in order to accomplish this aim, anonymity seemed to be a crucial element. As Suzuki puts it: “*sharebon* is a device to construct and fantasize the space and time of non-daily life, and set oneself free from this world. This is the essence of *sharebon*.<sup>67</sup> We should be cognizant here that their pennames simply show that the model they were seeking to “pretend” to be were in Chinese literati who were themselves known by many names, by having multiple pennames for themselves. I would like to further discuss their modeling the Chinese literati in the last chapter.<sup>68</sup>

There have been many discussions concerning the identity of the author of *Yûshi hôgen*. One theory was that Tada-ya Rihei 多田屋利兵衛, a *jihon* (non-academic) book dealer, was the author of the work, a speculation based on a homophone with “Tada” in the pennname, “Tada no Jijii (Just an aged man). But we should remember that in *Shin’ya meidan / Karano Cha-banashi* (Luxuriant field tea talk), Hezutsu Tôsaku also reveals the name of the author when he discloses how *Yûshi hôgen* came to be:

The person named Tanba-ya Rihei 丹波屋利兵衛 made [a book] out of the performance of *ukiyo-shi*, titled *Yûshi hôgen*, sent it to Suhara-ya Ichibei 須原屋市兵衛 [one of the major publishers in Edo], had it printed, and it was widely circulated.<sup>69</sup>

Hezutsu Tōsaku tells us that Tanba-ya Rihei 丹波屋理(/ 利)兵衛 is the author of the book. Actually, Bakin, in *Kinsei mono no hon Edo sakusha burui*, introduces this essay as a resource for the knowledge of the author of *Yūshi hôgen*.<sup>70</sup>

By now it is generally considered that Tanba-ya Rihei 丹波屋理(/ 利)兵衛, an Osaka (near Kyoto) -born publisher, is most likely the author, after the careful examination of publication lists circulated in the Edo period and other textual research, conducted by scholars such as Nakamura Yukihiko, Mizuno Minoru, and Nakano Mitsutoshi.<sup>71</sup> Nakano provides more detailed research on Tanba-ya Rihei in “Hon’ya Tanba-ya Rihei no koto, Wahon kyôshitsu 11.”<sup>72</sup> In the next chapter, I would like to investigate the problem of the authorship of *sharebon* at greater length, from the perspective of “being stylish,” the third meaning of *share*.

In this chapter, we examined the traits of the *sharebon* literature, utilizing the notion of “pretending,” and tried to illuminate two different and yet related aspects of this in the study of the text per se and the study of the book’s format. The former leads us to locate the *sharebon* and other Edo works, as “occasional literature,” that is, literature created for “a shared moment and space.” At the same time, such a genre reinforces an intense appreciation of transience. This means that the work recited simultaneously functions and fails to function as a text. Though the whole scene of witty conversations is made into a written text, it refuses to exist fully as a text in the usual sense, i.e., something that retains its meaning and substance over time, transcending the transience of the spoken word. Rather, these texts seem to exist only for the readers to share the “here” and “now” experience of reading/ listening to it. We could even say that the

written texts here did not exist for the ultimate goal of conveying the contents: rather the final purpose probably was rather to convert these jokes back into sounds, and the written text was used as a mere transitory tool for a kind of participatory amateur performance art for parties, not as something that carries the weight of an absolute substance or ultimate goal. In this way, the content of the text, or the text per se, shows the characteristics of what I call “situational transience.” It is not written for posterity, nor is the author interested in a posthumous fame.

Situational transience brought us the notion of the *mitate*-likening, one of the essential methods of Japanese aesthetics. The Preface and the title page of the text are exclusively written in Chinese, giving the reader the impression of the dissembling appearance of a “refined” Chinese classical book. And yet, the content is all written in *kana*-Japanese, that is, it has an informal image or an unrefined look. This content is wrapped in a refined-looking sheath. This structure itself manifests the “vulgarity within refinement,” and the divergence presented in the sheath and the content generates a form of humor and ironic beauty. The parodic irony requires an analysis of the Japanese reception of Chinese language and culture as embodied in this formal “sheath.” And I would like to turn to this issue in the last three chapters of this work.

## ENDNOTES:

### Chapter 3

<sup>1</sup> Kitagawa Morisada, *KinseiFûzokushi* 5, p.192-3.

<sup>2</sup> Yamazaki Yoshinari, “Sanyô Zakki,” *Nihon zuihitsu taisei, dai-2ki 6kan*, pp.101-2.

<sup>3</sup> ST 8: 259.

<sup>4</sup> It goes:

Warasa, ha-ah. Ishi mochi, ha-ah!  
Yassasa, Yassa. Ikura, ikura, ikura! (p.260)

わらさはあいしもちはあ  
やつささやつさ いくらいくらいくら

This shouting scene merges into a conversation occurring in the demimonde with a northern Edo accent. The same northern dialect is also observed in *Tôsei nitayama kidori* 当世真似山氣登里 (Contemporary affected look-alike, 1780). ST 9: 207-216. Ôta Nanpo transcribed the Shinshû (present-day Nagano prefecture) dialect in *Karuizawa douchû sugoroku* 軽井茶話道中粹語録 (Backgammon on the way to Karuizawa) published in 1777. ST 10: 219-232. Manzôtei, the author of *Futsuka-yoi Ohsakazuki* also describes a samurai who is from Sendai, the northern part of Japan, in his first work, *Shinme idai* 真女意題 (On true feelings of women) and depicts a private demimonde in the Edo area vividly. ST 10: 349-363. A modern linguist, Tôjô Misao affirms the accuracy of the Sendai dialect in this work. (*Tôjô Misao Chosakushû* 3, *Hôgen kenkyû no ayumi*, pp.374-7. These works successfully trace the chat spoken in each dialect between the characters from the countryside.

*Kaku chû kitan* 郭中奇譚 (Extraordinary stories in demimonde, 1769) written by Usuoka Sensei 白岡先生 (Professor Usuoka) also contains the portrayal of the calls shouted by the horse drivers, which goes, “*Ezzai, korassai* エッザイコラッサイ.” ST 4: 295-309. This work starts with the singing along with the shamisen and chorus accompaniment in a demimonde room. After the transcription of the lyrics, the description of the chorus (probably meant as an onomatopoeia of the samisen) goes, “*Chi-e-ba chi-e-ba chi-e-ba, kira no, sa no sa* チエバチエバチエバキラノサノサ.” p.300. This is immediately followed by the hour driver’s call follows.

A lot of interjections are also used in this work to create the lively quality of the conversation to it. On the first page, we can find more than 10 interjections, for example, “*saa* さあ,” “*oh* おお,” “*korya* こりや,” “*are* あれ,” “*arya* ありや,” “*nanisa* なにさありや,” “*heeee* ヘええ,” “*ai* あい,” “*hon-ni* ほんに,” “*ô sore sore* おおそれそれ,” “*kore kore* これこれ,” and “*kore sa* これさ.” p.299. More variety of interjections such as “*aita-ta-ta-ta* (ouch),” “*oh, ita ita* (ouch), *korya*,” “*nanto* (what’al?),” and “*mmmmmmmm*” are sprinkled here and there throughout the work to capture the vivacious atmosphere. In this way, faithfully setting down what is heard not only brings rhythmical vividness to these works but also gives the reader auditory pleasure.

<sup>5</sup> ST 12: 315.

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<sup>6</sup> *Nihon zuihitsu taisei dai-2-ki* 24, p.341-2.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.450-1.

We find another description of a “parrot-stone,” in the local history *Kōkōroku* 鴻溝錄 (Record of Kōkō [Ômizo]) written in 1824 by Maeda Baien, the regional samurai lord in Ômi (present-day Shiga prefecture). Maeda Baien, *Kōkōroku*. Takashima City Board of Education, 2001. It goes:

There is a parrot-stone at the peak of Torigoe. No matter what kind of sounds occurs, whether they are words, or *koto* harps and flutes, it never fails to answer [echo] back. People come to call and listen [to the stone]. There is a calling place and a listening spot. Those who wish to listen spread straw blankets at the listening spot, tilt their [wine] glasses and ask others to sing and recite at the calling place and play the string and pipe instruments. How mysterious [of nature]!

Some of these stones are tightly connected with local folk belief and Shintoism, and became objects of worship. (Please see Yanagida Kunio, *Ishigami mondō*, Wakamori Tarō, Hayashi Hiroshi, *Kagamiishi kikō*. Nagoya: Chūnichi Shinbunsha, 2000.) Others functioned as local monuments, connected with tales and legends.

<sup>8</sup> Kitagawa Morisada, *Kinsei fuzokushi* 5, pp.184-6.

<sup>9</sup> Chinsaku Ômu-seki, pp.313-4, 320-1.

<sup>10</sup> Santô Kyôden *Harasugi Ômuseki*.

<sup>11</sup> It is common to read the title as “Shinya meidan,” using *on-yomi* (Chinese way of pronunciation), but Nagai Kafû, in his *Kunsai manpitsu* 葦斎漫筆 (Stinky-contaminated and clean-sacred, idle writings, 1925), put *kana* letters for the title, yielding a *kun-yomi* (Japanese pronunciation) reading, as “Karano chabanashi.” *Nagai Kafû zenshû*, (Old Edition), *dai-15 kan*, p.496.

I should probably note that there exists the different version for the passage in *Shin-ya meidan*. The one included in *Edo sôsho maki-no-1*. (Meicho Kankôkai, 1964) had *Yûjo hôgen* instead of *Yûshi hôgen* unlike other documents. “*Yûjo*” means “courtesans” and in that case, the focus should be on women rather than the visitors. It might be a mere copying mistake but this suggests some interesting questions. The version quoted above is based on the manuscript written by the author.

<sup>12</sup> Hezutsu Tousaku, *Shin 'ya meidan*, in *Zoku Enseki jusshu*, *dai-1*, p.110. Also in *Edo sôsho*, *maki-no-11*,

<sup>13</sup> Chinsaku Oumu-seki 珍作鸚鵡石, p.7.

<sup>14</sup> Needless to say, the phrase “Learning from the old [sayings] and make them into the new [words]” is derived from the famous passage in *Analect* [CH:Lunyu, Jpn:Rongo]. It is written as 温故知新 [Ch: Wengu zhixin] (Learning from the old and recognizing the new) and pronounced as “Onko Chishin” in Japanese with the Chinese style pronunciation. There is also the Japanese style pronunciation for the same phrase and it goes, “Furuki o tazunete, atarashiki o siru.” It almost coincides with the passage above, “Furuki o motte, atarashiki to su.”

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- <sup>15</sup> SNKBT 76: 410.
- <sup>16</sup> *Budō denrai ki*, SNKBT 77: 566.
- <sup>17</sup> *Hanashibon taikei*, 17, ed. Mutô Sadao, p.127.
- <sup>18</sup> *Edo no Gesaku Ehon zoku-kan-1* pp.18-19.
- <sup>19</sup> *Eda sangoshu*, in *Hanashihon taikei* 6, ed. by Mutô Sadao, p.34.
- Karukuchi ôwarai, Tôsei teuchi warai*, in *Hanashi hon taikei* 5, ed. by Mutô Sadao and Oka Masahiko, p.78, p.116.
- <sup>20</sup> *Nihon shomin bunkashi shûsei, dai-9 kan , asobi*, ed. by Geinô-shi kenkyûkai, pp.297-314.
- <sup>21</sup> *Yorozu no takara*, in *Hanashi hon taikei* 11, ed. by Muto Sadao, p.248-263.
- <sup>22</sup> Hamada Giichirô, *Edo Bungei-kô*, pp.203-219.
- <sup>23</sup> *Shinpen Kisho Fukusei-kai sôsho, ehon,hinagata-bon, dai-37 kan*.  
Around that time, other kinds of competitions were also held such as *tenugui-awase* 手拭合 (towel design competition) and *yukata-awase* 浴衣合 (summer casual kimono design competition). *Share no dezain[design]*, illustrated by Santô Kyôden. Tokyo: Iwasaki Bijutsu-sha, 1988., also *Shinpen Kisho Fukusei-kai sousho, ehon,hinagata-bon, dai-37 kan*. Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, 1991.
- <sup>24</sup> *En-yû nikki, Nihon shomin bunka shiryou shûsei, dai-13kan, geinou kiroku* 2, p.39-43.
- <sup>25</sup> Moriyama Takamori, *Shizu no odamaki*, in *Enseki jisshu dai-1*, p.224.
- <sup>26</sup> *Sendô beya*, ST 24: 353.
- <sup>27</sup> The word “club” here has a *furi-gana*, a pronunciation indicator, portraying faithfully Edo accent. Actually it turns out that the Youngster is the one who is familiar with the members of the clubs not Mr. Savvy. This creates a certain humor.
- <sup>28</sup> Honda Yasuo, “Sharebon, Kokkeibon to Uki-yo monomane,” *Edo no Warai*, ed. By Howard Hibbet et al., pp. 233-267.
- <sup>29</sup> “Sharebon ni kakareta Otofûkei” *Nihon bungaku* 48 (10), pp.17-26.
- <sup>30</sup> Yamanaka Reiko explains that by putting down the changes in the small scripts, these changes started to work as the new rules and were handed down to later generations as one of the variations of the same piece. Yokomichi Mario et.al.. *Nô o omosiroku miseru kufû: kogaki enshutsu no rekishi to shosô*. *Hinoki Nôgaku Library*, p.67-8, p.141, p.175.
- <sup>31</sup> *Gesaku ron*, In Nakamura Yukihiko *chojutsu-shû* 8, p.262.
- <sup>32</sup> *Akutagawa Ryûnosuke zenshu* 13.
- <sup>33</sup> NKBZ 47: 207.
- <sup>34</sup> *Meijin mei-en Rakugo zenshû* 3, pp.58-71.
- <sup>35</sup> Toita Kôji, *Kabuki Meisaku sen*, pp.64-7,274-6.
- <sup>36</sup> Takano Hanzan, *Tokugawa bungei ruiju 10 zokkyoku (zoku-kyoku) ge*, p.4.
- <sup>37</sup> *Shin mugen*, in *Tokugawa bungei ruiju 10 zokkyoku (zoku-kyoku) ge*, p.291.
- <sup>38</sup> *Ada-makura*, in *Sô-uta oyobi ji-uta zenshû*, *Nihon onkyoku zenshû dai-13 kan*, *Nihon onkyoku zenshû kankou-kai, fukkoku-ban*, p.388.
- <sup>39</sup> NKBZ 47, *sharehon kokkeibon, ninjôbon*, p.74.
- <sup>40</sup> *Tokugawa Bungei Ruiju 10 Zokkyoku ge*, p.459.
- <sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p.148-155.
- <sup>42</sup> Tamenaga Shunsui, *Shunshoku koi shiranami*, p.38.
- <sup>43</sup> Miyagi Michio, *Oto no Sekai*, in *Gendai Nihon Shisô Taikei* 14, *Geijutsu no Shisô*, ed. Yanaihara Isaku, p.366.

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<sup>44</sup> NKBZ 47:207.

<sup>45</sup> Nakano, *op.cit.*, pp.60-69.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p.12-3.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p.19.

<sup>48</sup> NST 35. *Arai Hakuseki*.

<sup>49</sup> *Ekiken zenshû* 1, Kokusho Kankôkai, 1973.

<sup>50</sup> NST 64. *Yôgaku*.

<sup>51</sup> *Kinmô zui shûsei*, 25 vols, Ôzora sha, 1998-2002.

<sup>52</sup> Engelbert Kaempfer, *The history of Japan, together with a description of the kingdom of Siam, 1690-92*, tr. by J. G. Scheuchzer, F. R. S., Glasgow: J. MacLehose and sons, 1906.

<sup>53</sup> *Kaibara Ekiken zenshû* 7, Kokusho kankô kai, 1973.

<sup>54</sup> *Wakan sansai zue* 18 vols., Heibon sha, 1985-1991.

<sup>55</sup> Please see, NKBZ 47: 19-20, 53, ST: 345, 419-420.

<sup>56</sup> When we turn the front covers of the books published during the Edo era, we usually find the title printed again as the “naidai (内題 “inside title”),” which the Bensei-sha edition we use here does not contain. An “inside title” can be very useful in case a “title label” on a front cover had already fallen off of a text. According to Nakano, there are also occasions of the discrepancy between the “title labels” and the “inside titles.” (Nakano, *Edo no hanpon*, p.231.)

<sup>57</sup> This book format of inclusion of a Chinese Preface can also be observed among the dictionaries compiled in Japan as early as early as late 9<sup>th</sup> century, such as *Shinsen jikyô* 新撰字鏡, *Wamyô ruiji-shô* 倭名類聚抄. Takahashi Tadahiko and Takahashi Hisako, *Nippon no ko-jisho*, Taishûkan shoten, 2006, pp.55-6. Takahashi Tadahiko and Takahashi Hisako explain that this literary format of attaching a Preface was the result of following Chinese literary customs found in the old dictionaries published in the medieval age. These Prefaces are usually written in Chinese; if not, the obvious style of a translation from Chinese. *Ibid.*, p.i. In this sense also, *Yûshi hôgen* can look like some kind of dictionary. That is, up till we reach the content of the text itself, the book, *Yûshi hôgen* still looks like a serious academic book with the Preface in Chinese.

<sup>58</sup> Takagi Gen, “Kinsei koki shôsetsu juyô-shi shiron; Meiji-ki no jobun-shû shôbun-shû o megutte,” *Meiji no shuppan bunka*. ed. Matsuno Yô’ichi, p.83.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p.84.

<sup>60</sup> Both Nakamura and Nakano have suggested that precisely such a copresence of elegance and vulgarity is one of the essential traits of Edo art and literature in general. In *Nihon no kinsei*, Nakano cites the haikai poetries and the ukiyo-e paintings and paintings such as “Jûkyôshû 乘興舟” by Itô Jakuchû (伊藤若冲 1716-1800) as examples which represent the notion of elegance within vulgarity.

Nakamura, *op.cit.*, pp.64-71, Nakano, *Nihon no kinsei* 12, *bungaku to bijutsu no seijuku*, Chûô Kôronsha, 1993, and also please see *Jûhachi [18] seiki no Edo bungei; ga to zoku no seijuku*, Iwanami shoten, 1999.

<sup>61</sup> *Edo fûzoku zu’e shû, jô-kan*.

<sup>62</sup> *Shinpen Kishô Fukuseikai sôsh;o Ehon-Hinagata hon dai-38kan*, pp.171-264, pp.265-314.

<sup>63</sup> Kyokutei Bakin, *Kinsei mono no hon Edo sakusha burui*, pp.92-106.

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<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p.92.

<sup>65</sup> The followings are the authors Bakin listed in his book. Some authors also appear in other sections. Yûshi 游子, Fûrai sanjin 風来山人, Yomo sanjin 四方山人, Yamate no Bakahito 山手馬鹿人, Tanishi Kingyo 田螺金魚, Hourai sanjin Kikyô 蓬萊山人歸橋, Tôrai Sanna 唐來三和, Shimizu Enjû 志水燕十, Manzô-tei 萬象亭, Santô Kyôden 山東京伝, Shinro-tei 振鶯亭, Umebori Kokuga 梅暮谷峨, Sanba 三馬, Ikku 一九.

<sup>66</sup> Suzuki Toshiyuki, *Tutaya Jûzaburô*, p.94.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p.78.

<sup>68</sup> We also should not overlook that there might be some kind of fear over clarifying their identity as writers about this subject matter, especially after the Kansei Reformation (1787-1793). Under the strict control of publishing, use of disposable pennames as a disguise may have worked as a safety net for the authors.

<sup>69</sup> Hezutsu Tôsaku, “Shin’ya meidan,” in *Zoku Enseki jusshu, dai-1*, p.110. Also in *Edo sôsho, maki-no-11*, Meicho kankôkai, 1964.

<sup>70</sup> In *Gesakusha kô hoi 戯作者考補遺* (1845) written by Kimura Mokurô 木村默老 (1774-1856), we can find similar entry for the author of *Yûshi hôgen* to Bakin’s, which also quotes Hezutsu Tôsaku’s observation on the identity of the author. The self-Preface of Mokurô’s book clarifies that the content of the book is based on Bakin’s. Kimura Mokurô, *Gesakusha kô hoi*, p.6, p.2.

<sup>71</sup> ST 4: 420-1.

Nakamura Mitsutoshi, *Edo no hanpon*, pp.195-6.

<sup>72</sup> Nakano, “Hon’ya Tanba-ya Rihei no koto, Wahon kyoushitsu,” in *Toshô 722*, (Apr 2009), pp.43-5.

## Chapter IV.

### “Word Play” as the Fourth Meaning of *Share*: Reception of Chinese (1): **Samurai Dandyism Seen in the *Sharebon* Titles, and More Jokes Seen in the Sharebon Texts**

The disciples should remain seven feet away [from the teacher],  
since it is not allowed to stamp on the teacher's shadow.<sup>1</sup>

弟子去七尺、師影不可踏[sic]

*Dōshikyō*童子教  
--A textbook at Edo  
Elementary Schools--

A sparrow goes “cheew, cheew, “  
A crow goes “kah, kah, “  
And we go “kô, tei, chu, shin 孝悌忠信 (filiality,  
brotherliness, loyalty and trustworthiness).”<sup>2</sup>

Teshima Toan (1718-1786)  
--From a painting scroll hung  
at a local school in Edo—

Mountains are not worthy of esteem just because they are high. It is because they have trees on them that they are worthy of esteem. People are not worthy of esteem just because they have a fine presence [lit. fat]. It is because of their wisdom that they are worthy of esteem.<sup>3</sup>

山高故不貴、以有樹為貴。人肥故不貴、以有智為貴。

*Jitsugokyō* 実語教  
--A textbook at Schools in  
Edo era--

saiken o                    Squeezing out time  
Shisho Monzen no        for a demimonde guidebook,  
ai ni yomi                in between the Chinese classics.<sup>4</sup>

細見を四書文選の間に読み

a senryū in *Haifū Yanagidaru*  
柳多留

So far, we examined the two meanings of the word, “*share*,” that is, “demimonde” and “pretending.” What came to our understanding through the survey of the Edo demimonde were the following points: 1) the strong influence of Neo-Confucianism which the Tokugawa shogunate utilized to maintain their own value and hegemony; 2) the unique social position of the courtesans, as well as the social and economic functions of the institution of the demimonde as a whole. We also considered the importance of erudition in Chinese for the status of the samurai officials. To explore the idea of “pretending,” we looked at a *sharebon* work, *Yūshi hōgen* (Vagabond dialect) from two different points of view: first, reading the text per se, using “pretending” as a key notion, and second, taking a global overview of the whole text from outside. From these considerations, we were able to get a focus on *sharebon* literature as a form of “pretending,” or, more strictly put, a guide for “pretending” in the performative sense of caricaturing something for comic purposes. Second, we observed that the work itself is “pretending” in the sense of impersonating something authentic, i.e., the Chinese classics,

to obtain the glamour and authority of a refined and stylish look, and we recognized that the gap between this outside look and slapstick vulgarity of the contents generates humor and ironic beauty.

In this chapter, I would like to further explore the *sharebon* works through the observation of the use of “word play,” the third meaning of the word, “*share*,” and analyze further a peculiar aspect of Edo aesthetics, that is “refinement within vulgarity and vulgarity within refinement,” which we have already mentioned. Starting from this chapter, I would like to focus on the reception of Chinese classics in *sharebon* literature as a key to this facet of Edo aesthetics. That means we will confine our focus more to the outer part or wrapping of the *sharebon* works, i.e., their “refined look” created by the utilization of Chinese characters and superimposition of allusions to the Chinese classics, rather than the content or the text per se. For this purpose, I would like to take a special look at the title(/s) of the *sharebon* work(/s). I will begin by clarifying the reason for this focus on the outer part of the work. Then, after inspecting several titles and instance of word play, we will quickly take a glance at the reception of Chinese classics in Edo education. Next, we will examine the title of *Yûshi hôgen* in detail, including the justification of my translation for it, i.e., “Vagabond dialect,” and we will further analyze the reception of Chinese culture in that context. Finally, I will adduce a few specific examples of “word play” seen in the texts of several *sharebon* works. Though these examples are written in Japanese and do not present the direct reception of Chinese culture, it will help to show another aspect of the aesthetics of refinement within vulgarity.

## A. The Aesthetics of “Wrapping”

In *Yûshi hôgen*, we find the following passage within a preachy talk given by the know-it-all, Mr. Savvy, toward the naïve Youngster in a *choki*-riverboat sailing to the official Yoshiwara demimonde:

**Mr. Savvy** ...I placed, an order at Marugaku – that's a tissue holder. Extremely stylish material. The buckle alone already matches(/costs) two golds [@\$100.00]. The material is Dutch-made hopsack. When you, see, the material, you tremble and cannot help grabbing it! ... (21)

**通り者**・・・おれが丸角いあつらへて。おいた。花がん袋がある。とんだ。いきなきれだ。小はぜ斗、弐分ほどに当つている。きれハ。阿蘭陀のむしろをり。貴様。見ると。ふるへ付ほどな。きれだ。

Mr. Savvy boasts that he found a wonderful piece of Dutch-made cloth and ordered to make it into a “tissue holder” with a buckle that already costs around hundred dollars. The truth is that he does not have enough money for the purchase of the item that he has already ordered, but pretends he is yielding the privilege to the Youngster, who agrees to buy it and replies thus:

**Youngster** A cigar holder, I too would like to have one made. Please, do go over there with me. (23)

**むすこ**・・・たばこ入れも。こしらへとう御座りますから。どうぞ。つれ立って御出被成て下されませ

Youngster also shows his wish to place an order for a custom-made cigar holder for himself. (For these holders, please see Appendices.)

What interests us here is not just the technique that Mr. Savvy uses in order to subrogate his defaulted obligation to the Youngster, but also the content of his lecture to him. That is, Mr. Savvy never gives any opinion on the brand of cigarettes per se, but offers elaborate comments on the things that wrap the cigarette and other belongings. Indeed, carrying around these bags and holders for things was fashionable for both men and women in Edo and these bags were usually custom-made at places such as “Marugaku” in Nihonbashi, which were somewhat similar to present-day high-class department stores. Hirano Hideo calls the craft of these bags, “a condensation of the golden age of Edo culture,” and claims it as an art form, referring to it as “the all-encompassing art of Edo.”<sup>5</sup> Hirano explains that the origin of these bags and holders goes all the way back to the Kamakura era (1192-1333) when the samurai warriors first appeared in Japanese history. The “casing” of things started when samurais covered up their weapons for safe storage, and since then various articles have been wrapped in many varieties of sheathes made of various materials, such as silk, cotton, bamboo, rattan and so on. Especially, in the Muromachi era (1338-1573), during the heyday of the art of tea ceremony, bags made out of fancy materials began to be used for tea utensils, including outside wrappers for tea-caddies (tea-leaf containers).

In fact, in tea ceremony, there are some extensive *otemae*, elaborate procedures for enjoying tea, specially designed to enhance the appreciation of *shifuku*, the sheaths of tea caddies. In this procedure, the enjoyment of tea is not the focus or aim. The host/ess is to show the wrapping part(/s) to the guests and they all are to “appreciate” them. Nagasaki Iwao claims that the *shifuku* (tea caddy bags) are the ways for the tea ceremony hosts or hostesses “to express their own sentiment of beauty to the guests.”<sup>6</sup> (For *shifuku*

and tea caddies, please see Appendices.) During the Edo era, the popularity of the practice of tea ceremony began in the samurai ruling class and literati, as we can see from several books on tea ceremony written during this era, and later spread to the commoners.<sup>7</sup> The custom of applying “bags” and “wrappers” to the commodities and gifts became prevalent as well at that time.

We can even recognize that among Tokugawa government chancellors there was one family lineage, the Ise clan, whose vocation was just to maintain the art and craft of wrapping and tying, as well as their proper way of the usage for various specific occasions, as we can see in *Hôketsu-ki* 包結記 (Record of wrapping and tying), a dictation of the oral instruction by Ise Sadatada 伊勢貞丈 (1717-1784).<sup>8</sup> In the book, the instructions are for not only when and what to wrap but the variations on how to wrap.

(Please see Appendix.) In *Teijô zakki* 貞丈雜記 (Sadatada's Note, “Teijô” is *on-yomi* (Chinese-like pronunciation) of his name Sadatada), Ise Sadatada claims that their craft and manners in wrapping originated from the Ashikaga shogunate family of the Muromachi government, who emphasized imperial courtly tradition and manners as a way of proving their legitimacy.<sup>9</sup> In other words, it is likely that the Tokugawa government must have needed or at least preferred to demonstrate the authenticity of its manners and customs of wrapping by locating their source in the courtly tradition.<sup>10</sup>

Lee O-Young observes these customs and manners pertaining to wrapping, which are still triumphantly flourishing in present-day Japanese society, and suggests that by wrapping, Japanese people try to upgrade the content into something sacred. He says that no matter what is inside, “by being wrapped, [the inside] becomes refined and obtains psychological value.” Things that are “vulgar” are transformed into something “sacred,”

and “shallow” things obtain “depth.”<sup>11</sup> In fact, when I straightforwardly asked Yamamoto Tôjirô IV, a Nô player and a head of the Okura-school, which had performed at the official receptions, entertainments and ceremonies (*shikigaku* 式楽) for the Tokogawa government, about the payment for his lessons, he replied that “as long as it is wrapped, anything goes.” When a payment of this sort, i.e., anything outside a commercial situation, is to be handed over directly, what really matters for the traditional families like his (and it also applies to general cases in Japan) is whether it is wrapped/put into an envelope or not. He even continued that he would not be able to accept it unless it is wrapped. This can be considered as partially deriving from the Edo attitude toward money: currency was considered to be ignoble, as we noted in Chapter 2 of this dissertation. But here this serves more directly as a forceful example of the mentality that Lee pointed out, and more broadly, of the aesthetics of wrapping in Japan. That is, more value is added to the containers rather than the practical function of an object, and in some cases, these sheaths start to be regarded as having more aesthetic value than the content per se.

Indeed, a kind of high polish and excessive exquisiteness adorning the most trivial and frivolous contents seems to be a common characteristic of Edo culture more generally. Alexander Kojéve insinuates this characteristic of Japanese culture and “aestheticism” in an extremely intriguing footnote in his *Introduction to the Reading of Hegel*. He observes that Edo society was “one of a kind, because it alone has for almost three centuries experienced life at the ‘end of History’ – that is, in the absence of all civil or external war.” Truly, after Tokugawa Ieyasu 德川家康 (1543-1616) established the Edo shogunate government, peace prevailed for two hundred and sixty-five years (1603-

1868), a period referred to as “Pax Tokugawana,” and Kojéve proclaims that it is one of the two possible destinies awaiting mankind when the completion of modernization occurs, as the other being the “American way.” Then Kojéve continues to describe the Japanese way of the end of the history as follows: “*Snobbery* in its pure form created disciplines negating the ‘natural’ or ‘animal’ given which in effectiveness far surpassed those that arose, in Japan or elsewhere, from “historical” Action – that is, from warlike and revolutionary Fights or from forced Work.” What Kojeve calls “the natural or animal given” refers to utility, the direct satisfaction of material desires; what gives added significance to these, making them “human,” is the added symbolic values they accrue as parts of class struggles and wars, the historical process of progress, which is basically a struggle for *recognition*. What he notes in Japan is an example of how this peculiar “human” (non-natural) significance can persist even when there are no longer any wars or evolving social forms of mutual recognition to give them value. Snobbery, the valuing of something hard-to-obtain just because it marks one as a member of an in-group, is the unexpected answer. In fact, we find profuse examples of pointlessly elaborate procedures and fetishized objects during the Edo regime, as observed in the passages quoted above. Then Kojéve lists “the Nô Theater, the ceremony of tea, and the art of bouquets of flowers” as the outcome of this “Snobbery.”<sup>12</sup>

Another way to look at this development in Edo culture is to appeal to Georges Bataille’s notion of the “potlatch.” It is the seemingly senseless ritual destruction of goods and assets practiced by some native North American tribes, which Bataille has shown to be a powerful key to understanding many seemingly anomalous cultural phenomena. The potlatch occurs as a way of expending an excess through utter

conspicuous waste. But this waste is a necessary part of a system of preservation and enhancement of the status of the sacrificers; by destroying their own surplus wealth, they demonstrate their superiority over actual dependence on these goods, thus asserting their sovereignty. Their seeming self-destruction is actually a crucial part of their self-preservation. For what we seem to find in *peace*, excess energy, expending a surplus—not only of material resources, but also an excess of cultural capital.<sup>13</sup> I will rely on these theoretical clues as a key with which to obtain a better understanding of the distinctive sense of “refinement within vulgarity and vulgarity within refinement” that *sharebon* literature displays as one phase of the Edo aesthetics. For the present, though, let us simply note and confirm that in many cases, Edo aesthetics focuses on the outside wrapping of an item rather than on the content per se.

As we already saw above, the content of the text, or the text per se, shows the characteristics of “situational transience.” This trait is evident in the use of topical vernacularisms that would definitely cause laughter, and also other highly transitory and context-specific traits. For example, we can detect several names that probably refer to the contemporaneous Edo singers. We see Roshû as Ogie Royû, Tôbei as Ogie Tôbei, and Shin as Yamabiko Shinkurou. That is, the content shows either “transient” or “vulgar humor.” On the other hand, the preface and the title page of the text are exclusively written in Chinese, giving the reader the impression of a “refined” Chinese classical book. That is, the unrefined looking content is wrapped in a refined-looking sheath. This structure itself already manifests the “vulgarity within refinement,” and the divergence presented in the sheath and the content generates a form of humor and ironic beauty.

As we saw above, the oddly emphatic attention given to the wrapping components would seem to be a peculiar and intriguing aspect of Japanese aesthetics, manifesting in a variety of ways in a broad range of media. It is said that the *ukiyo-e* prints were “discovered” in Paris by Félix Bracquemond (1833-1914), the French Impressionist painter and etcher, around the year of 1856 when he saw the unwrapped packing from the packages of *arita-yaki* porcelain brought from Japan for an exhibition. The *ukiyo-e* prints, *Hokusai Manga* 北斎漫画 (*Hokusai comic*), were used as a sheath of the porcelain for protection.<sup>14</sup> This was the beginning of Japonism. That is, the study of this Japanese art started out with the examination of the wrapping. Analogously, the study of the wrapping part of *sharebon* works, i.e., the title, the name of the author and the preface, I believe, also has considerable academic value. While it is undoubtedly true that the text *per se* has its own aesthetical value, just as does the *arita-yaki* porcelain, the focus of my dissertation is on the refined looking *wrappings* of these works, where we can see how the reception of Chinese culture constitutes a peculiar element of Edo aesthetics.

## B. Word Play and the Reception of Chinese Classics as Seen in the Titles of *Sharebon* Works

Almost all of the titles of *sharebon* works are written in Chinese characters and embed some tricks to amuse the readers, even when a title looks ordinary. There is always hidden humor and irony in it, and in most cases they work as a parody of Chinese classics. A good example of this is *Kakuchū sōji* 廊中掃除,” and *Kakuchū sōji* 郭中掃除.<sup>15</sup> The four Chinese characters in these titles indicate the meaning of “inside the

demimonde, cleaning up.” However, the title is a pun in Japanese language with *Kakuchū sōji* 郭註莊子, which is *Guo Xiang’s commentary on Zhuangzi*, one of the most essential commentaries on *Zhuangzi*.<sup>16</sup> As the title of this *sharebon* work shows, the knowledge of Chinese classics was required for the authors as well as the readers. Let us take a look at some other examples.<sup>17</sup>

There are titles alluding to the commentaries on Chinese classics like *Kakuchū sōji*, as we have seen above. As an example, let us take a look at *Sesetsu shingo-za* 世說新語茶, which can be translated as “A new word for tea from tales of the world,” or “*Shishuo xinyü* (A New Account of Tales of the World) and tea.” It is clear that this title is imitating *Shishuo xinyu bu* 世說新語補 [J. Sesetsu singo ho] (Complement for *Shishuo xinyü*, a commentary on *Shishuo xinyü* 世說新語 (A New Account of Tales of the World), as *Hana-ore gami*, a contemporaneous commentary on *sharebon* works, indicates.<sup>18</sup> Liu Yiching 劉義慶 (403-444) collected the episodes of the eminent persons during the last years of the Latter Han 後漢 to the Eastern Jin 東晉, the 2<sup>nd</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> century China and made them into *Shishuo xinyü*. *Shishuo xinyü bu* is a commentary on the book published during the Ming dynasty (14<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> century), and introduced to Edo Japan in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Here let us examine a little further how the way the title is parodied. The *sharebon* title uses the word “tea” instead of “complement,” and we can detect two layers of joke involved here. The word “shingo-za” from the *sharebon* title is mentioned in the text and written 新五茶 (new-five-tea) in Chinese characters which obviously indicates 新五左 new-five-left), the abbreviation of Shin-go-za-emon 新五左衛門, which is a typical name for a samurai. This name actually represents a boorish samurai from the

countryside, as can be seen in *Kyōbun takara awase no ki* 狂文宝合記, a record of the meetings for recreation among literati/samurai, and *Rigen shūran* 獭言集覽, a dictionary of colloquial language.<sup>19</sup> This is one layer which obviously making fun of boorish samurai, and the meaning of the *sharebon* title can be read as “Tales of the world of Shingozaemon” (boorish samurai). Now the character “tea” at the end of the title seems to increase the humor, instead of using “left” from the name for a boorish samurai. By using a different character, what the title indicates becomes more evasive and more puzzling, which might increase the ironic pleasure of decoding, but the usage of the character “tea” could possibly indicate a Japanese idiomatic word, *chakasu* 茶化す (making it into tea), meaning “making fun of it.” In this case, the title could translate as something like *Shih-shuo hsin-yü, not!*

We can also find some titles mimicking commentaries written by Japanese scholars. In a previous chapter, we examined one such commentary written by the Confucian scholar, Ogyū Sorai, who also wrote *Rongo chō* 論語徵 (The Effect/Marks of the *Analects*) in 1760.<sup>20</sup> The title of a satiric *sharebon*, *Rongo chō* 論語町 (The *Analects* town), in which town refers to the Yoshiwara demimonde, is a pun to this commentary with one character changed.<sup>21</sup>

For some titles, we are expected to know the story from the *Zhuangzi* for the title, *Kochō no yume* 胡蝶夢 (butterfly dream).<sup>22</sup> For *Ekisha san-yū* 駅舎三友 (Three Friend at the Post Station town), the title is not funny if we do not know the passage *eki sha san-yū* 益者三友 (three kinds of beneficial persons as friends) from the *Analects*, with the same pronunciation in Japanese.<sup>23</sup> There are the titles with relatively straightforward allusions such as *Sei-yū ki; Yotsuya-Shinjuku* 西遊記: 四谷新宿 (Journey to the West; Yotsuya and

Shinjuku, where the two places are the locations of private demimondes or more literally, Record of the amusements at the West, Yotsuya and Shinjuku), and *Nanyū ki* 南遊記 (Record of the amusements in the South), also based on *Xiyou Ji* (Journey to the West), a Chinese legendary novel.<sup>24</sup>

The allusions in these titles are not just to philosophical works, but also to the titles of encyclopedic works such as *Bencao Gangmu* 本草綱目 [J.Honzō Kōmoku] (Compendium of Materia Medica) published in 1596. Hence we find works such as *Honzō mōmoku* 翻草盲目 (Plowing the places blind).<sup>25</sup> We also find a *sharebon* entitled, *Honzō giyō* 本草妓要 (The Essential Materia Medica of Courtesans), alluding to *Bencao beiyao* 本草備要 (J. Honzō biyō)," a text book on herbal medicine published in China in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and introduced to Edo Japan in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>26</sup> If you reverse the order of the first two words in the *sharebon* title, they would become “*kusahon* 草本,” which means “a short story with illustrations.”

Some titles simply try to look like Chinese titles, such as *Kōekishinwa* 甲駅新話 (New story in Shinjuku / a New post town at Kōshū highway).<sup>27</sup> Here the first word “*kō*” is abbreviated from “Kōshū Highway 甲州街道,” and with the next two words “*eki*” (post town) and “*shin*” (new), all three means “a new post town at Kōshū Highway, which is Shinjuku.” Shinjuku was the newly developed area at that time with a private demimonde.<sup>28</sup> The last word “*wa*,” means “story,” and the meaning of the title will be “Shinjuku, a story of a private demimonde.” There are also *Sendō shinwa* 船頭深話 (Boatman’s deep story), and *Tatsumi fugen* 辰巳婦言 (Fukagawa [private demimonde], women’s words).<sup>29</sup> As we have seen in a previous chapter, “Tatsumi” indicates the direction meaning Fukagawa, the place for another private demimonde.

In this way, by the use of four Chinese characters together, i.e., writing the titles in *kanbun* 漢文 (Chinese Prose used in Japan) style, endures them somehow of a more high-brow appearances than would be expected for their intended meanings, and the gap between the way they look and what they really mean creates a certain kind of whimsical humor. In his notes on Japanese culture, Luis Frois (1532-1597), a Jesuit missionary who stayed in Japan during 1561-63, makes an interesting remark on Japanese language. Comparing Japanese to European languages, he states:

We learn many techniques and much knowledge from the books. They (Japanese) spend their whole life learning to understand the meaning of the letters. ... We read quite rapidly. They read slowly and sometimes skip some letters.<sup>30</sup>

The language he refers to here is definitely Chinese characters, or “*kanbun*” prose. Here he observes that it is read by “skipping over letters,” and this precisely describes how *kanbun* sentences are read in the Japanese language. The *kanbun* text is Chinese with added grammatical marks and declensional *kana* endings. The system of grammatical marks and declensional *kana* endings was invented to enable Japanese natives to read Chinese texts as Japanese without any knowledge of Chinese grammar. This style is often referred as *kanbun*, literally meaning “Han/Chinese text.” With the dialectical marks and endings, the sentences can be read as Japanese language, but with a certain distinctively pedantic style called *yomikudashi bun* 読み下し文 which is clearly different from the native Japanese sentences. A *haikai/haiku* poet, Masaoka Shiki 正岡子規 (1867-1902) talks about writing in Chinese thus:

When you write about trivial things in Chinese prose [*kanbun*], there are many cases where the passage reaches a state of refinement. Even just writing and exhausting the meaning in the 4 Chinese graphs somehow makes an interesting impression. There is no comparison with other foreign languages in that in Chinese there is a question of skillfulness or clumsiness not just in rhetoric but also in the [Chinese] graphs and phrases themselves.<sup>31</sup>

つまらぬことで、漢文に書けば、雅到を存すること多し。ただ4字に書きつめてその意を尽したればこそ、何となく面白く覚ゆるなり。此の故に漢文には趣向の巧拙のほかに字句の巧拙あること他国の文の比にあらず。

He continues to voice his opposition toward the movement for “unifying of spoken style and written style” occurring after the Meiji Restoration. That is, he wishes to maintain *kanbun*, i.e., Chinese as the “written style” of Japanese language, since that gives rise to refinement in language. As Saitô Mareshi proclaims, Chinese sentences were considered to be the most refined style in pre-Modern Japan.<sup>32</sup>

### C. Edo Education and the Chinese Classics

The titles discussed above also give us information on the authorship as well as the readership of *sharebon* genre. From these titles, we can sense the authors’ pride in being able to read and write Chinese and in their knowledge of the Chinese classics. According to Saitô, in the Edo era, “Chinese writing (*kanbun*) was the language with which to talk about the vision of the world and the nation.”<sup>33</sup> This means mastery of Chinese is a necessary skill for the samurai officials hoping to ascend to the role of rulers of the society.

When the Tokugawa shogunate had just been established, the qualifications for samurai was still being a great warrior, and therefore there was no immediate need to spread Confucianism as a norm for gaining status as a samurai. However, as the peaceful state of the society advanced, the separation between the military and the agricultural peasantry became clearer, which required the samurai lords to find characteristics other than military skill to qualify as the reigning class. We have traced this process in a previous chapter. As a result, samurais felt the need to excel in literary arts, especially in Chinese writing as well as military arts. We have also examined in a previous chapter that the government first established an accredited school in Yushima. After that the feudal daimyo lords in each region followed suit and started public schools (*hankō* 藩校) funded by the local governments originally for the sons of samurai family.

This tendency was not limited to the ruling class. Formal education first started among the samurai class, but by the 18<sup>th</sup> century wealthy merchants also joined the circle of learning. As Ichikawa Hiroaki has shown, the merchant class also aimed for literacy as a means to enhance the prosperity of their family businesses, and wished to send their children to schools.<sup>34</sup> Ishikawa Matsutarō also states that the children from the craftsmen and the farmer classes aspired toward literacy. The children of these classes were expected to help their family business; however, this was no longer considered sufficient. If they wished to be considered helpful individuals to their families, they now had to learn how to read.<sup>35</sup> The *hankō* schools started to accept the daughters and sons of families who were not samurai lords and officials. This led to the opening of many private schools run by retired and half-retired samurai officials, monks, physicians, and scholars in various fields, and these schools were always crowded with children.

In a previous chapter, we looked at the comments on courtesans and demimondes made by Schelieman, a European traveler to Japan. He also made a small note on literacy in Edo Japan:

There are no men or women who cannot read or write their own language, which consists of Japanese letters and Chinese letters.<sup>36</sup>

The remark above suggests that the literacy rate at that time was very high. Actually the same kind of observation on literacy can be found in almost all the documents assembled by Americans and Europeans who stayed in Japan at that time, such as Commodore M.C. Perry from the U.S. They were all amazed that men and women, including old people and children, were able to read and write.

We can find the following observation made by Roland MacDonald, a Native American who voluntarily came to Japan in a little boat that had gotten separated from a whaling-ship named Plymouth. Roland MacDonald was swept to Rishiri Island in Hokkaido in 1845 and traveled south all the way to Nagasaki, the only residential area where foreigners could legally stay, in Tokugawa Japan, to teach English. In his autobiography he says:

All the Japanese people – every man, women and children in all the classes from the highest class to the lowest class – carry pieces of paper, a brush and an ink stone with them in their bags or in their clothes. All the people receive an education in reading and writing. Even the people from the lowest class are accustomed to write, and communication through letters is more widely spread than in our country.<sup>37</sup>

MacDonald shares the same impression as Schelieman and suggests that lifelong education at that time were prevalent.

We also find the record of children in Edo going to school in the writings on Laurence Oliphant (1829-1888), a secretary of a British colonial administrator and diplomat, James Bruce, 8<sup>th</sup> Earl of Elgin (1811-1863), who was sent to Japan as his mission in the late 1850's. Oliphant reports:

Children, from every social class, whether they are boys or girls, are sent to the primary schools. There, they learn how to read and write, and they are given a little knowledge of the history of their own country.<sup>38</sup>

Here, too, the writer shows his amazement that children from all social classes were equally sent to schools. Another factor that made the education so prevalent at the time was the development of publishing technology. This technology gave these schools filled with many children the opportunities for mass-education, utilizing the textbooks.

The work I quoted as the epigraph to this chapter, the *Jitsugokyō* 実語教 (Teaching from true words) was widely circulated among the people in Edo era, serving as a kind of textbook.<sup>39</sup> We can estimate that *Jitsugokyō* had been passed down at the latest from the medieval period on, since we find a description of the book in the military epic *Heike monogatari* (*The Tale of the Heike*) compiled during the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>40</sup>

According to popular legend, Kūkai 空海 (774-834), the founder of Shingon Buddhism, was the author of the text, but the truth is unknown. *Jitsugo-kyō* is often combined with another textbook entitled *Doushikyō* 童子教 into one volume with several illustrations. Several passage from this text are quoted in *Gakumon no susume* 学問のすすめ (Encouragement of Learning), published in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and written by Fukuzawa Yukichi 福沢諭吉 (1835-1901), who was a samurai official under Tokugawa reign and became the Enlightenment thinker and the educator after Meiji government

started.<sup>41</sup> A bookseller during the late Edo era to early Meiji, Miki Sasuke, reminisces in an essay entitled *Gyokuensôwa* 玉淵叢話, saying that *Jitsugokyô* had always been ranked as one of the best selling books as well as “I-ro-ha dictionary.” He says, “The noble stuff such as the theories of Confucius, Mencius, Benevolence and Justice 孔孟仁義 were practiced among high class samurai officials. Middle class and others used *Jitsugo-kyô* as a golden rule.”<sup>42</sup>

One of the Edo government samurai officials, Moriyama Takamori known as the author of *Shizu no odamaki*, recollects his readings from childhood in his autobiography, *Ama no yakumo no ki*, and states that he started to learn reciting Chinese Classics at the age of five and by the time he became ten years old, he was able to recite wide variety of Chinese Classics from Confucianism to poetry, such as “The Four Books and Five Classics” 四書五經.<sup>43</sup> The Four Books refer to the *Analects* 論語, the *Great Learning* 大學, the *Doctrine of the Mean* 中庸, and the *Mencius* 孟子, while the Five Classics are the *Book of Changes* 易經, the *Book of Documents* 書經, the *Book of Poetry* 詩經, the *Record of Ritual* 禮記 and the *Book of Music* 樂經.<sup>44</sup> As I have mentioned in a previous chapter, “The Four Books and Five Classics” were required textbooks for both official and private schools in the Edo era. Arai Hakuseki, one of the most important political leaders during the middle of the sixth and seventh Tokugawa shoguns, Ienobu and Ietsugu, also relates his early learning experience in his essay titled *Oritaku shiba no ki*, which I have mentioned briefly in a previous chapter. His learning experience was very similar to that of Moriyama Takamori, if not even more impressive.

Thus education became prevalent and at the same time, being able to read and write Chinese became the most desirable and refined quality one should possess as a

samurai. We have briefly examined in a previous chapter a passage describing Sorai, one of the most renowned Confucian scholars in the early Edo era and the founder of the Kogaku (study of antiquity) school, and we may recall that he and his disciples were speaking in Chinese even in daily life, indeed even in the demimonde, as if to show off their erudition in Chinese, presenting themselves as Sinophiles. The knowledge of Chinese classics also defined the norm of how one should behave as a samurai. For example, Saito claims that what is advocated in the *Analects* applies specifically to the way a samurai in particular should live his life, not just to how an individual in general should behave.<sup>45</sup>

Here I would like to quickly take a look at another characteristic of *kanbun*. *Hiragana* (Japanese syllabary alphabet) was invented around 1000 C.E., using modified Chinese characters, and when this alphabet was presented, it was introduced as *onna-de* 女手 (female hands). At that time, all public documents were written in *kanbun*, and *hiragana* was used for the words and vocabularies as well as the sentiments that were not included and expressed in *kanbun*. In this situation, somehow *kanbun* was considered to be masculine, and consequently “*hiragana*” turned out to be the writing system/alphabet belonging to the “feminine” domain. (Since *waka* poetry was written in *hiragana* alphabet, it too belongs to the “*onna-de*” (female hands domain.)

According to Ishikawa, a calligrapher and a scholar of calligraphy, the notion of “Chinese vs. non-Chinese” 華夷 (lit, refined vs barbaric) which implies the contrast between “the center vs the borderland” 中央/辺境 that prevailed on the Continent, i.e., China, came to apply structurally to the relation between “man and woman” when it was brought to the peninsula and islands located in the borderland, that is to say, Korea and

Japan.<sup>46</sup> The idea of the transition from “the center” to “men” and “border” to “women” itself is thought-provoking, but I would like to save that discussion for another occasion. Here I would just like to accept the clear indication that *hiragana* belongs to somehow the “female” domain and Chinese to the “masculine.” However, I would like to pursue the question of the “*hiragana*” tradition as related to the “*kanbun*” tradition in more detail in the next chapters. Here I also should clarify that the “gender” difference in the writing system did not affect the practical usage, as Ishikawa has demonstrated in his study of the calligraphies from the Heian era.<sup>47</sup> That is, “*onna-de*” had been used by both men and women, and vice versa and we can also see this mixture in Japanese Heian literature.

A master of Chinese writing was considered to be a refined and learned person, and this knowledge defined the norm entitling one to be a samurai. Moreover, because of the traits of the Japanese language, somehow “masculinity” was attributed to this linguistic and literary facility. In other words, being a master of the Chinese writing is an essential element for what we might call “samurai dandyism.”

#### **D. Samurai Dandyism and the Reception of Chinese Seen in the Title of *Yûshi hôgen***

We will now proceed to the book, *Yûshi hôgen*, and examine its title, in which we can find some tricks to amuse the readers, and examine how the framework of refinement, i.e., “samurai dandyism,” there is twisted and therefore vulgarized. In *Yûshi hôgen*, we see a case where the twist occurs partially due to a characteristic of the

Japanese language. In other words, humor lies in the manner of reception of the Chinese language as “other.”

The title, *Yôshi hôgen*, is considered to be a parody of a Chinese classical text commonly called *Yangzi fangyan* 揚子方言 [J. Yôshi hôgen] (Master Yang’s book of dialects) written by Yang Xiong 揚雄 [J. Yôyû] (53B.C.E.-18C.E.) of the Han Dynasty.<sup>48</sup> That is, the word, “*Yôshi* [Ch. Yangzi ]” from *Yôshi hôgen* [Ch. Yangzi fangyan] is changed into “*yôshi*,” and makes it to “*Yûshi hougen*.” The book commonly called *Yôshi hôgen* [Ch. Yangzi fangyan] is the record of the spoken language in several different dialects of Chinese and comprises 669 entries. Its official title is *Youkan shizhe jueidai yushi bieguo fangyan* 轜軒使者絶代語釈別国方言 [J. Yûken shisha zettai gosyaku betsukoku hôgen] (Historical glosses and regional dialects collected by official emissaries) which is sometimes informally abbreviated as *Fangyan* 方言 [J. Hôgen] (dialect). Sugimoto Tsutomu claims that the languages spoken by the examinees from the various regions in China to the capital for the exam were gathered in this work.<sup>49</sup>

In *Seji hyakudan* 世事百談 (Hundred Talks on World Affairs), written by Yamazaki Yoshinari(/Yoshishige) 山崎美成 (1796-1856), we can find the passage in which the work is mentioned. It depicts thus:

Yô Shi-un 揚子雲 [Yang Xiong] in the Han dynasty compiled *Yûken-zettaigo* 轜軒絶対語, [sic] which is commonly called *Yôshi hogen*.<sup>50</sup>

We can also find the information on Yang Xiong’s work in Itô Tôgai’s 伊藤東涯 (1670-1736), writing, titled *Yûken shôroku* 轜軒小録 (*Yûken Little Record*). Itô Tôgai is a son of Itô Jinsai, the renowned Neo-Confucian, and the founder of Ko-gaku school we have

discussed in a previous chapter. As we can see, the title of his writing shows his obtaining inspiration from the official title of *Yôshi hôgen*, “Yûken shisha zettai goshaku betsukoku hôgen.” In preface of *Yûken shôroku*, Tôgai explains Yang Xiong’s work thus:

Yô Shi-un [Yang Xiong] from the Han dynasty collected the differences [of the language] and made it into *Yûken-zettaigo* 絶對語. Yûken indicates the vehicles the messengers from the local regions ride to see the emperor.<sup>51</sup>

As Tôgai indicates here, “*Youkan* [J. yûken]” in the title indicates the vehicle that the emissaries from each region used for seeing the emperor, and therefore it is said that this is how the dialects were collected. Tôgai continues that, in his youth, many people paid a call to his father, Itô Jinsai, and told Tôgai and his family many strange and stories redolent of local color. He wished to compile a work recording this information, and therefore he titles it *Yûken shôroku* (Yûken little Record), borrowing from the title of Yang Xiong’s work. Ôta Nanpo (1749-1823), a renowned comical verse poet and a *sharebon* author, too, mentions the name of the work, as *Yôshi hougen* [Ch. Yangzi fangyan] in his essay titled *Nanpo yûgen* 南畠莠言.<sup>52</sup> Ueda Akinari 上田秋成 (1734-1809), a story writer, scholar and *waka* poet also mentions the work as *Yôyû hôgen* 揚雄方言 (Yang Xiong Dialect) to explain the word, “tea,” in his essay, *Seifû sagen* 清風瑣言 (Refreshing breeze, trivial words).<sup>53</sup> In a *sharebon* piece, *Sendô shinwa* 船頭深話 (Boatman’s Deep story), published in 1806 under the name of Shiki-sanjin 四季山人 (Four season hermit), we can find Yang Xiong’s name quoted as a scholar on dialect. One of the words used locally in downtown Edo is mentioned and it says the word is so specific and local that “even Yôyû [Ch. Yang Xiong] does not know it yet [sic].”<sup>54</sup> From the

above examples, we learn that Yang Xiong's collection of dialects and vocabularies was relatively well received and utilized among Edo writers and intellectuals.

We have viewed previously that when *Yûshi hôgen* was published, the publication of various kinds of dictionaries and reference books were very prevalent, as was the study of dialects. Consequently, it came to our awareness that under this kind of circumstance, we presumed that a book with a title, *Yûshi hôgen*, could have almost looked like a serious scholarly book of linguistic study. After the Tokugawa shogunate succeeded in restoring peace to Japan, the samurai class had to face the conversion in the construction of their social norm, and the more peaceful the society became, the more enthusiastically people in the ruling class turned toward learning and education. In the practice of the martial arts, the "spiritual" side began to be more emphasized than the physical, and learning became the indispensable condition qualifying a samurai to be a samurai, particularly after Kansei's policy of strengthening in education. Mastering "The Four Books and Five Classics" were essential to be considered a grown-up, especially among the samurai class. Formal education of learning Chinese classics first started among the samurai class but by the 18<sup>th</sup> century the wealthy merchants also joined the circle of learning. As we have seen above, the "Four Books and Five Classics" were used as required textbooks for both official and private schools in the Edo era. Saitô Mareshi says; "by learning Chinese classics and poetry, the samurai class obtained the history of their own as samurai, that is, self-consciousness as samurai."<sup>55</sup> In other words, the ethos and consciousness as samurai is strongly based on learning Chinese classics. Being refined as a samurai means being learned in Chinese classics. We could probably say

that the knowledge of Chinese classics formulated the framework for the understanding of refinement in samurai dandyism.

Under these circumstances, it is quite natural to think that being familiar with these dictionaries must have been a significant piece of knowledge for becoming a learned and refined person. We can assume that the author, the readers and the prospective readers of *Yûshi hôgen*, were not exceptional from these Edolites who had interests in dictionaries and encyclopedias, and had been aware of the trend of compiling serious encyclopedic scholarly works. In this sense, the title *Yûshi hôgen* could even suggest or pretend the writing is some kind of a serious linguistic work, though in truth the content is a silly plot about visiting the demimonde in dialogue form. In light of this situation, now let us examine the first part of the title, “*yûshi*.”

## 1. *Yûshi*

I translated the first part as “vagabond” above. The word, “*yūshi*” [Ch.youzi] does not primarily indicate “playboy,” but something more like “wanderer,” someone with no fixed dwelling, far away from his or her hometown. The first Chinese character “*yū*” [Ch.you] primarily denotes “roaming,” “wandering,” or “traveling” rather than “playing,” and probably calls to mind the lines from a Chinese poem titled “*Yūshi gin*” 遊子吟 [Ch.youzi yin] (Song of the traveling son) written by Mengjiao 孟郊 [J. MôKô] (751-814). It is translated below:

# Song of the Traveling Son Mengjiao

The thread in the loving mother's hand  
Is the clothing on the wandering son's body.  
On the eve of departure, tightly stitching,

In her mind are fears of a very late return.  
The heart of the grass has no way to repay  
The radiance of the springtime.<sup>56</sup>

遊子吟           孟郊

慈母手中線  
遊子身上衣  
臨行密密縫  
意恐遲遲歸  
誰言寸草心  
報得三春輝

This poem is arguably in the voice of a “*yûshi*” who is leaving his hometown, having regret over his uncertainty about his ability to exercise true filial piety. In spite of these feelings of the son, his decision to pursue his journey seems to be firm from the title that clearly declares him (or himself) to be a *yûshi*, a person who is to travel. As this poem shows, the word *yûshi* conveys at least the sense of taking a journey involving leaving the accustomed scenes and people behind, if not the sentiment of departing from the hometown. We can observe a contemporaneous Edo work titled *Yûshi kô* (*yûshi*- trip) 遊子行 written by Takai Kitô 高井几董 (1741-1789), a *haikai* poet.<sup>57</sup> He wrote about several trips to Suma (present-day Hyôgo prefecture), Minou (present-day Osaka prefecture) with his *haikai* company to appreciate the beautiful moon in autumn and edited some *haikai* poems made during the trip in the work. From here we can recount that the word *yûshi* conveys the meaning of a “travelling son” or a “wandering person.”<sup>58</sup>

When it comes to the word, *yûshi*, we cannot overlook another noted Tang poem. The poem is written by Li Bo 李白 [J. Rihaku] (701-762) and titled “Seeing Off a Friend.” Li Bo, a poet from Tang dynasty, has been probably the most renowned and well-loved Chinese poet in Japan, together with Du Fu 杜甫 [J. Toho], throughout history. His

poetry is a constant reference point in almost all of Japanese literature. This poem is written from the viewpoint of a friend who is seeing a *yûshi* off. It goes:

## Seeing Off a Friend

Blue mountains aligned over the northern wall;  
White water curving along the eastern wall.  
Once you leave this place, [there is only]  
Ten thousand miles of lonely mugwort.  
The floating clouds: a wanderer's thoughts;  
The setting sun: an old friend's feelings.  
With a flourish of the hand you leave this place behind,  
Your mottled horse neighing, neighing.<sup>59</sup>

## 送友人 李白

青山橫北郭  
白水遶東城  
此地一為別  
孤蓬万里征  
浮雲遊子意  
落日故人情  
揮手自茲去  
蕭蕭班馬鳴

The 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> lines, “The floating clouds: a wanderer's thoughts; The setting sun: an old friend's feelings” have been widely quoted when the sentiment of departure is to be described in literature and even real events of life in Japan. Here Li Bo is projecting the “emotion of the wanderer” onto his friend, who in turn he imagines is (secondarily) projecting it into the clouds; a double projection, so that in a way it is actually Li Bo who has the emotion of the wanderer. Literally it is still the friend, but metaphorically there is some interesting layering in this poem.

Thus the word *yûshi* conveys the rich layers of the sentiment and rhapsodizes traveling and separation. We could probably say that as well as the feeling of sadness

and loneliness in this poem, there is a certain feeling of shaking oneself free from daily routines. The original *sharebon* books from Edo era all have similar bindings which allow a reader to tell the themes of these books, i.e., demimonde visiting. After looking at the content of such a work, at least, we would know *yūshi* in the title of the *sharebon* indicates a “demimonde visitor.” By applying the word *yūshi* here, we could assume that visiting the demimondes also set Edo people free from daily routine. This way the sense of departing to a different world is shared.

Reading the title as “Vagabond/wanderer’s dialect,” conveys the sense that visiting the demimonde was a sublime mission for its patrons and that adds an extra dimension of irony. By calling him *yūshi*, the visitor is making an excuse for visiting the demimonde. In other words, the self-proclaimed *yūshi* now superimposes himself upon the *youzi* in Chinese poems, and in this way he takes on make-believe thoughts and feelings that include deep feeling of filial piety, a strong sense of responsibility, sadness that he has to go wandering and so on. *Yūshi* is not just out having fun; though he is about to indulge in unfilial activity, he is cognizant of the obligation to fulfill the demands of filial piety later.

Identifying with the subjectivity derived from these Chinese poems, the visitor perhaps even obtains a sense of *taigi meibun* 大義名分 [Ch. tai-yi mei-fen] (Justice) to superimpose upon his visit to the different world/demimonde as a departure from daily life. As we discussed in the previous chapter, the idea of *taigi meibun* is one of the core teachings of Neo-Confucianism, the dominant ideology of the samurai class. Originally it means that in order to realize the great justice (*taigi*), each one of us required to carry out our shared duty (*meibun*), but here its meaning is distorted to become a tool for

making excuses, i.e., in order to establish a meaning for great Justice that enable us to do anything we wish. If we read it this way, it is of course distortion of the understanding of Neo-Confucianism, and this is exactly why it conveys irony and humor.

We can also detect something slightly childish in this search for an excuse in order to indulge in something parents or authoritative social norms do not encourage us to do, which provides a further comical dimension to this usage. The interesting thing is the simultaneity of irony and the excuse. As Freud puts it in *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900), “Each of the elements of the dream's content turns out to have been ‘overdetermined’—to have been represented in the dream-thoughts many times over.”<sup>60</sup> There are no limits to the determinants that may be present in the consciousness of a human being. Human consciousness is, therefore, overdetermined. And contradictory characteristics, such as filial and unfilial factors, can co-exist even in a single deed or thought.

As the old saying goes, meeting is the beginning of parting. We could remotely claim that the poem is really about the meeting of the two people who are parting at this point of time. In other words, the word *yūshi*, the idea of wondering, could distantly suggest the chance of meeting. *Yūshi* leaves daily life behind, moving to a different world in the hope of embracing another chance of meeting.

## 2. *Hōgen*

Now let us put this first part of the title, “*yūshi*,” and the second part, “*hōgen*,” together. When we combine “*yūshi*,” with the original meaning in Chinese and the connotation of Chinese poetic uses of the term, the title suggests serious linguistic work

on traveling, local color, and dialects. At first sight, the title of the *sharebon* work looks like a set of serious encyclopedic work on language. Though the content is far removed from that of a serious scholarly work, it pretends as if it were. When we add this information into reading the title, the irony is amplified and the humorous effect increased.

In actual fact, five years after *Yûshi hôgen* was published, a serious Japanese equivalent to *Yôshi hôgen* [Ch. Yangzi fangyan] (Master Yang's fangyan) was presented. In *Seji hyakudan* 世事百談 (Hundred Talks on World Affairs), Yamazaki Yoshinari continues thus after the introduction of *Yôshi hôgen*. It says:

Yô Shi-un 揚子雲 in the Han dynasty compiled *Yûken-zettaigo* 輜軒 絶対語, which is commonly called *Yôshi hôgen*. In our country, Koshigaya Gozan a *haikai* poet recently published *Butsurui shôko* 物類称呼 (The names of the things).<sup>61</sup>

*Butsurui shôko* is a dictionary of dialects in Japan compiled by Koshigaya Gozan 越山吾山 (1717-1787) and was published in 1775.<sup>62</sup> Koshigaya Gozan is a *haikai* poet, and one of his disciples is Kyokutei (Takizawa) Bakin 曲亭(滝沢)馬琴 (1767-1848) who is well known as an author of *Nansô satomi hakken den* 南総里見八犬伝 (Tale of Eight Dogs), written during 1814-1842.<sup>63</sup>

A linguist specialized on dialect, Tôjô Misao, declares that “there has been no scholar studying dialect who did not utilize *Butsurui shôko* for his research ever since the work was first published.”<sup>64</sup> We can observe that *Butsurui shôko* is quoted in several Edo contemporaneous works such as *Hôgen zatsu shû* 方言雜集 (Miscellaneous collection of dialects), a dictionary on dialects, compiled by Kobayashi Issa 小林一茶 (1763-1828), a

popular *haikai* poet. In this dictionary organized according to the *iroha* (Japanese traditional alphabet) order, he mainly assembled words used in the Shinano (present-day Nagano prefecture) dialect.<sup>65</sup> This shows the degree to which *Butsurui shōko* has been taken seriously as a trustworthy scholarly work.

Here I would like to quickly note one thing about the title of this work. There are several extant original printed versions of *Butsurui shōko* and, among these, one version has a title tag saying, *shokoku hôgen* 諸国方言 (every country dialect) as its subtitle.<sup>66</sup> When we take the word *yûshi* in the title, *Yûshi hôgen*, meaning “a traveler,” implying (as in the title of Yang Xiong’s work) an equivalence between the traveler and the places he visits, then we can perhaps conclude that *Yûshi hôgen* could have been sufficient to serve as a title for a thorough scholarly work on dialects of the Edo era. In other words, with a title like *Yûshi hôgen*, a book could have been expected to contain a scholarly work just like *Butsurui shōko*, instead of a *sharebon* work. Instead, under this title, what the readers get is a series of conversations on the occasion of visiting the demimondes as its content. The gap between the title, suggesting high intelligence and erudition, i.e., refinement, and the content, consisting of mundane conversation, certainly brings humor and irony, and vulgarizes the suggested refinement.

### 3. A Facet of the Reception of Chinese Classical Texts

Next, let us examine the mechanism by which the Chinese Classics as well as classical texts were accepted and twisted in Edo culture, that is to say, the apparatus by which symbols of refinement were received and made into something vulgar and funny in the Japanese language. Let us go back to Yang Xiong again here. For modern readers,

Yang Xiong is famous for compiling the *Taixuanjing* 太玄經 [J. Taigen-kyô] in which he borrowed but radically modified the basic structural idea of the *Book of Changes* 易經 [Ch. Yijing, J. Ekikyô], one of The Five Chinese Classics. Yang Xiong also presented a work titled, *Fayan* 法言 [J. hôgen] (Principles) in which he followed the Confucian style of teaching and tried to produce the equivalent of the *Analects*. For example, we can find a quote saying; “Master Yang says, Study is the means by which one endeavors to become an exemplary person” 揚子曰学者所以求為君子也, in *Yamato zoku kun* 大和俗訓 (Popular teachings in Japan), one of the educational tracts on teaching morals written by the scholar of medicine and botany, Kaibara Ekiken 貝原益軒 (1630-1714).<sup>67</sup> Kaibara Ekiken quotes this passage to emphasize the importance and the significance of learning, and we realize that the style of the passage resembles the *Analects*, in which a passage usually starts with, “Master Kong says,” and presents the teachings by Confucius.

Here, I would like to pay attention to the pronunciation of the title of Yang Xiong’s works in Japanese language. Though the two titles of Yang Xiong’s works, *Fayan* 法言 [J. hôgen] (Principles) and *Fangyan* 方言 [J. hôgen] (Dialect(s)), are pronounced differently in modern Mandarin Chinese, these two have the same pronunciation in the Japanese of both the Edo era and modern times: *hôgen*. These two works of Yang Xiong seemed to be equally important among the Edo literati, and therefore when the title of the *sharebon* piece, *Yôshi hôgen* is discussed, and Yang Xiong’s work is cited, there would have been the need for some way to determine which of the two works is being referenced.

It is easy to detect the opportunity this fortuitous pun provides to *sharebon* writers to add further layers of irony to their works. For example, when one wished to quote a

word or a phrase the connotation might have been different, according to which bibliographical source was being referred to. A word would carry different implication if attributed to these differing contexts, i.e., whether the given word is in a philosophical book aiming to be the second *Analects*, or a linguistic book collecting dialects. In other words, the original title of the Chinese work here, which the *sharebon* piece, *Yûshi hôgen*, is using as a homophone for a parody, already enfolds a pun within itself (when read in Japanese pronunciation).

It is of course a fact of life that this kind of mistake is inevitable in everyday linguistic activities, and that people usually try their best to avoid these mishaps but often in vain. In *Hana-ore-gami* 花折紙, an Edo contemporaneous collection of the commentaries in dialogue on *sharebon* works, we find a commentary section on *Yûshi hôgen*. It goes:

Yôshi presented two books. By following *Lunyu* (*Analects*) as the precedent, one is called *Nori hôgen* that is written as *hôgen* 法言 (principle). The other is called *Kata hôgen* (dialect) that describes the languages in every country. *Yûshi hôgen* seemed to follow Yôshi's *Kata hôgen* (dialect), and made it as *Yûshi hôgen*.<sup>68</sup>

The commentary clarifies that Yang Xiong has two pieces of writing with the titles that are homophones, and reveals a measure to distinguish the two, to make sure which one a particular *sharebon* piece was alluding to. It suggests that the one with teachings is to be called “*nori hôgen*” and the one with dialects as “*kata hôgen*.” This means that they put the *kun-yomi* 訓読み (Japanese/native pronunciation) pronunciation prior to each word pronounced as *on-yomi* 音読み (Chinese pronunciation). Briefly speaking, the Japanese language has two ways of pronouncing the Chinese characters, *on-yomi*, and *kun-yomi*.

The former copies the Chinese way of pronouncing a character, that is, when a given character was introduced, the character was directly received with its pronunciation/(s) and meaning/(s). When a given character had some associations with some words intrinsic to the Japanese language, the Japanese pronunciation/(s) were also applied to the character, and this is called “*kun-yomi*.” Thus the Japanese language attempts to combine the assets of the Chinese characters with the preservation of its original Japanese words.<sup>69</sup>

In other words, this system of *kun-yomi*, also works as a device to avoid the misidentification among homophones. Since Japanese language has this apparatus of *on-yomi* and *kun-yomi*, the users of Japanese language are able to enjoy the benefit of an enlarged repertoire of homophones, marked out visually but not aurally, ripe for use as puns and jokes. Jacques Lacan suggests something to this effect in his comments on the Japanese language in his introduction of the Japanese translation version of *Ecrits*: “In the Japanese language, wit (*mot d'esprit*) is in the dimension of the most ordinary discourse. ([Le] *mot d'esprit est au Japon la dimension même du discours le plus commun.*)”<sup>70</sup> As the reason for this, he displays “l’*on-yomi*” and “le *kun-yomi*” as a major characteristic of Japanese language as well as psyche. As puts it:

For those who have real speech, it is enough to use “l’*on-yomi*” to annotate “le *kun-yomi*.” When we observe that a pair of cutting pliers made of two joined pieces comes out as if it were a piece of freshly baked “gaufre,” in fact, they are the fortune for those who are making them.

No other country has such luck to speak the Chinese language within their own language, and more than that – this is the point to be emphasized – to borrow the letters from the language of strangers to the degree that one is able at each moment to cognize the distance from the unconscious to “parole.” ...

If I am allowed to say so, setting aside the fear of

being misunderstood, for those who speak the Japanese language, it belongs to daily behavior to tell the truth through the medium of a lie, in other words, without being a liar.<sup>71</sup>

Pour les êtres vraiment parlants, l'*on-yomi* suffit à commenter le *kun-yomi*. La pince qu'ils font l'un avec l'autre, c'est le bien-être de ceux qu'ils forment à ce qu'ils en sortent aussi frais que gaufre chaude.

Tout le monde n'a pas le bonheur de parler chinois dans sa langue, pour qu'elle en soit un dialecte, ni surtout, – point plus fort –, d'en avoir pris une écriture à sa langue si étrangère que ça y rende tangible à chaque instant la distance de la pensée, soit de l'inconscient, à la parole. ...

Si je ne craignais le malentendu, je dirais que pour qui parle japonais, c'est performance usuelle que de dire la vérité *par* le mensonge, c'est-à-dire *sans être* un menteur.

Thus in the Japanese language, according to Lacan, a subjective entity takes in another element from the outside world which is at once both accepted as an integral part of the self, *and yet* always remains sharply marked as “foreign” or “other.” In this sense, as the last sentence indicates, the Japanese language “tells the truth” through “telling a lie,” without making one “a liar.” One is not a liar unless one intends to deceive; but the use of untruths which are both *intended to* convey something directly contrary to their explicit meaning, and which *in fact do so*, and are further judged to be successful speech acts only when they convey this contrary meaning: that is “the use of lies to tell the truth,” which exempts one from thereby being a liar. It is easy to notice that this description also applies directly to wit, jokes and puns: these too are speech acts that mean to say something sharply different from what they literally denote, and even do so *by means of* the very difference between the intended meaning and the literal meaning

We could probably go a step farther and plug other sets of contrasted terms into this sentence, as long as they share the contrastive relation of “the truth” and “a lie.” I would like to suggest putting “a joke” in the place of “the truth,” and in this sense, we can probably put something like “seriousness,” in the place of “a lie.” This means that the Japanese language displays “a joke” through “being serious, without being a serious person.” In place of “seriousness,” we could further put a term like “a norm,” or “standard.” In this case, Japanese language displays “a joke,” through showing an example of a standard or demonstrating a norm, without following the standard or the norm. In terms of our present discussion, the norm in question is the “norm as samurai, and from here we can see our way to the conclusion that the “samurai norm” responds to and accepts “another norm” in society, embedded in it as an intimate alien in the same way as the *on-yomi* is embedded in the language. I would like to discuss this more in the next chapter.

If we apply this to *Yûshi hôgen*, “the norm” or “standard” here simultaneously means “the norm as samurai,” or “samurai standard,” that also can be described as “the beauty of being a samurai,” or “refinement as a samurai.” We have called this “samurai dandyism.” Thus the title of *Yûshi hôgen* gives an impression of the refinement, i.e., “samurai dandyism,” but at the same time, gives the distortion of the refinement, and the gap produces the effect of wit (*mot d'esprit*). That is, because of the apparatus of the Japanese language, in the title of *Yûshi hôgen*, Yang Xiong’s work is presented as the refinement, i.e., samurai dandyism, and at the same time it is somehow vulgarized, and from that originates the comical effect.<sup>72</sup> We can see that the title already encodes the complex relationship to Chinese embedded in the Japanese language, and the erudition

among samurai marks their own status and identity, but at the same time it is deeply alien and constantly invites misreadings, puns and vulgar misappropriation.

In the following chapter, I would like to examine the authorship of *sharebon* literature, utilizing the notion of “stylish,” the fourth meaning of the word, *share*, and also continues the examination of the co-presence of elegance and vulgarity.<sup>73</sup> And in the last chapter, I will further discuss how the reception of Chinese constitutes the peculiar Edo aesthetics by observing the way its vulgarization of samurai dandyism turns out to be itself a form of refinement.

## E. Examples of “Word Play” Seen in the Text of *Sharebon* Works

To give a more concrete sense of what is meant by “word play” in this context, and how they work in the Japanese language, it seems useful to offer a few examples. Kitagawa Morisada talks about *sharebon* in his encyclopedia we cited earlier. He says:

Though the small-sized books (*ko-bon*) [written] by Ikku 一九, Sanba 三馬, and others describe the fun activities at Yoshiwara, they indulged mostly in being funny, and therefore [these books] are called “*sharebon* 酒落本” and pronounced “*sharebon*.<sup>74</sup>

Morisada says that the topic of *sharebon* is the demimonde, i.e., the first meaning of *share*, but he stresses that the purpose and essence of the *sharebon* works is to make the readers laugh with language play, i.e., *share* in its third meaning. From here we see that

making *share* (word play) is one of the essential element of *sharebon* we should probably not condone. Needless to say, there are numerous examples of word play within the text per se of *Yûshi hôgen* and other *sharebon* works. These are usually examples of *jiguchi* (puns) and do not show the reception of Chinese directly. However many of these puns reveals the refinement within its casual surface, and the peculiar way of skewing what is conveyed.

### 1. The Case of: Roasted Sweet Potato Vendors

Let us take a look at an example displaying the distinct way of twisting and skewing from the original word. In *Ukiyodoko* 浮世床 (*The barbershop of the floating world*), we observe the conversation among the husbands in a barbershop about someone's jealous wife. We should note that the word, “being jealous,” that is, “*yaku*,” is a homonym of “to bake.” Using the homonym, one of them makes a play-on-words:

“Since she gets so jealous [/bakes a lot], better to have her sell the Great Luck Rice Cakes.” “How about eight *ri* and a half [22 miles]? Those are in vogue.”<sup>75</sup>

「あんなに焼くなら大福餅でも売らせればいい」 「流行の 8 里半がいいのさ」

They are astonished at the wife’s jealousy, and to depict its intensity and degree, they insist that the wife can sell baked goods, using the pun, “being jealous” and “to bake.” “The Great Luck Rice Cakes,” are baked goods, which are often mentioned in Edo writings. “*Daifuku-mochi*” in Japanese are sweet bean paste wrapped in a thin rice crepe, and we can still get this everywhere in Japan. However, it is harder to figure out what

“eight *ri* and a half” might indicate here. (One *ri* 里 equals 2.5 miles, so 8 and half *ri* makes 22 miles.)

Kitagawa Morisada explains this pun in his contemporaneous encyclopedia, *Morisada Mankō*, among other things, in the fifth volume of his encyclopedia, in his listing of many kinds of signposts for retail stores:

Many signposts for baked yams say 8 and half *ri* 八里半.  
This is a play on words which means [the baked yams]  
taste almost as good as steamed chestnuts.<sup>76</sup>  
(Emphasis Added)

According to Morisada, “eight *ri* and a half” is frequently used on the signposts for baked yam stores, instead of a simple and straightforward “Baked Yam.” In this connection it is worth noting that the word for a “chestnut” in Japanese is “*kuri* 栗” and this is a homonym for nine (*ku*) *ri*. In addition, it is believed that baked yams taste almost the same as chestnuts. Now it was thought, according to Morisada, that baked yams were at first advertised as being “almost as good” as chestnuts. This allows us to understand this obscure pun: baked yams are eight and a half *ri*, only a little less than nine *ri*, so almost as good. Kyokutei Bakin also mentions this nickname with the same explanation in *Enseki Zasshi*.<sup>77</sup>

During the Edo era, Japan was devastated by many famines, most notably the three severe famines of Kyôhô 享保 (1732), Tenmei 天明 (1782-1787), and Tenpô 天保 (1833-1839). After the famine of Kyôhô, in 1734, the 8<sup>th</sup> shogunate Yoshimune ordered a botanist, Aoki Konyô 青木昆陽 (1698-1769), known as “Dr. Yam,” to cultivate a yam that was brought to Japan from abroad through Nagasaki. Konyô worked on the project at the Koishikawa Medical Herb Garden near the Edo castle, established by the 5<sup>th</sup>

shogunate Tsunayoshi, as we briefly described in the previous chapter. The project was successful and consequently the yams saved many people from the starvation. In order to describe how the baked or steamed yam tasted, they were compared with chestnuts, and though they were introduced as almost as good as chestnuts at first, they eventually became one of the favorite foods among Edoites. The yams were loved not just as a meal but also as a confection, sometimes replacing rice cakes. We have already seen that some cookbooks in the “hundred precious ways” series focused exclusively on tofu, *Tōfu hyakuchin* 豆腐百珍 (Tofu in a hundred precious ways, published in 1782), and others exclusively on konjak paste pudding, *Konnyaku hyakuchin* 菊蒻百珍 (Konjak paste pudding in a hundred precious ways, published in 1846). A cookbook exclusively on the yams, titled *Kansho hyakuchin* 甘薯百珍 (Yam in a hundred precious ways) was published in 1789.<sup>78</sup> The word “8 and half *ri*” was used instead of “baked yam,” and the phrase was used for the signposts of the yam stores, which were abundant on the streets of Edo.

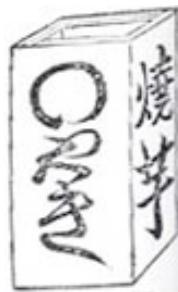
Obviously here the direct expression or the name is avoided, and skewed into the form of a measurement of distance based on a pun on the name. Morisada calls this as “a word trick.” Morisada continues:

I have to mention that in the Kyoto, Osaka area, they used the term “13 *ri*.” This is a word trick indicating [the baked yams are] better than the chestnuts. [This also means] 9 *ri* [plus] 4 *ri*. [*ku* (nine) *ri*, *yo* (four) *ri*]. Same sound.<sup>79</sup>

Describing the baked yam as “eight and a half *ri*” was already skewed enough from a direct expression of the name, but the Edo style of *share* evolved even further; that is, the expression here is given yet a further twist. After all, to claim the product is “tastier than chestnuts” makes a better advertisement than to claim merely that it is “almost as good.”

Thus a certain measure of distance began to be used to represent these baked goods, whether cooked at home or sold at the stores. From that expression, taken in isolation, there is almost nothing to indicate what the original product/statement is. It evades the original messages, feelings, and statements, and transforms into something else, by means of the autonomous power of language. But the net effect of this distortion, far from diminishing the power of the communication, actually intensifies it. In other words, the message is communicated by not telling the message itself. My claim is that this is also an important aspect of the Edo style of *share*, word play, and of Edo discourse generally, and is ultimately part of the constitution of the Edo aesthetics.<sup>80</sup>

Morisada actually reproduces a picture of the baked yam signpost, thus:



The right side of the post above simply reads “baked yams,” and on the front side we can see a circle followed by two Japanese kana letters saying *yaki*, meaning “baked.”

Morisada remarks:

A whole baked yam is usually written “○ baked” [○ yaki]. Commonly speaking, the wholeness of any of the ten thousand things is described with a “circle” [maru丸], and so [such an expression] has become the fashion. In the Edo area, such a thing is usually depicted as “○ baked.”<sup>81</sup>

Here “○” simply symbolizes “circle,” pronounced as “*maru* 丸,” which also denotes the meaning of “whole.” With the latter part “*yaki*” meaning “baked,” it together makes the meaning of “whole baked.” The post sign is saying “whole baked yam.” Again, the sign refuses/evades to spell out the correct word and apply a funny and indirect symbol instead. We could even argue here the similarity of this signpost to the text messages that have become popular especially among the younger generations using their cellular phones nowadays. But I would like to point out that this is also used to manifest “nirvana” or perfect enlightenment in Buddhism. Morisada describes it as “wholeness of the ten thousand things” which suggests that by using this symbol, the sign is even adding a philosophical dimension to these commonplace snacks. I will refer to this signpost again later as another graphic example manifesting the Edo aesthetics.

I would also like to pay attention to Morisada’s remark that says this way of displaying the sign has “become the fashion.” In this case, being straightforward would be considered some sort of boorish act, while conversely, being able to comprehend these evasive messages is essential to being cool and stylish. In other words, to be considered refined and stylish in the Edo manner, it is necessary to have an ability to play tricks with language based on a wide-ranging knowledge. Now this actually turns out to be just what Kizan adduces as the definition of the second meaning for the word “share.” As we have seen earlier, for the second meaning of *share*, Kizan suggests the word *ki no tōru* as a synonym for *sharetaru*, and states that being *ki no tōru*, i.e., *share*, is to “understand, and appreciate [things] quickly without a persuasive explanation.”<sup>82</sup> According to Kizan’s definition, being *share* is founded on wide experience and deep knowledge and as we have seen, this is an important element enabling an appreciation of all the word

games we have examined above. That is, we can say that an essential part of the beauty of *sharebon* literature consists in such silly language play, which requires broad knowledge and experience, therefore proving one's refinement and elegance.

## 2. The Case of : It is Regrettable, Hegel, Schlegel.

Let us take a look at a *jiguchi* example from a *sharebon* work, titled *Tatsumi no sono*. When a visitor is told by a demimonde manager that his favorite courtesan is not available, he replies with a pun using the names of the Confucius's high disciples, Gan'en 颜淵 [Ch. Yan Yuan] and Binshiken 閔子騫 [Ch. Wenzi Han]. These two names rhyme in Japanese, and "Gan'en" further rhymes with the word *zannen* meaning "hopeless" or "regrettable." The passage might be rendered, taking certain liberties, as follows:

This is regrettable, Hegel, Schlegel.<sup>83</sup>  
(*kore wa zan'nen, Binshiken*)

是は。ざんねんびんしけん。

In order to appreciate this pun, you have to know who Binshiken is, and that means you are also supposed to know Gan'en, the word that rhymes with the other word used to express "pity" here. Moreover, to know who Gan'en and Binshiken are, one needs a considerable familiarity with classical Confucianism. We can find the filial story of Binshiken in *Nijūshi kō* (Twenty four stories of filiality), a collection of short stories originally from Chinese literature and well read throughout the Muromachi and Edo eras.<sup>84</sup> We might conclude that the authors and the readers of *sharebon* are especially well-educated and acquainted with Confucianism, but it is also possible that this simply indicates the widespread prevalence of Confucianism among Edoites. In either case, we

can conclude that in order to appreciate these puns, a certain degree of intelligence is required.

This same phrase also appears in *Ukiyodoko* 浮世床 (The barbershop of the floating world), I cited above.<sup>85</sup> This may not be sufficient evidence for determining the exact degree of prevalence of this phrase among Edoites, but at least it shows a certain popularity of this phrase, as well as the widespread practice of making this kind of pun. My point here, again, is that these jokes, which look so simple minded at first, turn out on closer examination to be sustained by a broad and deep knowledge.

### **3. The Case of : Don't Give Us That Clap (Crap)!**

The over-textuality of these puns is not limited to the Chinese classics; some allude also to Japanese and Buddhism. In *Shinagawa yōji* 品川楊枝 (Shinagawa [the location of a private demimonde located south of Edo castle] toothpick) published in 1799 under the difficult-to-interpret name Tengu-sanjin Shiba Shinkō 天狗山人芝晋交, the first scene starts with light chatting about courtesans among some young men, and the conversation shifts toward the proposal to visit the demimonde right away. As a response to a man trying to go home first, another man, being afraid his friend might abandon them, retorts with a series of puns:

“Gonna ditch us, huh? Hey, don’t give us that crap and Kuwana clam chowder – And let’s have a Yokkaichi one-nighter, how about?”<sup>86</sup>

又はづさうと思って。其手はくわなのやき蛤四日市夜のつきえ  
いだア。

The original Japanese for the second sentence goes: “*Sono te wa K/kuwana no yaki-hamaguri* その手は桑名の焼き蛤, *Yokkaichi-ya no tsukie [tsukiae] dâ* 四日市夜のつきえいだア.” Here, “do not give me that crap” or “I am not tricked” which is “*sono te wa kuwanai*,” literally meaning “[I’m]not going to bite/eat it,” merges “*Kuwana no yaki-hamaguri*,” meaning “barbecued clam at Kuwana” and transforms into “*sono te wa k/Kuwana no yakihamaguri*.” This phrase is still being used today.

The punning in this *sharebon* work does not stop here. In order to proceed we need to know about the system of travel within Japan at that time. For the detailed research on this, we can consult Laura Nenzi’s work titled *Excursions in Identity: Travel and the Intersection of Place, Gender and Status in Edo Japan* for all the five main highways and the traffic and geographic situation in the Edo era.<sup>87</sup> Here we just need to know that the grandest highway of the time was called Tôkaidô 東海道, and that it connected Edo, the capital of the Tokugawa shogunate, and Kyoto, the ancient imperial city. There used to be 53 stop-overs along the Tôkaidô, which we now know from a series of Utagawa Hiroshige’s 歌川広重 (1797-1858) *ukiyo-e* wood block prints, titled *The Fifty-three Stations of the Tôkaidô* 東海道五十三次 (*Tôkaiôu gojûsan tsugi*, 1833–1834).<sup>88</sup>

It is commonly believed that the special significance of the number 53 comes from the story of the youth Sudhana [Ch. Shancai, J. Sandai] 善財童子 in the “Gandavyuha” chapter of the *The Avatamsaka (Garland) Sutra* 華嚴經入法界品 [J. Kegonkyô, Ch. Hua-yen-ching]. According to the story, Sudhana was born in a wealthy family in India and had an awakening in Buddhism. Following the advice of Manjusri (Wisdom) Bodhisattva, 文殊菩薩 [J. Monju Bosatsu], he began his training as a Bodhisattva by calling on 53 people, including children and courtesans, all of whom were

themselves Bodhisattvas, until he eventually attained enlightenment at the place of Samantabhadra (Universally Worthy) Bodhisattva 普賢菩薩 [J. Fugen Bosatsu]. The story was already popular by the 12<sup>th</sup> century and the topic was drawn into several scrolled paintings, such as *Kegon gojūgo sho emaki* 華嚴五十五所繪卷,” which is now housed in the Tōdai-ji 東大寺 temple in Nara. It is said that the 53 stop-overs on Tōkaidō were compared with the 53 people Sudhana met on his journey to enlightenment. Among these 53, Kuwana (present-day Mié prefecture Kuwana city) is the 42<sup>nd</sup> station along the Tōkaidō, counting from Nihonbashi 日本橋, the first stop in Edo, while the 43<sup>rd</sup> is “Yokkaichi” (present-day Mié prefecture Yokkaichi city).

In other words, naming the two stations next to each other here, using each as a pun, could be, among other things, just like counting off numbers in sequence, and contributes a certain speed and rhythm to the conversation. According to Machida and Asano in *Warabe uta* (Classical children’s songs), counting songs were in fashion in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century in the Edo era. These songs count one to ten and list the name of the places after the number. The place names are homonyms with the numbers, or at least contain two syllables that make up the same sound as do the numbers, such as *Ichiban hajime wa Ichinomiya* (The very first [*ichi*] is *Ichinomiya*).<sup>89</sup> We see examples of other counting songs in *Ukiyodoko* 浮世床 (*The barbershop of the floating world*), another piece of “playful writing” composed by Shikitei Sanba 式亭三馬 (1776-1822) and published in 1823.<sup>90</sup> It might also be noted that listing the names on the Tōkaidō makes a person look travel savvy if not geographically smart. Here “Yokkaichi,” the next station from Kuwana, merges into the word *ichiya* 一夜 literally meaning “one night,” and “*ichi ya no tsukiai*” makes “keeping company for one night.” (The pronunciation *tsukiē* instead of

the standard *tsukiai* is one of the well-known patterns of the Edo masculine dialect for commoners.)

There is another interesting reason why “*Yokkaichi/ichiya no tsukiai*” is brought up in this context. The phrase “company for one night” has an association with an illustrious and melodious passage in a Nô drama piece, called *Kurama tengu* 鞍馬天狗 (Long-nosed goblin at Kurama), first performed probably in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, based on a passage from *Heike monogatari* 平家物語 (*The Tale of Heike*) compiled in the 12<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup> century:

“[Recitativo] Spending a half day together under the flowers [cherry blossoms], looking up at the moon together for one night,” a short term connection like that still contains karma and intimacy. This is such a pity. Come closer and let’s appreciate the flowers together.<sup>91</sup>  
(Emphasis Added)

(謡の記号) げにや花の下の半日の客、月の前の一夜の友、「それさへよしみはあるものを。あらいたわしや近う寄りて花御覧候へ。」

The passage sung and told by the young Minamoto Yoshitsune is an invitation to an ascetic mountain monk, who is really the grand goblin at Kurama and who later becomes Yoshitsune martial arts teacher. When the Nô drama alludes to this passage from *the Tale of Heike*, such a relationship between two men (in this case a boy and a man) is suggested and reinforced. This passage appears when Naritsune 成経 and Yasuyori 康頼, who were exiled to an island by the Taira clan (Heike), are finally granted amnesty and leave the island and go their separate ways. It goes:

[Even after] spending a half day together under the flowers [cherry blossoms], looking up at the moon together for one night, and resting like travelers at the shadow of a tree until

the rain passes, it is lamentable to separate from each other.  
Not to mention we who are living on this depressing island,  
in a boat, over the waves, we had the same punishment  
together due to the deeds from a previous life, our karma.  
It gives a strong sense that our karmic connection must not  
be shallow.<sup>92</sup>

(Emphasis Added)

花の下の半日の客、月の前の一夜の友、旅人が一村雨の過ぎ行くに、一樹の陰に立ち寄りて、別るる名残も惜しきぞかし。況や是はうかりし島の住ひ、船のうち浪のうへ、一業所感の身なれば、先世の芳縁も浅からずや思ひ知られけん。

By referring to “one night companionship” this way, a young man from the *sharebon* work not only fortifies the male-male bonding but also implies that the bonding will be strengthened through sharing a “guilt trip,” i.e., a demimonde visit together. It is often mentioned that in the Nô drama, *Kurama tengu*, an erotic relationship between the young Yoshitsune and the goblin is implied, especially when the goblin teaches martial arts to Yoshitsune on the stage. In this case, “one night companionship” also suggests the romantic relationship between the two men. But since they are heading toward the demimonde, this one night romantic relationship will be shifted toward a male-female affair. If we take it this way, the phrase “one night companionship” conveys more than a single sexual combination and therefore contributes another dimension to the book.

A reader can enjoy the pun here superficially for its rhythm and nonsensical superimposition of a clam reference and a reply, but it clearly implies that not only geographical knowledge but also familiarity with Japanese classical culture, at least Nô drama, will help us appreciate the joke more deeply. In other words, the authors as well as the contemporaneous readers of *sharebon* were understood to be knowledgeable in

these areas, and it allows them to play around with the language freely, and from which much of the amusement derives.

#### **4. The Case of : Hiroshige and *The Fifty-three Stations of the Tōkaidō***

In actual fact, making puns seems to have been much loved by Edoites in general, not just the *sharebon* authors and readers. I would like to take a quick look at some other examples to show how much word play prevailed during the Edo era. We have seen that Hiroshige made an ukiyo-e printing for each station along the Tōkaidō highway, entitled *The Fifty-three Stations of the Tōkaidō*, and looked at an example of a pun utilizing the names of these stations. But there are other examples of the use of the Hiroshige prints as an original text and a target of parody. Another ukiyo-e artist, Utagawa Kuniyoshi 歌川国芳 (1798-1861) joins the game with his drawing *The Fifty-three Facial Expressions of the Tōkaido*.<sup>93</sup> The title already includes a pun and parodies the original. Here, the word indicating “station” in the original text, pronounced *tsugi*, is replaced with “facial expression,” pronounced *tsura*, which alliterates with the former. In this work, many kinds of facial expressions are introduced, which work as puns for the names of the stations by means of wordplay. Here are some examples. For the Fujisawa station, a nice looking middle-aged man is depicted and titled as “*ojisama*” meaning either an “uncle,” or any random “man” or “gentleman.” For Mishima station, a mature woman is depicted with a title *toshima*, meaning “mature/aged woman” which rhymes with the former. For Oiso station, the print has the title “*ô, ita*” which is a kind of interjection used when you get hurt, like “ouch,” and the face in pain is depicted (Please see Appendices.) Here again, even a little child who does not read yet can enjoy the drawing by just looking at the funny faces, but the deeper appreciation of this joke only comes

with at least the knowledge of the previous *ukiyo-e* prints as well as the geographical knowledge on which it is based.

## 5. Vulgarity Wrapped in Refinement

We have seen some examples of word play seen in the texts of *sharebon* works and other Edo materials, and that brought to our understanding the way in which these jokes and puns contain “the refinement” within, though they just sound like silly puns. To consolidate this point, it is worth taking a look at a more graphic example of the beauty of the vulgarity nestling in the refined-looking sheath. I would like to take a look at one of the pieces from Hiroshige’s *One Hundred Famous Views of Edo* from the perspective of *share* in Edo style. Hiroshige’s accomplishment as an *ukiyo-e* artist and international influence is evident in the fact that his *The Fifty-three Stations of the Tōkaidō* and *One Hundred Famous Views of Edo* (*Meisho Edo hyakkei*, 1856–1858) greatly influenced the French impressionists. Vincent Van Gogh and copied two of the *One Hundred Famous Views of Edo*. Claude Monet also copied several works from Hiroshige and built the same kind of bridge seen in Hiroshige’s “Mannen Bridge in Fukagawa” at his Giverny garden. A French impressionist composer, Claude Achille Debussy is known to have been inspired by *ukiyo-e* works such as “The Whirlpools at Awa” by Hiroshige as well as “Under the Wave, Off Kanagawa” by Katsushika Hokusai 葛飾北斎 (1760-1849), and composed an orchestral composition, *La mer, trois esquisses symphoniques pour orchestre* (*The sea, three symphonic sketches for orchestra*) under the same impression.<sup>94</sup>

The piece depicts a winter scene on an ordinary street that leads to a bridge with some stores and some peddlers in their snow equipment.



Utagawa Hiroshige,  
*One Hundred Famous Views of Edo* 114,  
*Konjaku bikunihashi setchū*<sup>95</sup>

In this masterpiece, we find two signposts on a snowy night in the town of Edo. On the right side of this masterpiece, we can see the familiar signpost we have discussed earlier. Here on the side facing the street, we notice the phrase 13 *ri* written and ○ *yaki* on the other side. Now that we know the Edo style word play for baked yam, this signpost elicits us a grin amidst the beautiful expression of a quiet and peaceful yet chilly

and snowy winter night. We should quickly note here that the larger signpost seen on the left side offers another example of word play. It says *yama kujira*, which literally means “mountain whale,” but what it really indicates is the land animal meat such as pork, deer or wild boar.<sup>96</sup> Thus, one word play is stacked on top of another. Within the placid and beautiful scenery of the bridge and the street on a snowy Edo night, there are suggestions of humor and a certain boorish buffoonery through word play. What we see here is both comical humor within quiet elegance and also refined beauty in humorous comedy. I would like to claim that this kind of beauty, an amalgamation of refinement and tastelessness is what we can expect from reading *sharebon* works. We can also explain it by utilizing the notion of “pretending” examined in the previous chapter. These examples of “word play” are “pretending” something refined. Within Hiroshige’s work, these signposts “pretend” to be something beautiful in order to fit into the framework of the painting.

## ENDNOTES:

### Chapter 4

<sup>1</sup> *Jitsugokyō Dōshikyō*, ed. Sakai Kenji, p.13.

<sup>2</sup> Cited in Ichikawa Hiroaki, *Edo no manabi*, p.108.

<sup>3</sup> *Jitsugo-kyō Dōshi-kyō kenkyū to ei'in*, p.2.

<sup>4</sup> *Haifū Yanagidaru*, 10 -8.

<sup>5</sup> Hideo Hirano, *The Fukuro-mono of Edo; Traditional Small Pouches of Old Japan*, trans. Stephen Comee, pp.308-311.

<sup>6</sup> Nagasaki Iwao, *Cha-no-yu no kireji*, p.2.

<sup>7</sup> *Nihon no cha-sho* 2, Tōyō Bunko 206.

<sup>8</sup> Ise Sadatake, *Fukkoku; Ise Sadatake 'Hōketsu-ki.'*

<sup>9</sup> Ise Sadatake, *Teijō zakki*, 1~4, Tōyō Bunko 444, 446, 450, 453.

<sup>10</sup> There is also another family, the clan of Ogasawara, the former lords and counts of Kokura (present-day Fukuoka), whose mission was to provide a model for the proper and exemplary behavior and carriage for the samurai lords and chancellors. The teachings of these families, Ise and Ogasawara, had been prohibited to circulate outside the samurai class during the Edo era.

<sup>11</sup> Lee O-Young, 'Furoshiki' de yomu Nikkan bunka, p. 160.

<sup>12</sup> Alexandre Kojéve, *Introduction to the Reading of Hegel*, pp.161-2.

<sup>13</sup> Please see Georges Bataille, *The Accursed Share* 1, pp. 63-77.

<sup>14</sup> Jean-Paul Bouillon, "Remarques sur la Japonisme de Bracquemond," *Japonisme in Art, Art Symposium*, pp.83-108.

<sup>15</sup> *Kakuchū soji* 廊中掃除, ST 24: 299-333; *Kakuchū soji* 郭中掃除, ST 7: 81-95.

<sup>16</sup> A contemporaneous *sharebon* commentary published in late Edo period, *Hana-ore-gami*, confirms the pun. ST 22:167.

<sup>17</sup> We should note that though the numbers are small, there are the titles written in hiragana such as *Kitsune no mo*, and *Ominameshi*. ST 6: 8. There are also cases where the Chinese characters are used just to indicate the sound but not the meanings such as *Sato uguisu* (Demimonde bush warbler / Nightingale) which is written as 廊宇久為寿, but correctly it would be written as 廊鶯 in modern standard Japanese. ST 26:143. This way of using Chinese characters was applied to many of the Kabuki titles. We can also find titles that allude to Japanese classics. *Kokin wakashū* 古今和歌集 (Ancient and Modern Poetry Collection), an imperial collection of poetry, is turned into *Kokin bakashū* 古今馬鹿集 (Ancient and modern idiot collection). ST 6: 163.

There is also *Daitshū Zenji hôgo* 大通禪師法語 (The Dharmic sayings of Mr. Stylish Zen Master's), which imitates the genre of "Dharmic Sayings" by Buddhist monks, such as *Hakuin Zenji hôgo*, by Rinzai sect Zen Buddhist monk, Hakuin Ekaku 白隱慧鶴 (1686-1769). *Daitshū Zenji hôgo*, ST 8: 305-314. *Hakuin zenji hôgo zeshū*, 14 vols. Kyoto: Zen Bunka Kenkyujo, 1999-2002.

<sup>18</sup> *Sesetsu shingo-za*, ST 7:235-253, 403-6. A translation for *Sesetsu Shingo* is available: Liu I-Ch'Ing, *Shih-Shou Hsin-Yu: A New Account of Tales of the World*, trans Richard B. Mather, Ann Arbor: U. of Michigan Center for Chinese, 2002.

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- Hana-ore gami*, ST 22: 174.
- <sup>19</sup> ‘*Kyōbun takara-awase no ki*’ kenkyū, annotated Nobuhiro Shinji, Kyuko Shoin, 2000.
- Rigen shuran*, 11 vols.
- <sup>20</sup> Ogyū Sorai, *Rongo chō* 1,2, *Toyo bunko* 575, 576.
- <sup>21</sup> *Rongo-chō*, ST 5: 291-307, 401-2.
- <sup>22</sup> *Kochō no yume*, ST 8: 49-63.
- <sup>23</sup> *Ekisha sanyū*, ST 9: 63-76.
- <sup>24</sup> *Seiyū ki*, ST 16: 79-88.
- Nanyū ki*, ST 18: 169-202.
- <sup>25</sup> *Honzō mōmoku*, ST 10: 167-180, 383-4.
- <sup>26</sup> *Honzō giyō*, ST 2 :109-129, 391-4.
- <sup>27</sup> ST 6: 291-311, 416-420.
- <sup>28</sup> For these major five highways in Edo era, please see Laura Nenzi, *Excursions in Identity; Travel and the Intersection of Place, Gender, and Status in Edo Japan*.
- <sup>29</sup> *Sendō shinwa*, ST 24: 83-131, 359-364.
- Tatsumi fugen*, ST 17:127-154, 375-379.
- <sup>30</sup> Luis Frois, *Yōroppa bunka to Nihon bunka*, p.139, p.146.
- <sup>31</sup> Masaok Shiki, *Fudemakase (shō)*, p.55.
- <sup>32</sup> Saitō Mareshi, *Kanbunkyaku to Kindai Nippon*, p.41.
- <sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p.42.
- <sup>34</sup> Ichikawa Hiroaki, *Edo no manabi*, p.48, p.102.
- <sup>35</sup> Ishikawa Matsutarō, *Hankou to terakoya*, pp.132-3.
- <sup>36</sup> Heinrich Schelieman, *Nihon Chūgoku ryokouki*, *Shin ikoku sousho dai-2 shu* 6, trans. Fujikawa Tōru, p.114.
- <sup>37</sup> Translated from Ronald MacDonald, MacDonald “*Nihon Kaisouki*”: *Indian no mita bakumatsu no Nippon*, trans. Tomita Torao, p.124.
- <sup>38</sup> Translated from Laurence Oliphant, *Earl of Elgin ken-nichi shisetsru-roku*, *Shin ikoku sōsho* 9, trans. Okada Akio, p.162.
- <sup>39</sup> *Jitsugo-kyō Doushi-kyō*; *kenkyū to eiin*, ed. Sakai Kenji, Sanseidō, 1999.
- <sup>40</sup> *Nagatobon Heikemonogatari* 2, ed. by Asahara Yoshiko, Bensei shuppan, 2004.
- <sup>41</sup> Fukuzasa Yukichi, *Gakumon no susume*, Iwanami shoten,1986.
- <sup>42</sup> Miki Sasuke, *Gyoku-en sōwa*, In *Meiji shuppan shiwa*, p.15.
- It is worth noting that we can also find a work called *Jitsugikyō* 実妓教 (Fruitful prostitute teachings) as a parody of this text book among the *sharebon* titles, please see ST 29.
- <sup>43</sup> Moriyama Takamori, *Moriyama Takamori Nikki*, In *Nihon toshi seikatsu shiryō shūsei* 2, ed. Harada Tomohiko, pp.26-201.
- <sup>44</sup> The Book of Music is not longer extant. The *Spring and Autumn Annals* 春秋 attributed to Confucius, was included in the Six Classics 六經.
- <sup>45</sup> Saitō Mareshi, *op.cit.*, p.25.
- <sup>46</sup> Ishikawa Kyūyō, ‘*Nijū genko kokka*, *Nihon’ no rekishi*, p.145.
- <sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p.144.
- <sup>48</sup> Yang Xiong, *Yang Xiong Fangyan jiaoshi huizheng*, Wang Zhiqun and Xie Rong’e, co-editors. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2006.
- <sup>49</sup> Sugimoto Tsutomo *chosaku senshū* 7: *Jisho Jiten no kenkyū* II, p.13.

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<sup>50</sup> *Seji Hyakudan*, In *Nihon zuihitsu taisei First series* 18.

<sup>51</sup> *Yûken shôroku*, In *Nihon zuihitsu taisei Second series* 24, p.6.

<sup>52</sup> Nanpo quotes the text to discuss one specific Chinese character. He puts it:

*Yôshi hôgen* says: “They call a net a *guo*—note: what is used to turn the spoke for a chariot.” This character “*kyû* 紿 (for)” is wondrous. Now we use this character [for example] to give a child to fly a paper kite.

揚子方言にいう「絡謂之郭。注所以転＊[＊=From the top 竹+集(又instead of 木)] 納車也。」此納の字妙也。  
今小児の紙鳶を放に糸をやるというは、この納の字なり。

*Nihon zuihitsu taisei dai-2-ki*, 24, p.182.

<sup>53</sup> Ueda Akinari, *Seifû sagen*, In *Nihon zuihitsu taisei Second series* 6, pp.163-193. Also in *Nihon no chasho* 2, *Tôyô Bunko* 206, pp.164-5.

<sup>54</sup> *Sendô shinwa*, ST 24: 88.

<sup>55</sup> Saitô Mareshi, *op.cit.*, p.40.

<sup>56</sup> Yu Shouzhen, ed. *Tangshi sanbaishou Xiangxi*, p.60. Also in *Tôshi sanbyakushu*, *Tôyô Bunko* 239,265,267.

<sup>57</sup> *Tenmei haisho shû* 2, pp.273-352.

<sup>58</sup> The word is still used today, for example, recently Ogawa Kunio (1927-2008) published his autobiographic essay titled *Yûshi zuisou* a 遊子隨想 (stray notes) in 1989, recollecting about his journey to Paris, Spain, Africa and so on. (Ogawa Kunio, *Yûshi zuisô;kagerô no michi*, Iwanami Shoten, 1989. In the Meiji era, a poet, Doi Bansui (1871-1952) published *Tôkai* (East Sea) *Yûshi gin*, a collection of poems, after his return from Europe. *Meiji bungaku senshû* 58; *Susukida Kyûkin*, *Doi Bansui*, Kanbara Ariake, Chikuma Shobô, 1967.

<sup>59</sup> *Tô shisen* 2, ed. Maeno Naoaki, pp.62-3.

<sup>60</sup> Sigmund Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, Standard Edition, IV-V, p. 283.

<sup>61</sup> *Nihon zuihitsu taisei First series* 18

<sup>62</sup> Koshigaya Gozan, *Butsurui shôko*.

<sup>63</sup> Tôjô Misao, *Tojo Misao chosaku shû: dai-3 kan hougen kenkyu no ayumi*, p.395. Rimer, J. Thomas, “Tale of Eight Dogs,” In *The Columbia Anthology of Modern Japanese Literature: From Restoration to Occupation, 1868-1945*, Mantato: Coughlan Publishing, 2007, p. 196. This legendary novel on samurai also became a movie in 1959 as “Legend of the Eight Samurai,” by Tôei.

<sup>64</sup> Tôjô Misao, *op.cit.*, p.400.

<sup>65</sup> *Issa zenshû*, pp.471-571.

<sup>66</sup> Tôjô Misao, *op.cit.*, p.117.

<sup>67</sup> Kaibara Ekiken, *Yamato zoku kun*, pp.71-2.

<sup>68</sup> *Hana-ore-gami*, ST 22: 181.

<sup>69</sup> The Chinese characters in *kun-yomi* are, in most of cases, include *hiragana* (a Japanese syllabary) to complete one word. That is, a given Chinese character only usually applies to a part of a given word. These *hiragana* phonetic symbols or ‘letters’ are also spun out

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of the Chinese characters. Each letter was taken from a Chinese character that has a close sound to the Japanese syllabic. When we discuss the so-called “native” or “original” Japanese words as opposed to *kango* 漢語 (Sino-Japanese words), there is a tendency to use the word *Yamato-kotoba* (*Yamato* indicates the archaic Japan and *kotoba* means language), which gives the illusion that Japanese language and culture had been already established prior to the arrival of Chinese characters and culture. However, it seems more plausible to think that *Yamato-kotoba* had been contrived as the process of reception of Chinese characters and culture were proceeding, as Saitô Mareshi and Ishikawa Kyûyô suggest. Saitô says: “Due to the transmission of *kanbun* (Chinese language read as Japanese), a language with a writing system, people started to think about how they should write their local language. It is very questionable to assume the Japanese language would have produced its unique writing system without the introduction of Chinese characters and sentences. It is possible that Japanese would not have a writing system at all till the arrival of the Roman alphabet. In the first place, it is questionable whether the consciousness of the native language as “Japanese” language would have been constructed at all.” Saitô Mareshi, *op.cit.*, p.17. Ishikawa advocates the position that “Japanese words were construed in response to Chinese words.” Ishikawa Kyûyô, “*Nijû gengo kokka, Nihon*” no rekishi, p.146. I would like to clarify that when refer to Japanese “original” or “native,” words in this dissertation, I do not intend to use them as something opposed to “Chinese” language and culture. As Saitô and Ishikawa advocate, I, too, would like to take a stance that there was a culture of “Chinese characters” on the continent, at first, which was shared by the surrounding neighborhood area, such as little islands, i.e., present-day Japan, and Vietnam, and a peninsula, i.e., present-day Korea, and from there each local culture started to develop based on the culture of “Chinese characters.”

<sup>70</sup> Translated from Japanese translation from Jacques Lacan, “Nihon no dokusha ni yosete,” *Ecrits* 1, trans. Miyamoto Tadao et.al., p.iii.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p.iv.

<sup>72</sup> It is known that Karatani Kôjin, referencing Lacan, criticized Japanese as “lacking subjectivity” showing a symptom of “schizophrenia.” “Nêshon (Nation) to Bigaku,” In *Teihon Karatani Kôjin shû* 4.

<sup>73</sup> Both Nakamura and Nakano have suggested that precisely such a co-presence of elegance and vulgarity is one of the essential traits of Edo art and literature in general. In *Nihon no kinsei*, Nakano cites the haikai poetries and the ukiyo-e prints and paintings such as “Jûkyôshû 乘興舟” by Itô Jakuchû 伊藤若冲 (1716-1800) as examples which represent the notion of elegance within vulgarity.

Nakamura, *op.cit.*, pp.64-71, Nakano, *Nihon no kinsei* 12, *bungaku to bijutsu no seijuku*, Chûô Kôronsha, 1993, and also please see Jûhachi [18] *seiki no Edo bungei; ga to zoku no seijuku*, Iwanami Shoten, 1999.

<sup>74</sup> Kitagawa Morisada, *Kinsei Fûsokushi* 4, p.310.

<sup>75</sup> *Ukiyodoko*, *NKBZ* 47: 292.

<sup>76</sup> Kitagawa, *op.cit.*, 1, pp.235-6.

<sup>77</sup> *Enseki Zasshi*, In *Nihon zuihitsu taksei*, Second series 19, p.306.

<sup>78</sup> *Zusetsu Edo-jidai shoku-seikatsu jiten*, ed. by Nihon fûzokushigakkai, Yûzankaku, 1978.

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- <sup>79</sup> Kitagawa, *op.cit.*, 1, p. 236.
- <sup>80</sup> Probably I should quickly note that the in modern Japanese this expression has evolved further, and the “13 and half ri” is presently used for selling the baked yams.
- <sup>81</sup> Kitagawa, *op.cit.*, 1, pp. 235-6.
- <sup>82</sup> Kizan, *op.cit.*, p.425.
- <sup>83</sup> *Tatsumi no sono*, ST 4: 374.
- <sup>84</sup> *Nijūshikō*, NKBZ 38: 241-264, esp. 245-246. Also In NKBZ 36: 296-325, esp.303-304.
- <sup>85</sup> *Ukiyodoko*, NKBZ 47: 267.
- <sup>86</sup> ST 17: 289.
- <sup>87</sup> Laura Nenzi, *Excursions in Identity: Travel and the Intersection of Place, Gender and Status in Edo Japan*.
- <sup>88</sup> Andō Hiroshige, *Hiroshige; the 53 stations of the Tokaido*, ed. by Narazaki Muneshige, trans. by Gordon Sager, Kodansha International, 1969. Utagawa Hiroshige is also known as Andō Hiroshige.
- <sup>89</sup> *Warabe uta*, ed Asano Kenji, pp.24-5.
- <sup>90</sup> *Ukiyodoko*, NKBZ 47: 358-9.
- <sup>91</sup> *Kurama tengu*, NKBZ 34: 453.
- <sup>92</sup> SNKBZ, 44, *Heike monogatari jō*, p.159.
- <sup>93</sup> Inagaki Shin’ichi, *Edo no asobi-e*, pp.136-7. (Please see Appendices.)
- <sup>94</sup> Roy Howat, *Debussy in Proportion*, p.178.
- <sup>95</sup> Smith, Andō, *op.cit.*,
- <sup>96</sup> Terakado Seiken 寺門靜軒 (1796-1868), a Confucian scholar, explains the reason for this euphemism, another kind of word trick, in *Edo hanjō ki* 江戸繁昌記 serialized during 1832-1836. According to Seiken, these meats had once been prohibited by the order of the Emperor Temmu 天武天皇 (631?-686) except for medicinal purposes. Though the medical usage was allowed, he assumes, people refrained from declaring what this merchandise really was. He also states that the numbers of the restaurants serving these meats increased from one to uncountably many in the late Edo period. Seiken also reveals to us that there is one more layer of word play going on here. He adds that the urban people call these restaurants “ghosts,” meaning something that does not show its real existence. SNKBZ 100: 49-50.

## Chapter V

### “Stylishness” as the Third Meaning of *Share*: Edo Literary Cliques and Chinese Erudition

Temporarily we forget, camouflage and throw away our own personality, and pretend to have a different one. I would like to describe this kind of play/game as mimicry.<sup>1</sup>

Roger Caillois, *Les jeux et les hommes*  
(Games and men)

Through the art of arranging flowers, the tea ceremony, and by the strict form of traditional short poems, by flying kites, exchanging gifts, by the rules of *nō* and *kabuki*, by *bushido* [samurai] ethics, by the refined manners of shooting arrows, by the insightful banter of *zen* dialogue, Japanese culture seems to show off its blood kin relationship with the spirit of play/game throughout its entire history.<sup>2</sup>

Roger Caillois, *Les jeux et les hommes*

In the previous chapter, we examined what we called “samurai dandyism” as founded on erudition in Chinese classics and the comic effects derived from its distortion through the inspection of the titles of *sharebon*, and how the characteristics of the Japanese language contributes to the creation of a type of humor used often in Edo literature. Now, in this chapter, I would like to investigate the “author” and “authorship” of *sharebon* literature by utilizing the third meaning of *share*, that is, “being stylish.”

## A. Self-image of Ikku as a *Sharebon* Author/Writer

First, let us take a look at an incident involving Jippensha Ikku and one of the Edo critics, Bokusentei Yukimaro 墨川亭雪麿 (1797-1856), the presumed author of *Haishitsū* 稔史通, an untraceable book of biographies on some authors of playfulwriting written in 1813.<sup>3</sup> The passage, thought to be originally from this book, is also recorded in three other bibliographies, *Gesaku rokkasen* 戲作六家撰, *Gesakusha kō hoi* 戯作者考補遺, and *Gesakusha senshū* 戏作者撰集.<sup>4</sup>

In the passage, Yukimaro relates an incident about Ikku, regarding the content of *Haishitsū*, in which Yukimaro had written that a life of vagrancy had at one time brought Ikku to such extremes that he became a gatekeeper of a temple. At some occasion these two met and Ikku asked Yukimaro the source from which he had heard this anecdote about himself. Yukimaro writes that though he knew the person who told this anecdote, he answered to Ikku that it was due to a rumor. This incident made Ikku upset. He says:

It is disturbing [that you are] reporting [an episode about me] just because [you heard] a rumor among people. I am an author of *gesaku* (playful writings) literature. If such a thing is reported, it interferes with my work. ...<sup>5</sup>

世の浮説を挙げて世上へ弘むるは迷惑也。僕は戯作をもて業とす、さることを弘められては生業の妨ともなりぬれば（貴君が上をも悪ざまに書なして俸禄にも拘るべき程の事を書かんと思へり。）

Then Ikku warned Yukimaro that he would write about his deed to damage his reputation, which he really did.<sup>6</sup>

Though we cannot generalize what we learn from this passage to draw conclusions about a collective attitude and philosophy shared by all authors in the Edo era, it can serve as one piece of evidence showing the attitude toward authorship among Edo authors. We can infer from this anecdote that there exists a certain image, at least for Ikku, of a *gesaku* (a genre of playful writings including *sharebon*) author, which he was eager to maintain. The passage reveals that Ikku did not like to publicize that he used to be a gatekeeper at a temple. Now we could speculate that having a personal history of being a gatekeeper somehow violates the image of *gesaku* authors. We could hypothesize that probably being a gate boy or being so poor might go against the image of a literatus. We could also surmise that Ikku simply did not wish to disclose his personal information to the public and would prefer that his biographical data remain uncertain. We examined the author of *Yûshi hôgen* in Chapter 3 and saw that these authors tend to “pretend” some anonymous figure rather than revealing their identity. In any cases, what is undoubted is that there existed (at least for Ikku), a certain image of being these *sharebon* and *gesaku* authors. That simultaneously means that they probably had their own standard of being “stylish.”

## B. How to be Stylish: First Step -- Getting into a Clique

### 1. Nanpo’s First Essay

In a previous chapter, we have examined Nanpo's first essay "Mizukake ron" 水掛論 (Futile discussion), noting his ironic and humorous remarks on Confucian scholars, including Ogyū Sorai. Let us examine the name given as the author of this work to obtain a clearer apprehension of the attitude toward authorship of *sharebon* writers.

"Mizukake ron" (Futile discussion) is included in *Neboke sensei bunshū* 寝惚先生文集 (Collected works of professor Half-asleep), published in 1767 when Nanpo was nineteen years old. Hiraga Gennai wrote a preface for this collection. Nanpo gives three names as the collective producers of this work. First, the author (*cho* 著) is noted as "Ketō: Chinpunkan Shikaku" 毛唐 陳奮翰子毛唐角 (Hairy China-man [sic]: Make-no-sense Squarely-serious). From this name, we can already sense his facetious attitude toward Confucian scholars about whom he makes sarcastic and humorous comments in the text. The first name "Shikaku" could just mean "too much seriousness" but it could also be a reference to the appearance of one of the renowned scholars, described as "*shikami hibachi*" (a portable room heater) in the body of the essay. (Please see Appendices.)

The author's name is followed by the names of the editors, utilizing colloquial expressions indicating something meritless. The names given are "Ahō Anpontan Oyadama" 阿房 安本丹親玉 (Nitwit Nincompoops' Leader) as a compiler (*shū* 輯), and "Mōroku Tōhenboku Anketsu" 蒙麓 滕偏木安傑 (Doddered Bizarre-o Dumb-o) as an editor (*kō* 校).<sup>7</sup> The first name here especially insinuates the pleasure of pretending to be another person besides oneself. Nanpo, dripping in self-irony, mimics a Chinese person, and gives two alternate names for himself. We have already seen that "mimicking" is one of the traits for the authors. Here I would like to emphasize that Nanpo presents this collection as a work of a group of people instead of one by a sole author. That means it

reveals us that it is more “stylish” to exhibit one’s work as a production by numbers of people, i.e., a clique.

In fact, at that time, attending social gatherings purely for fun was in vogue among literati, as we saw in Chapter 3 and 5. There are some records recording these gatherings with the dates, places, the names of the people and the content of the recreational activities, such as *Takara awase no ki* 宝合記 (Record of show and tell).<sup>8</sup> In his essay titled *Kunsai manpitsu* 董齋漫筆, Nagai Kafū also stipulates that these authors knew each other very well. He cites the case of Ôta Nanpo, whose social life extended from familiarity with the comical verse poets and playful writers to the Confucian scholars, and mentions these gatherings among the literati at that time.<sup>9</sup> As a matter of fact, Suzuki Toshiyuki proclaims: “from the beginning, to the writers, *sharebon* simultaneously meant a certain type of participation in society in their own way.”<sup>10</sup> We should here remember the passage in our main text in which Mr. Savvy told to the Youngster that he should attend these gatherings (20).

## 2. The Case of “Choki Sanjin” and the Possibility of a Trilogy of Sanba

Let us take a look at another example, which possibly indicates the desirability of joining a clique. In a previous chapter, we have looked at some jokes from *Tatsumi fugen* (Fukagawa [private demimonde] women’s words, 1799) and *Sendō shinwa* (Boatman’s deep story, 1806) both of which are known to be the product of Shikitei Sanba 式亭三馬 (1776-1822). The latter claims that it is written as a sequel to the former.<sup>11</sup> According to the biographical works, Shikitei Sanba also used other pennames such as “Shiki sanjin” 四季山人 (Four-season mountain hermit, *shiki* is a homophone with the first part of his

main penname), “Sharakusai” 洒落齋 (Dissipation house/cheeky), “Tararirō” \*\*哩樓 [ \* = 口多, \*=口羅] (Drip-drop house), “Yûgidô” 遊戲堂 (Game hall), “Honchôan” 本町庵 (Hut at Honchô).<sup>12</sup> *Sendô shinwa* (Boatman’s deep story) gives the name “Shiki sanjin” as its author.<sup>13</sup> In *Tatsumi fugen* (Fukagawa [private demimonde], women’s words), after the self-preface we see the name “Shikitei Sanba,” followed by a “prefatory note” signed with the name “Tararirô.”<sup>14</sup> Though, it is difficult to figure out for now what percentage of contemporaneous readers realized that the person who presented the prefatory note and the author are identical, the book was presented with different names for the author and the writer for the prefatory note. That is, no matter how much about the author was revealed to the readers, the impression is created that “Tatsumi fugen” had “somebody else” contribute the prefatory note besides the author.

Now we should also take a look at another *sharebon* work titled, *Sendô beya* 船頭部屋 (Boatman’s room, 1807?), which is presumed to be the sequel to these Sanba’s works, *Tatsumi fugen*, and *Sendô shinwa*. In its prefatory note, it says that the work is written in order to follow *Sendô shinwa* (Boatman’s deep story) to make a trilogy with the previous two works that had been so popular. However, we do not see either “Shiki sanjin” or “Shikitei Sanba” given for the name of the author in the work, unlike the previous two. At the beginning of *Sendô beya*, the name of the author is signed as “Choki sanjin” 猪牙山人 (Choki-boat [/boar’s fang] mountain hermit), which actually rhymes with “Shiki sanjin.”<sup>15</sup> The meaning of the name depicts a *choki-boat*, which was used for local travel, including visiting the demimonde in Edo city at that time, and corresponds well with the title.

Now a question arises here concerning whose penname “Choki sanjin” is.

Yamazaki Fumoto identifies “Choki sanjin” with “Shikitei Sanba” in his *Nihon shōsetsu shomoku nenpyō*.<sup>16</sup> In other words, the Fukagawa trilogy is considered to be the production of one author. However, Jinpo Itsuya shows his doubt toward this hypothesis, since there is no evidence so far to support a possibility of identifying “Choki sanjin” with “Shikitei Sanba.”<sup>17</sup> In fact, the postscript asserts that there are two authors for the trilogy.<sup>18</sup>

Now this simultaneously indicates that there is a possibility that the third sequence of the trilogy might have been written by a different author, i.e., the trilogy might have been made by at least two people. No matter what the real fact is, whether *Sendō beya* was written by Shikitei Sanba or by somebody else, i.e., whoever the real author of the work was, it is clearly *presented* as the product of several different people.

We can suppose some external reasons for this, i.e., safety and commercial considerations. We must take the governmental control over the publication of these books into consideration. We also should not overlook that there might be some kind of fear over clarifying their identity as writers about this subject matter, especially after the Kansei Reformation. Under the strict control of publishing, use of disposable pennames as a disguise may have worked as a safety net for the authors.<sup>19</sup> The authors may have used several pennames as a safety measure. These pennames veiled the real author and that probably made it a little more complicated for the government to arrest and prosecute the authors as well as the publishers. We should also consider the commercial circumstances, since the previous two books sold very well. It is not surprising to know there was a bookmaker and a writer who wished to take advantage of the popularity and

produced a book proclaiming it was going to be the third one in the series even without the consent of the Shikitei Sanba.

We also should not reject the possibility that the author or the authors just wished to present the trilogy as a production of a *group* of different authors. This could suggest that it might be considered more desirable or more stylish to present the author as a member of a certain group or society. Actually, in the last paragraph of the work, we can find the assertion, “It’s just a little game like *sharebon*.<sup>20</sup> We can interpret the phrase “a little game like *sharebon*” in several ways here. We can take this as a synonym of stylishness and a show of detachment, but we can also take it more literally and recognize the gathering of *sharebon* authors as a game whose purpose was, quite simply, having fun.

### C. How to Join a Clique – The Ability of “Pretending” to be a Chinese Intellectual

The question arises here as to what qualities allowed one to be admitted as a member of these literary groups. Let us take a look at Shikitei Sanba’s case to see if we can discern a certain image or standard being applied to these authors. Bakin actually describes Sanba, whose real name was Kikuchi Hisanori, in his *Kinsei mono no hon; Edo sakusya buri*:

When he writes self-prefaces, he utilizes the phrases from the [Chinese] classics freely and people think he is a scholar of Chinese studies.<sup>21</sup>

自序などつづるによく故事を取りまはして漢学者の如く思われ  
たり

From the passage above, we could speculate that Kikuchi Hisanori, who was in real life the owner of a pharmacy, rejoices to play the role of Sanba, a learned scholar of Chinese studies, and also to play other roles with other names, such as Tararirô, the name he uses in the *sharebon* world.<sup>22</sup> Actually the pennames seen in the *sharebon* works just verifies this point. Now let us examine these names.

### 1. Examples in Early Works

I would like to further explore these traits by examining the specific cases of the authors' names, mainly from the *sharebon* works we have examined previously. Let us start with the names appearing in the early works. In almost all the cases in the early stage of the *sharebon* genre, playful names that are usually disposable are adopted for the pennames, i.e., each name usually appears only once. These names are used not only for the authors, but also the presenters of the prefaces. Although we can find some names such as Santô Kyôden 山東京伝 (1761-1816) or Shikitei Sanba 式亭三馬 (1776-1822) (or Jippensha Ikku as quoted above), referred to as prominent *sharebon* authors, about whom personal data are relatively clear or available, this tendency only emerges during the last stage in the development of the *sharebon* genre, after the publishing of *sharebon* and other playful writings established itself as a successful business, and after authors from the merchant class, such as Kyôden, started playing an active role among the authors, most of whom had previously been from the samurai class. In the middle stage of its development, as the *sharebon* genre was becoming popular, some authors began to use

the same pennames for more than one work, making their biography a little more traceable.

However, prior to this stage, the pennames were disposable, thrown away after each use, and it is almost impossible to trace the substantial figure of an individual producer of the works, especially in the early stage of the *sharebon* genre. As Suzuki Toshiyuki points out, during the first ten years of the genre's existence (the 1770s), there are hardly any *sharebon* that reveal the author as a real person or even a genuine publisher.<sup>23</sup> These authors seem to have little desire to produce their work for any sort of public presentation. That is, “anonymity” is a prominent characteristic of the *sharebon* authors, especially for the early ones. The authors probably attended these assemblies where they delighted in using witty pennames and disguising themselves. This, however, makes it laborious to track down the identities of the authors.<sup>24</sup>

In a previous chapter, we discussed some of the titles of the *sharebon* works, and saw a few works mimicking classical Chinese nature studies. *Honzō mômoku* 翻草盲目 (turning over plants blindly, 1780?) is a take-off of *Bencao Gangmu* 本草綱目 [J. *Honzō Kōmoku*], (Compendium of Materia Medica), and the author's name given for this work is “Fudatsu sanjin” 腐脱散人 (Rotten and fallen rover). The name can be considered to be a twist on “Fûrai sanjin” 風來山人, another penname used for *sharebon* and other playful writings. An investigation conducted on “Fûrai sanjin” reveals that this name usually indicates Hiraga Gennai 平賀源内 (1728-1780), a distinguished scientist and a thinker of the age. The identity of “Fudatsu sanjin,” however, is still unknown.<sup>25</sup>

There is also a work titled *Honzō giyō* 本草妓要 (The Essential Materia Medica of Courtesans, 1754?) and it says “Yô Jinnan” 陽腎男 (Phallic-power Powerful/Kidney-man)

wrote the work. This work alludes to *Bencao beiyao* 本草備要 [J. Honzô biyô], a text book on herbal medicine published in China in the 17<sup>th</sup> century China, authored by “Ôjin'an” \*\*菴 [\* = シ王, \* = 言刃]. As we can see, the name of the author also imitates the name of the real author. Nakano estimates that a medical student must have written the work as a recreational pastime.<sup>26</sup>

We also observed several titles travestying the *Zhuangzi* and its related works, such as *Kakuchû sôji* (Inside demimonde Cleaning-up), that is a pun in Japanese language with *Kakuchû sôji* 郭註莊子, which is “Guo Xiang’s commentary of Zhuangzi,” one of the most essential commentaries on Zhuangzi. The one published in 1777 (郭中掃除) has “Fukuwa dôjin” 福輪道人 (Lucky-wheel Daoist) as the author’s name, but accurate biographical data about this author is still unavailable.<sup>27</sup> The other, probably published in 1807 (廓中掃除), gives “Gyokusui kan” 玉水館 (Jade and water manor) as its source, so the author of this work too is unidentified.<sup>28</sup>

## 2. Funuke Sanjin and Inu-Sôzi

*Kochô no yume* 胡蝶夢 (butterfly dream, 1778) is based on a story from *Zhuangzi*, and we find “Inu-Sôzi” 犬莊子 (Dog Zhuangzi) listed as the author’s name, and “Funuke sanjin” 斧拔山人 as the contributor of a preface for this work.<sup>29</sup> Before we start the inspection of the meaning of each name, I would like to discuss the possible relation between these two names. Hamada Keisuke claims the identities hidden behind the above names still remain unknown.<sup>30</sup> Yamazaki Fumoto cites “Funuke sanjin,” in his *Nihon shôsetsu shomoku nenpyô*, denoting that he is an author of *Kochô no yume*.<sup>31</sup> We could surmise several possibilities from this. The most plausible prospect is that one

person is pretending to be two different persons, one as an author and the other as a presenter of the preface as if somebody else beside the author contributed to the production of the work. As we saw above in Nanpo and Sanba's case, this style can be observed in other *sharebon* works. Now this could be simply due to the joy of "becoming another person," but, as we have seen earlier, this can be considered as an onset of presenting a work as created by a "group."

Now I would like to inspect the names "Inu-Sôzi" 犬莊子 (Dog Zhuangzi) and "Funuke sanjin" 斧拔山人. The former literally means "Dog Zhuangzi," but the word "dog" can be used as a prefix like "faux" or "pseudo," denoting that something looks the same as the object coming after the word but really is not like the object at all, or implying something disqualified to be considered a genuine example of the object coming after the word, i.e., a bad second or epigone, such as "*inu-z(/s)amurai*" (not good enough as a samurai) or "*inu-tade*" (useless waterpepper / *persicaria longiseta*), a plant which looks like a *tade* (waterpepper / *persicaria hydropiper*) but is not edible, unlike *tade*. Kyokutei Bakin defined this usage of "*inu*" as indicating "something looks similar but it really is not," in his essay, entitled *Enseki Zasshi* 燕石雑志 (Useless Miscellaneous Notes).<sup>32</sup> In other words, the name of the author "Inu-Sôzi" really means "Pseudo-Zhuangzi."

Let us look at another name, "Funuke sanjin 斧拔山人." When we just look at the name without paying attention to how it should be pronounced, i.e., only from the meanings of the Chinese characters apprehended visually, the name should mean "Hatchet Falling-off mountain hermit." Then when we try to put the name into the sound in Japanese pronunciation (this means to include both *on-yomi* and *kun-yomi*), we realize

that the sound “*funuke*” is actually a homophone with the word “*funuke*” 脩抜け (lacking guts), meaning “dumb” or “idiot,” making the meaning of the name into “Dumb mountain hermit” when apprehended aurally.

By its visual appearance, the name does not convey any comic element at all. On the contrary, the combination of the words resembles the type of metaphoric passage found in *Zhuangzi* or any Chinese classics. As a matter of fact, the phrase “hatchet of a praying mantis” 蟬螂之斧 is found in some Chinese classics such as *Wen Xuan* 文選 [J. Mozen] and *Zhuangzi* [J. Sôzi]. In *Wen Xuan*, the phrase is used to describe the decline of the military power led by Cao cao 曹操 [J. Sôsô] from the period of “San-kuo” 三国 [J. Sangoku] (Three Kingdoms) in China, comparing the decline of his power to a praying mantis flailing his forelegs (described as hatchets in the original passage) against a chariot on a road 欲以蟻螂之斧 禦隆車之隧.<sup>33</sup>

Contrary to the appearance of the name, however, its sound bespeaks some sort of stupidity. In other words, the audio component is constantly degrading or skewing the refinement attributing to the name as it is apprehended visually. As we have examined in a previous chapter, this simultaneously means that the Chinese characters which could convey lofty and profound connotations are being demoted by the linguistic characteristics of Japanese. We should quickly note that this pronunciation of the characters as “Funuke sanjin,” creating the homophone with “idiot,” is actually a combination of *kun-yomi* and *on-yomi*.<sup>34</sup> In other words, as Lacan pointed out, bringing in *kun-yomi* into a set of Chinese characters, i.e., *on-yomi*, generates an unexpected jocularity in the phrase. This also means that the cognitive gap between the visual and audio sense promotes nonsensical irony.

Now we could end the discussion on the comic sense formed by the linguistic characteristics of Japanese here, but actually it can be pursued further. In both of the parables from Chinese classics, we notice that the role of “a hatchet” represents some kind of hindrance. In the parable of a praying mantis, “a hatchet” represents ignorance or a hindrance preventing the attainment of a broad perspective. In the Zhuangzi story, the praying mantis was overestimating its power to change the world, meant as a parody of Confucian political aspirations to reform the political world. In the story, the praying mantis’s flailing pincers, called “hatchets” in the *Wenxuan* 文選 [J. Monzen] (Selected Literature, 6<sup>th</sup> century) version, represent an ignorant and futile effort, like trying to change the world by giving moral advice. If the “hatches (/pincers)” fall off, the praying mantis would have to “give up on changing the world.” In other words, we could say it would describe the state of seeing the folly of continuing useless efforts at reform. In that sense, it is a kind of “enlightenment.”

In the tree parable, “a hatchet” is a tool that interferes with the fulfillment of being. That means we can probably say that “a hatchet” is a symbol of some kind of disturbance hindering some sort of enlightenment. Therefore the name “falling off hatchet” can actually mean that the obstacle was taken away, and the enlightened state attained. That is, the name ultimately designates an “enlightened person,” not an “idiot” as the sound indicates. We can take this presentation just as sarcasm and self-irony, but there may well be more to it than that. Here we also realize that the combination of the contents both from the visual and the aural senses can indeed imply a kind of philosophical statement, i.e., being enlightened is the same as being stupid.

Literally, this name *sounds* like it indicates an idiot, but it really signifies the state of being enlightened. It turns out that this combination of a pronunciation contrasting the cognitive content of one and the same phrase is implying a certain philosophical ways of thinking—that fair is foul and foul is fair—which actually does derive from Chinese philosophy such as that of the Zhuangzi and also Chinese Buddhism, especially *Chan* [J. Zen] Buddhism. The name was already funny enough without realizing this hidden philosophical message, but if a reader knows these parables from Chinese classics, the comicality in the wit increases. In fact, this kind of concealed wit is sprinkled all over the place in each *sharebon* piece. As we can see from this penname, even if a reader overlooks one of these concealed jokes, it will not hurt the joy of reading a work. In this sense, these concealed jokes as we see in these pennames, function as a kind of a cipher to join into a certain group, whose members obviously are able to decipher these jokes and pennames, being erudite in their knowledge of the classics, especially in Chinese.

Such is the way these *sharebon* authors, especially the early ones, express themselves. That is, they like to conceal themselves, but at the same, they have a desire to show off, especially, their erudition in Chinese Classics and Chinese thought. Now when we consider the content of Chinese thought, we can even say that this desire is to express their own view toward the world and life, and the standard of how the rulers and exemplary persons should behave. From behind their veil, they discreetly express themselves in a shape of jokes and irony. This skewed attitude can be counted as one of the traits of the *sharebon* authors, and as Suzuki points out, this is precisely whence the consciousness of being stylish (“*iki*” and/or “*tsû*”) emerged.<sup>35</sup> The presentation of lofty ideas and beauty in the shape of vulgarity must have matched their *share* concept, or their

ideal of beauty. As we noted, the identities of these early authors are still remained unknown for the most part.

I would like to suggest here that *kanbun* (Chinese sentences used by Japanese), serves as a common (and secret) language for them to use in the “other world” of *sharebon*, and also served as a sort of cryptograph or an entrance ticket to entitle one to stay in that world. In a previous chapter, we have seen that the erudition in Chinese classics, especially Confucianism, was one of the indispensable qualifications for a member of the ruling class in the Edo era, and the ability to use *kanbun* was also a vital qualification to participate in discussion of politics and the exchange of views concerning the future of the nation. Nakano claims that we can even sense their “ambition to make a better country” as members of the ruling class in their writings, though it is “wrapped in the sweet skin of comical irony,” in the early stage of *sharebon*.<sup>36</sup> This is considered simply because the *sharebon* genre started out as a recreational pastime for samurai officials. Saitô Mareshi proposes that the capacity to handle *kanbun* (Chinese sentences used by Japanese people) contributed to fabricate the feeling of solidarity among those who had the knowledge of it in the Edo era.<sup>37</sup> In this “society” of the *kanbun*-competent, they were able to share their mutual understandings and sentiments, which, I would like to propose, grows into the common sensitivity toward beauty.<sup>38</sup> And this peculiar aesthetics is located in both the vulgarity presented in the refinement, or “samurai dandyism” and the refinement presented in the vulgarity that is also shown in the pennames used by these authors.

## D. How to be Stylish: Second Step -- Deny What You Mastered

### 1. Vulgarize Your Dandyism

This tendency of favoring vulgarity as an element for constituting elegance becomes notable throughout the Edo era, as we can see in the famous passage which goes: “refined people playing with vulgarity turns out to be elegant and tasteful.” We can find this passage in the essay titled *Hassui zuihitsu* 八水隨筆 (Eight water essay). It was written during 1736-48 and the author of the essay is still unknown, though he is believed to have been a samurai official. In one section of the essay, the author makes a comment on boorishness within elegance after introducing the episode of the two Neo-Confucians, Hattori Nankaku 服部南郭 (1683-1759) and Hirano Kinga 平野金華 (1688-1732). They were the high disciples of Ogyū Sorai, the founder of the Kogaku school of Confucianism discussed in the previous chapter.

Among the high disciples of Sorai, Nankaku is known as a great *kanshi* 漢詩 (Chinese poetry) poet. He annotated *Tang Shi Xuan* 唐詩選 [J. Tōshi-sen], a collection of the poems from the Tang dynasty (618-907), compiled and probably published during the late 15<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century in China.<sup>39</sup> Sorai is said to have highly valued this collection, and Nankaku published *Tōshi-sen kokujikai* 唐詩選国字解 with his annotation in 1724, after which *Tōshi-sen* became an enormously popular work.<sup>40</sup> In 1727, he published the first collection of his own “Chinese” poetry titled *Nankaku sensei bunshū* 南郭先生文集, and he continued to publish sequels in the years 1737, 1745 and 1758.<sup>41</sup> Hirano Kinga also published a collection of his Chinese poetry, *Kinka kōsan* 金華稿刪, in 1728.<sup>42</sup>

The episode concerns these two literati. It goes as follows:

Professor Nankaku [Hattori Nankaku] liked red bean rice. Once he was sitting at a table, and Kinga came over and [asked,] “What are you having?” [Nankaku replied] “This is the red bean rice.” ”Your meal is so vulgar,” [Kinga] laughed. This is what I think [sic]. Professor Kinga himself was carrying a lantern with the emblem of a devil head. Professor Sorai saw this. [He said,] “It is a device to show Kinga’s taste,” and laughed. When the regular people eat a bowl of red bean rice and light a lamp with the picture of a devil head, it will not stand out in the midst of their overall vulgarity. But when refined people play with vulgar things, then they turn out to be the elegant affairs. It is even tasteful.<sup>43</sup>

南郭先生、小豆飯好物にて、膳に向かわれし所へ、金華来られ、何を食し給ふ、あづきめし也。足下が食の俗なる事と笑れしよし、予思ふに、金華先生鬼の首をてうちんの紋に付けられしを、徂徠先生の見給ひて、金華の物づきの作なると笑はれしとなり。尋常の人、小豆めしを食し、鬼の首を画してうちんとぼしたればとて俗中には目にも立ちまじけれども、雅人の俗を弄ばるるは、かへって雅のさたになるもあぢなものなり。

A bowl of red bean rice and a lantern with a devil head were apparently considered to be somewhat vulgar things. According to *Meihan burui* 名飯部類, a cookbook on the many variations of rice dishes, published in 1802, the red bean rice was a very common repast. It says:

Red bean rice:

Every single household cooks this all the time for seasonal festives and family celebrations. Those who cook know the recipe very well. Therefore there is no need to record it here.<sup>44</sup>

戸々四時佳節賀寿に究て炊く事にして炊婦もよくその法を通曉す。ゆへに不記。

Probably, because red bean rice was such a commonplace dish for special occasions, it was not considered to be refined.

Another possible reason for this judgment is that the desire for festival food on an ordinary day might be taken as a childish act rather than sophisticated grown-up behavior. Again, red beans might be associated with starvation and poverty. As we have seen earlier, there were many famines throughout the Edo era, especially the three severe ones of Kyôhô (1732), Tenmei (1782-1787), and Tenpô (1833-1839). Pure white rice without any other grains or any other food mixed in was considered luxurious. At that time people either used the rice to make rice soup or added other grains such as millet or red beans, pieces of potatoes, konjak pudding and so on in order to increase the volume.

Shihekian Mochô 四壁庵茂蔵 mentions rice with red beans as a meal in his essay *Wasure nokori* 忘れのこり (Remnants of forgetfulness) written in 1848. He states:

During the Grand Famine of Tenpô (1832-39), since red beans were cheaper in price than other grains, there was no household that did not steam and eat these.<sup>45</sup>

天保飢饉のとき、赤小豆は餘の穀物よりはやすかりければ、戸々に焚きて喰わざるものなし。

Evidently, at least after the Tenpô famine, red bean rice was counted as cheap food in times of emergency. In any case, having red bean rice on an ordinary day rather than a special occasion was clearly considered an unrefined or vulgar thing to do.

The passage in *Hassui zuihitsu* claims that when these learned and respectable scholars are juxtaposed with the things that are humble and unrefined, the combined effect is to make the entire ensemble elegant. It is assumed that regular people with ordinary things will not create any such result. It is found that the juxtaposition of the

sophistication and vulgarity results in an intensified refinement. From what we know about Japanese aesthetics in earlier times, the pursuit of elegant things by a lofty person, or the union of exclusively refined things were formerly regarded as the source of elegant beauty. However, by the middle of Edo era, that combination no longer counts as elegance. Exquisite things in the sumptuous settings are considered to be undesirable.

Ôta Nanpo, a renowned *sharebon* author and a *kyôka* 狂歌 (comical verse) poet, utilizes the episode of the two Confucian scholar/Chinese poets and the comment on them, cited above, in his own essay, in *Kanasesetsu* 仮名世説 written in 1825. The passage does not contain any significant discrepancy except Sorai's comment on Kinga's lantern. There is a possibility that this might be due to a copying or printing mistake. However, I will quickly note here Nanpo's revision. In *Hassui zuihitsu*, Sorai says:

“It is *a device* to show Kinga’s taste.” (Emphasis Added)

In Nanpo's version, he says:

“It is *the vulgarity* of Kinga’s taste.”<sup>46</sup> (Emphasis Added)

Though the difference here is only one word, “device” (作 *saku*) to “vulgarity” (俗 *zoku*), we can sense Nanpo's zeal for putting the stress on “vulgarity,” if it is not a printing mistake. Thus Nanpo introduces this episode with the comment from the original text, and he agrees that “the refined” playing with “the vulgarity” turns out to be elegant and tasteful. Here we might observe the craving more for the vulgarity that will lead to the elegant beauty. We should quickly note that Nanpo also wrote a *sharebon* work titled *Nankaku sensei bunshû* 南客先生文集 and published probably around 1779-

1780. The title obviously comes from Nankaku's collection of poetry, *Nankaku sensei bunshū* 南郭先生文集, which we have mentioned above.<sup>47</sup>

We should note here that throughout the tradition of Japanese *waka* poetry, there has been a conflict over how much the vulgarity is allowed in each poem while still maintaining the spirit of the poetry, considered as a spontaneous urge to sing, and yet still retain its courtly refinement since Ki no Tsurayuki's 紀貫之 (872-945) manifested his ideas on poetry in "Kana Preface" 仮名序 to *Kokin wakashū*, the first imperial collection of poetry, compiled and completed in 905 by royal order from the Emperor Daigo. Tsurayuki asserts that poetry arises as naturally as the birds' singing, and states that "every sentient being cannot help but make poetry."<sup>48</sup> Imperial collections of *waka* poetry continued to be compiled by distinguished poets such as Fujiwara no Teika in later times, but the emphasis shifted to the pursuit of sophistication in the usage of the language and the elegance of the topics and sentiments. Especially in the Muromachi era, courtly refinement of the type known as *yûgen* 幽玄 (mystery and depth) was considered to be essential for the Japanese *waka* poem, as demonstrated, for example, in poetic treatise *Shôtetsu monogatari* 正徹物語 written by the Rinzai Zen Buddhist monk, Shôtetsu 正徹 (1381-1459).<sup>49</sup> For a thorough presentation of the aesthetic tradition of Japanese poetry in the Muromachi era as related to its art and culture in general, we can refer to Esperanza Ramirez-Christensen's books on medieval poetry of aesthetics.<sup>50</sup>

While the pursuit of pure poetry continued into the Edo era, it was better known for a taste for vulgarity and humor. Overall, these elements started increasingly to become the leading elements in poetry, as manifest in the genre of *haikai*, linked verses employ parody and satire to achieve connection from one poet to the next. Among the

*haikai* poets, the conflict over this issue is clearly evident. While Nishiyama Sōin 西山宗因 (1605-1682) even radically pursues humorous effects and often focuses on secular and vulgar topics, Matsunaga Teitoku 松永貞徳 (1571-1654) opposes the over reliance on humorous topics. Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730-1801), well known as a Kokugaku scholar, regards the sentiment toward beauty (*mono no aware*) seen in *The Tale of Genji* as the aesthetically ideal state and proclaims that this sentiment constitutes the core of Japanese sentiment and spirit. He also asserts that the notion of the sensibility toward beauty should be the essence of making poetry and that poetry needs to contain literary refinement in “Iso no kami no sasamegoto” 石上私淑言 published in 1763:

In the introduction of *Kokin*, it says that Japanese *waka* poetry comes out of a heart like a seed that becomes the thousand words of leaves. A heart here is the heart to know the sensibility toward beauty (*mono no aware*).<sup>51</sup>

古今序に。やまと歌は。ひとつ心をたねとして。萬のことのはとぞなれりけるとある。此こころといふががすなはち物のあはれをしる心也。

As we can see from the passage, Norinaga claims that the poetic urge means the longing toward beauty, quoting the “Kana Preface” by Ki no Tsurayuki.

As opposed to this position, we also have a *waka* poet and Kokugaku (National study) scholar, Ozawa Roan 小沢蘆庵 (1723-1801), who also develops his idea of poetics on the basis of Ki no Tsurayuki’s “Kana preface.” His view is that, in order to make a poem, what is essential is to follow the urge to sing springing naturally from inside. As long as a poet has this incitement, it is a secondary issue for a poem whether the topic is refined enough or not. In his study of poetics titled *Furu no nakamichi* 布留の中道

published in 1790, he promotes the importance to follow the urge and gives an account of the possible inspirations and materials for poetry:

Just rhapsodize what is in your mind at the time into one phrase or two, and it becomes a poem. ... Ponder over how the days, months and the four seasons transform, how the sun and moon, the stars and planets operate, how the wind and clouds, the rain and dew, and the frost and snow reveal themselves, or the appearances of the landscapes of the mountains and fields, and the rivers and oceans which are far away from the hustle and bustle of life. [When you are] among other people, try to recognize the sentiment of those who are the citified and those who are unworldly, the lofty and the lowly, the poor and the rich, the men and the women, and the elder and the younger. Also, [you should reflect on] the crafts of harvesting seaweed, evaporating salt and dragging the ropes and strings for fishing by the ocean-laboring folk, and the crafts of chopping trees and cutting grasses by the woodcutters. [You should also reflect on] the farmers' skills for knowing the time [to plant] and for making fields, and the craftsmen's labor as well as the merchants' ...<sup>52</sup>

その今思ふところを、一句にも、二句にも言ふ、これ歌なり。・・・四時の移り行く様、日月星辰の運行、風雲雨露霜雪の気色、あるいは世離れたる山野河海の形勢を思ひやり、人中にては、都鄙、高卑、貧富、男女老少の情、あるいは海人あまの和布刈りめかり塩焼き。網引き釣り垂れ、樵夫草刈の、樵草刈るわざ。農人の時を計り、田打ち作り、木匠商人の所業。・・・

After this forceful assertion that in poetry feeling comes before anything else, including rhetorical technique, he enumerates the examples that can be the topics and inspirations for making poems. What follows is a listing of ordinary things and occasions as designated to be ideal topics for poetry.

In the series of *chokusenshû* 勅撰集 (Imperial collections of poetry), the themes of the poetry are restricted to such things as the four seasons in their landscaped gardens and

nature, romantic love, laments and celebration. These poems mostly focused on court life, taking the aesthetic refinement as a subject matter of poetry. Here Roan is advocating the expansion of the subject matter to a much broader range. In Roan's view, nature can be rhapsodized and used as the subject matter of poetry not just in the forms in which it is relevant to aristocrats, but also as it figures in the lives of common people, such as wood cutters, craftsmen, farmers, and seaweed collectors. Even the merchants are included. It is not just that he promotes the inclusion of subject matter than had been lacking in the courtly *waka* tradition; to an extent, it seems he even displaces the focus on aristocratic nobility with an exaltation of daily life vulgarity. From this statement and these examples, it is clear that in Roan's poetics, even though the materials and the topics may be characterized by unsophisticated plainness or even vulgarity, they can be made into refined Japanese *waka* poems that are legitimate heirs of courtly elegant beauty. In other words, vulgarity in refinement contributes to creating another dimension of elegance.

Thus it is clear that in poetics, the disposition that does not avoid vulgar and boorish topics in making poems emerged in the Edo period. Next I would like to present another thought which seems to support the production of Edo playful writings as well as the idea of vulgarity in refinement and refinement in vulgarity. Masuho Zankô 増穂殘口 (1655-1742), who renounced his position as a Buddhist priest at the age of 61, started to advocate Shintoism and published *Endô Tsûgan* 豊道通鑑 in 1715. The book seemed to sell well, as can be seen from the fact that several woodblock-printing boards have been discovered.

## 2. *Sui*: Style, Purity, and Affectation

In *Endō Tsūgan*, Zankō advocates his distinctive view of the decisive significance of the sexual union between men and women, as the cause of the existence of human beings, and the means to the happiness of the entire society. This notion of conjugal relationships as the basic element constituting society is unique since romantic love, especially between men and women as opposed to male-male relationship, had been treated exclusively in poetry but had not been explored in either its philosophical or social aspects in earlier writings. As we have seen, the social norms and political standards of Tokugawa society had been strongly determined by Neo-Confucianism, and romantic love had been left out of their social model. Zankō deals with what has heretofore been excluded and develops the notion of love for love's sake. Marriage at that time was not necessarily the result of love between two individuals especially in the ruling class, since it was considered as a social tool to strengthen hegemony of the class or at least preserve social stability. In this context, he even proposes that the demimondes are the better place to pursue genuine love.

In the first chapter, Zankō discusses a better way to impress a possible partner to obtain the state of the union. For this purpose, he advocates the attainment of a certain type of stylishness, indicated by the Chinese character “粹／粋” (style, purity, and affectation). As Zankō puts it, the pronunciation “*sui*” is the most common way to read it in the Edo era, but it could also be read *iki*, and the word can be considered more or less synonymous with the same word, *iki*, for which Kuki Shūzō uses the Chinese characters 意氣 in *Iki no kōzō*, as we have seen in the previous chapter. According to *Shikidō showake; Naniwa dora* 色道諸分難波鉦, one of the early *yūjo hyōbanki* 遊女評判記

(critiques on courtesans), which we have cited in a previous chapter, the word *sui* 水 [Ch.shui] (water) indicates the state of mind and manner ideal for demimonde visitors, who can be detached from things and therefore stylish. In other words, it was an honor to be called *sui* in the demimondes. This notion is obviously influenced by the associations with water in the *Laozi*, which says that “the highest good is like water 上善若水.”<sup>53</sup> Again, the *Zhuangzi* states, “the association between the exemplary persons is thin/detached as water 君子之交淡若水.”<sup>54</sup> Mutei-koji draws a connection between these two terms, which are homonyms in Japanese (though not in Chinese), suggesting that detachment, represented by the blandness of *sui* (water) grows into *sui* 粹 (purity, essence), which represents the distinctive aesthetic notion of Edo Japan.<sup>55</sup>

Zankô stresses this notion of purity and detachment, emphasizing the importance of not showing off one’s sophistication. He uses a half-ripened persimmon as an example. The half-ripened persimmon proclaims that it is ripe and takes on a kind of artificial sweetness, but in reality it just stinks. Zankô uses this metaphor to explain how he wants the term, “to stink” to be understood: something “stinks” when it does not contain its genuine essence fully, but employs a fake component to present itself as having the authentic essence. In other words, there is a distinction between genuine style and pretension. Someone who is not fully cultivated and yet tries to feign sophistication, making a show of it, lacks style. Zankô also uses a miso or soybean paste metaphor to exemplify his point:

Miso is miso, when it stinks of miso, that’s bad. A samurai is a samurai, but when he stinks of being one, that’s bad. Similarly, style that stinks of being stylish is not style.<sup>56</sup>

味噌は味噌ながら、味噌臭きは悪く、侍は侍ながら、侍臭きは  
悪き如く、粹も粹臭きは粹ならぬものぞ

Miso paste has long been popular in Japan since it is preservable and is rich in proteins, vitamins and minerals. Especially in the feudal period, miso paste was essential for people's daily life because it is not only a source of nutrition but also a substance in which one can pickle and preserve any food. Therefore it is known that samurai warriors used to bring miso paste with them to the battlefield.<sup>57</sup> Though the flavor and texture as well as the fragrance of miso were well liked among Edo people, Zankô claims that the "stinking" miso will not be liked. That is, the good miso does not need to display and advertise itself, to "stink" of miso, since its virtue and essence are recognizable to those with the eye and palate to do so.

*Sui*, the essence of style, works in the same way, Zankô concludes. Using sophisticated devices pretentiously will not help to make a person genuinely sophisticated, nor will it help achieve a harmonious union between men and women. Zankô even proclaims that being totally ignorant or boorish 野暮 (*yabō*) is as good as being thoroughly stylish. In other words, appealing to your potential partner does not require any additive sophistication or refinement. As long as there is no artifice, i.e., the character of the person is genuine, the opposite is as good as the original desideratum. Thus, we can see that in a rather paradoxical Daoist way, the spurning of elegance is itself the means of seeking and attaining it in *Endō Tsûgan*.

This passage about miso actually derives from a passage in the Buddhist text, *Muyû shû* \*山老人夢遊集 [\* = 敢 (top part) 忄 (bottom part), J. Kanzan rôjin *muyûshû*, CH. Hanshanlaoren mengyouji] (Anthology of dream-wandering), explaining how to obtain Nirvana. It says:

It has been said that it is bad when miso smells [too much of] miso or when a monk smells [too much of] Dharma [Buddha's wisdom]. This means if you put too much emphasis on knowing when you contemplate the Buddha's knowledge and insight, it becomes a cause of ignorance. When you are able to see with the Buddha's knowledge and insight, then that is true and pure in nirvana.<sup>58</sup>

味噌の味噌臭きと僧の法くさきをわろきものと、世話にいひきたれり。是は知見に知を立つれば、無明の本也。知見に見なれば、斯涅槃の真淨といふがごとし。

According to this passage, the way to attain Nirvana is to open up one's mind to the Buddha's knowledge and insight, becoming one with it. However, if one puts too much stress on acquiring knowledge of the Buddha's wisdom as a kind of excellent object, then it is as bad as being unawakened and ignorant. A monk who superficially insists on the teaching of Buddha is also as bad as someone remaining in ignorance. Here, the “stinky miso” is compared to an ignorant monk. In other words, the “smell” is something external that obstructs one's enlightenment. When we compare this to the passage in *Endō Tsūgan*, we can conclude that affected and pretentious sophistication is something that obstructs Nirvana, that is, being vulgar is closer to enlightenment, i.e., genuine stylishness.

This image of style or an external adornment distinct from the essence or substance of the person seems to have been popular among the *sharebon* authors/writers, no doubt under the influence of *Endō Tsūgan*, since we can see several variations of it in the works of a number of different authors. For example, we find the passage quoted in *Shishi no fumi* 猪の文章 (Boar/Courtesan letter), one of the earliest works counted as a *sharebon* piece, published in 1753 and author unknown. It focuses on a discussion of *sui* in the demimonde, instead of following the archetypical plot, which describes a night and

day at the demimonde and usually includes a vivid portrayal of the conversations taking place there. The argument on *sui* in this book picks up on what *Endō Tsūgan* says in the quoted passage:

When a persimmon claims it is ripe and puts forth its sweetness, it is not good, but rather somehow disgusting. The same applies to miso, stinking of [feigning, showing off] miso, and samurais stinking of [feigning, showing off] samurai. It is the same with stylishness/coquettish-dandyism: when it stinks of [feigns, shows off] stylishness/coquettish-dandyism, it is not be real stylish/coquetry-dandyish.<sup>59</sup>

柿がおのれじゅくせりと甘味をつけれど根からの美味ならねば  
どこやらいやなる味の出るはみそは味噌ながらみそくさき侍は  
侍ながらさむらひくさきはわろきがごとく粹もすいくさきはす  
いならず

The same work also tells us that the failure to be *sui* is the same as trying to swim in an emergency situation, so that one ends up drowning. In *Daitshū zenji hōgo* 大通禪師法語, another essay-style *sharebon*, published in 1779, we see another version of the miso passage.<sup>60</sup> It addresses the question of how to be *sui*, so that one can be impressive and likable in the demimonde, and quotes a famous line from a courtesan, Takao, which goes: “whoever does not come to the demimonde is genuinely *sui*.<sup>61</sup>” This can be interpreted as meaning that anyone or anything is stylish when they do not mean to be stylish. Refinement is not something one acquires; it is rather a state of being. In this sense, we can say that vulgarity will lead one on the way to true refinement.

The same passage can be found in *Nukegara aodaitsū* 蛇蛻青大通, written by Morishima Chūrō 森島中良 (1754-1810) and published in 1782 under one of his pennames, Tenjiku rōjin 天竺老人 (an old person of India). Also an essay-style work discussing stylish behavior in the demimondes, it was prominently another aesthetical

term indicating Edo stylishness: *tsū* 通, literally meaning “penetrating.” Due to the connection between the pennames Tenjiku rōjin and Tenjiku rōnin 天竺浪人 (a vagrant of India), the author of the piece has long been supposed to be Hiraga Gennai (I will discuss this in more detail later in this chapter).<sup>62</sup> As a matter of fact, the same piece was included in a collection of Gennai’s work.<sup>63</sup> For this reason, the passage about style using miso as a metaphor is commonly known as Gennai’s remark. The piece starts with a parody of the “Kana Preface” by Ki no Tsurayuki in the *Kokinshū* and iterates the same miso passage discussed above.<sup>64</sup>

In this way, it can be observed that the authors who were erudite in Chinese Classics, used to get together and pretend that they too were lofty Chinese literati by alluding to, while claiming not to be displaying their knowledge. They vulgarized the lofty basically by utilizing colloquial Japanese language and succeeded in making the refined into something apparently inelegant. It is this kind of denial of knowledge and mastery that seemed to be considered as “stylish” among *sharebon* authors.

### 3. The Author as a Manufactured Identity

Let us continue our inspection of the names of the *sharebon* authors from the middle stages of the genre’s development. During this stage, the authors gradually stopped discarding their pennames after each use and started to utilize the same one repeatedly. As I mentioned briefly earlier in this chapter, after the *sharebon* became a more prevalent genre, some of the same pennames begin to be used repeatedly, such as Akkerakan shujin 朱樂館主人 (Master simple-minded; lit. Vermillion amusements castle master), Hōrai-sanjin Kikyō 蓬萊山人帰橋 (Penglai mountain man returning-bridge or

Utopia-resident going-home/let's go home), Tanishi Kingyo 田螺金魚 (Mud-snail goldfish), and Hôseidô Kisanji 朋誠堂喜三二 (lit. Comrade sincerity hall Joy three two). The biographical information, which tells us that most of them were samurai officials in their real life, has also become relatively obtainable, compared with authors in the early stage. Here, I would like to limit my inspection to the authors of the works I have quoted in this thesis. We will see the pennames for Morishima Chûrô, Hiraga Gennai, Hezutsu Tôsaku, Akera Kankô, and Ôta Nanpo, along wit some other authors and poets related to them. Lastly, I would like to introduce a penname, Yamate no Bakahito 山手馬鹿人 (Idiot at the bluff), which hides one of the most enigmatic identities. Let us see how they distort their names for creating comicality and whether and how they associate with each other.

#### a. The Case of Chûrô and Gennai

Let us start with the case of Chûrô and Gennai who shared their pennames like other mentor-protégé authors. We examined several passages of the type “miso-paste with too much miso fragrance is not good” from several works addressing the refinement and vulgarity in the Edo aesthetics. One is the *sharebon* work entitled *Nukegara aodaitsû* 蛻青大通 (Slough of a fledging great dandy), and I quickly mentioned the confusion regarding the penname and the author.<sup>65</sup> Since the work is signed as Tenjiku rôjin 天竺老人 (Old Indian) after the self-preface of the work,<sup>66</sup> and since Hiraga Gennai 平賀源内 (1728-1780) has also been known as Tenjin Rônin 天竺浪人 (Indian Drifter), it had been assumed that the work was written by Hiraga Gennai as we can see, the work is included in his anthology, *Hiraga Gennai zenshû* (*The complete works of Hiraga Gennai*).<sup>67</sup>

Nakano explains that it used to be believed that Tenjiku rōjin and Tenjiku rōnin were identical, until Hayashi Yoshiki pointed out that these two were not the same and identified Tenjiku rōjin with Morishima Chūrō 森島中良 (1754-1810). Chūrō's additional use of Tenjiku rōjin nisei 天竺老人二世 (Tenjiku rōjin the second) as a pen-name was one cause of the confusion. Tozawa Yukio has aptly pointed out that it can be considered stylish and dandy (*iki*) for Chūrō to mystify himself in that way.<sup>68</sup>

Chūrō is also known as Shinra Manzō 森羅万象 (Ten-thousand phenomena in the universe), or Manzō-tei 万象亭 (Master Ten-thousand phenomena) mostly in his guise as a *sharebon* author.<sup>69</sup> The four Chinese characters make a phrase indicating every single phenomenon in the universe, and Tozawa suggests that this naming simultaneously signifies being *iki* and *share*.<sup>70</sup> Chūrō, whose real name was Katsuragawa Hosan 桂川甫繁, was the second son of the Katsuragawa family and had been learning medicine, i.e., Rangaku 蘭学 (Dutch studies) and serving the shogunate as a physician.

As we know from various resources, Hiraga Gennai showed a wide ranging talent in various fields, including Dutch studies, and even conducted experiments in *erekiteru*, i.e., electricity, and had a good relationship with the Katsuragwa family. Morishima Chūrō seemed to be inspired by his extraordinary talent and curiosity, and called himself “Gennai’s brother.”<sup>71</sup> In *Gesakusha shōden*, Kattōshi assumes that Shinra Manzō was originally Gennai’s pennname, but that he later bequeathed it to his disciple Morishima Chūrō, together with the name Tenjiku rōnin.<sup>72</sup> Actually the *sharebon* authors often handed over their pennames to each other or simply shared the same pennames, and this definitely veiled the actual facts about who produced which works, and how these work were produced.

In fact, in *Yûshi hôgen*, we find a conversation between a self-proclaimed Mr. Savvy and an innocent and likable young man, both of whom are on the way to a Yoshiwara visit. In their conversation, the elder gives the youngster a new nickname (possibly penname) by taking one character from his own *nom de plume* (nick name).

The passage goes:

**Mr. Savvy** Do you have a *nom de plume* [*hyôtoku* 表徳]?  
**Youngster** That's right, please go ahead.... Please take a character from your name to make me one. **Mr. Savvy** Then, let's take the character *ban* from my *Banchô* and name you *Bankei* 番景. Later, just like mine, people call out your name, "Mr. Bankei, Mr. Bankei-san," from the many places. (25)

**通り者** 貴様表徳があるか **むすこ** あいどふぞ、おまへの字を取て、お付被成てくだされませ **通り者** そんなら、おれが番町の番の字を取て、番景とつけよ。後にや、おれがようく、方々から番景様シハといふようになろ。

Here the word used to describe a nick (/pen) name is *hyôtoku* 表徳, which originally means, “to practice virtuous deeds.” This usage can be traced back to the same term used among the literati, as well as the courtesans, in China. The comic verse poets started using it as their pennames. From the conversation above we can see that these names are used instead of real names even for a Yoshiwara visit. This way, the participants become free from their fixed social identity and roles, and this free also of the political hierarchy and more equal to each other.<sup>73</sup>

Chûrô was the name this author used for his medical publications, while as we saw, Shinra Manzô was the name he used for his *sharebon*. He used another name Taketsue no Sugaru 竹杖為軽 when he composed comical verse. This name too contains distinctive kind of comicality produced by the gap between the visual and aural meanings of the same words. Visually, i.e., looking at the Chinese characters, the name

means “The bamboo-cane is light,” but aurally it means “Depending on a bamboo cane.”

In this case, there is an interesting overlap in the visual and aural meanings, though tilted in opposite directions. According to some records, Taketsue no Sugaru organized gatherings and provided the place where the disguised writers and poets got together.<sup>74</sup>

Hiraga Gennai also used several names. Bakin’s *Kinsei mono no hon Edo sakusha burui*, and other bibliographic works list a number of Gennai’s pennames, such as Fûrai sanjin 風来山人 (Wandering mountain hermit), Tenjiku rônin and others. For example, there is also Fukuuchi ki-gai 福内鬼外 (Good luck in, bad luck out), which obviously comes from a common phrase wishing good luck and still used for *Setsubun* 節分 (Festival at the beginning of the spring or the New year). The saying is “*fuku wa uchi, oni wa soto*,” where the underlined parts are *kun-yomi* for *nai* (inside), *ki* (bad luck/evil spirit), and *gai* (outside), and wa works as a subject marker. Another is Hinka Zeninai 貧家錢内, graphically, the name should mean “poor-family money-inside,” but the last character is obviously used as a replacement for *nai/mu* 無 (nothing/no/not), which is a homophone. In other words, aurally it means “poor-family no-money.” These pennames utilize the gap between the visual and aural meanings to produce comicality, which I would like to discuss in more detail later in this chapter.

#### b. Hezutsu Tôsaku as Chitto Kinanshi

Let us look at some other examples of these comical names. We have mentioned a *sharebon* titled *Ekisha sanyû* 駅者三友, (1779?) that comically alludes to a passage from the *Lunyu* about “three beneficial friends.” In this work, we find an author’s name that also contains the comicality produced from the gap between how it looks and how it is

pronounced. It is signed at the beginning of the story with the name Chitto Kinanshi 秩都紀南子. Visually, the name should mean “Master orderly-city south-region,” while aurally, i.e., from the Japanese pronunciation and ignoring the meaning of the characters, it means, “Come over a while.”<sup>75</sup> The identity of the author using this name is still unknown. Though Yamazaki Fumoto claims this name was used by Hezutsu Tōsaku 平秩東作 (1726-1789), this is still controversial.<sup>76</sup>

Hezutsu Tōsaku was an active member of a group of comical verse poets and composed verses in collaboration with Yomo no Akara (Ôta Nanpo), Taketsue no Sugaru (Morishima Chûrô), Akara Kankô, and so on; he also was a friend of Hiraga Gennai. Now it is strongly believed that Hezutsu Tōsaku used several names for the signing prefaces to *sharebon* pieces, such as Tômô sanjin 東蒙山人 (Eastern-Mongol mountain hermit), and Tamagawa jôsui 玉川常水 (Tamagawa unchanging-water), which is a homophone/parody of Tamagawa Jôsui 玉川上水 (Tamagawa Town-Waterway), a newly built canal system of the Edo era. The name, Hezutsu Tōsaku is taken from the phrase, 平秩東作 in the section 堯典 of *Shujing* 書經 (Book of History), one of the Five Chinese Classics, as Hamada Giichirô tells us.<sup>77</sup> It is said that Tōsaku was originally from a samurai family but went into business as a tobacco dealer. He also joined a delegation of travelers to explore the Ezo (present-day Hokkaidô) region, under the direction of Tanuma Okitsugu 田沼意次 (1719-88), the highest official in the Shogunal government during 1783 and 1784, and recorded the journey in a travel essay entitled *Tôyûki* 東遊記 (Journey to the East) in 1784 that was presented to the shogunate.<sup>78</sup>

### c. Akkerakan Shujin, His Wife and Their Poetry Circle

Hezutsu Tōsaku, under the name Tōmō sanjin, wrote the preface to a work entitled *Zatsumon sentei* 雜文穿袋 (Interpretation of casual passages, 1779) and under the name Tamagawa Jōsui wrote the preface to *Baika Shineki* 壳花新駄 (Selling flowers at new post town, 1777). The latter title is a homophone/parody of *Baika Shineki* 梅花心易 (Plum blossom heart divination), a classical textbook of Chinese fortunetelling. The name of the author for these two works is Akkerakan Shujin 朱樂館主人, another example of a comical name playing on a gap between visual and audio meanings.<sup>79</sup> Visually, the name should mean “Master of the vermillion pleasure castle,” while aurally, i.e., from the Japanese pronunciation and ignoring the meaning of the characters, it means “Master simple-minded.” This author is also known as Akera Kankō 朱樂菅江 (1740? -1801?).<sup>80</sup> He worked for the shogunate as a police official (*yoriki* 与力), and was also well known as one of the three major comic verse writers in the Tenmei 天明 period, along with Ôta Nanpo (as Yomo no Akahito 四方赤人 and other related names) and Karagoromo Kisshû 唐衣橘州 (1743-1802). Akkerakan’s wife, Fushimatsu no Kaka 節松嫁々 also composed comic verse and played a leader’s role in the group after her husband’s death.<sup>81</sup>

In fact, the wife’s name is another example of the comicality playing on the visual/aural gap. Since the word *fushimatsu* 不始末 means “squanderer,” the sound of the name indicates “a big spender wife.” However, the associations from the combination of the Chinese characters, *fushi* 節 and *matsu* 松 are different from the meaning derived from the sound. These two characters represent “joints of pine trees,” and can imply auspiciousness. (Also, *fushi* means “frugal” in Chinese). Utilizing the homonyms with *matsu* 待つ, meaning “to wait,” pine trees have been considered sacred as they wait for divine spirits to descend onto their branches. We can find many poems indicating their

sacredness in the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (Chronicle of Japan, 720) and the *Kaifūsō* 懐風藻, the oldest collection of Chinese poetry composed by Japanese. We can also see panels with sacred pine trees with a lot of “joints” on the back wall of Nô theaters. Many samurai families also adopted pine trees as clan crests, and we see *kushimatsu* among them.<sup>82</sup> (Please see appendices.) We could even recall a Chan (Zen) phrase originally, signifying the equality in difference and the difference in equality. It goes:

The bamboo has high and low joints. The Pine tree does not have old and new hues.<sup>83</sup>

*Wudenghui yuan* [J. Gotô egen 五燈會元], vol.18

竹有上下節 松無古今色  
(Emphasis Added)

It is striking to note that in this way, her name has a comical and very secular connotation created paradoxically by means of refined and even religious images. Again, the Chinese character *fushi* also means “frugal” and in that sense the visual implication of the name contradicts its aural implication of uncontrolled spending. There may well be further implications to this name. It seems their names discreetly challenge the readers’ apprehension and appreciation of their wit.

#### d. The Names of Ôta Nanpo as a *Sharebon* Author

We have already seen the names Ôta Nanpo used for his first work published when he was nineteen. Some other names of Nanpo, appear in Bakin’s *Kinsei mono no hon Edo sakusha burui*, biographical notes on Edo writers, *Gesakusha kô hoi*, and *Gesakusha shôden*. The names given there for Nanpo are Tan 章 and Shishi 子耜, Naojirô

直次郎, which later changed into Shichizaemon 七左衛門.<sup>84</sup> For his writings he used the name, Nanpo 南畠 (Southern furrow) called from the chapter of Taiden 大田 (large field) in *Shijing* 詩経 [J. Shikyô] (Book of Poetry), according to Hamada Giichirô<sup>85</sup>

We also see other names possibly used by Nanpo for other *sharebon* works. In a previous chapter, we cited a *sharebon* title, *Rongo chô*, as an example of a comical distortion of a passage from the *Analects*. In that work, we find Kyorai sensei 虚去先生 (Master Leaving in Vain) and Kyorai sanjin 虚去山人 (Leaving-in-vain Mountain-hermit) listed as the author's name.<sup>86</sup> The name is obviously a parody name for the Confucian philosopher, Ogyû Sorai. But the key to identifying this name with Nanpo, according to Hamada Keisuke, is the seal stamped beneath it. Since the seal is the same one Nanpo used repeatedly, this piece is included in the corpus of Nanpo's works.<sup>87</sup>

There are other works under different names that are now also considered to be products of Ôta Nanpo. Those include *Dôchû sugoroku* 道中粹語録 (Backgammon on the road) and *Nankaku sensei bunshû* 南客先生文集 (Collection of Master guest of the south [a private demimonde in Shinagawa], 1779?). The meaning of the Chinese characters as written, for the first title, is: “The record of stylish words on the road,” but the last three words, meaning “the record of stylish words,” are only used for their pronunciation, “sugoroku,” which really means “Japanese style backgammon.” In this work, the name Ubasute sanjin 婪捨山人 (Discarding-elder-woman mountain-hermit) appears after the preface, and the seal beneath the name again reveals that it is written by Ôta Nanpo.<sup>88</sup> (The word “mountain” in the name has double meanings here, first as “mountain hermit” (*sanjin*) and second as “discarding-elders mountain” (*ubasute-yama*), i.e., the mountains

where the old people were left for good to alleviate the consummation of the food scarcity in the countryside).

In *Nankaku sensei bunshû*, we see the name Nanrôbô Rosen 南樓坊路錢 (A-monk-at-south-tower Travel-money) after the preface, and since we do not see any other name besides this, it too can be considered to be the author's name.<sup>89</sup> In a previous chapter, we discussed one of Nanpo's essays, *Kana sesetsu* 仮名世説 (Worldly talk in *kana* letters [easy reading]), which was edited after his death and published under the name Kyôka-en 杏花園."<sup>90</sup> We cited Nanpo's reflection in this essay on the taste of Hattori Nankaku 服部南郭, a high disciple of Ogyû Sorai and a renowned literati who liked red bean rice. We also learned that Nankaku published *Nankaku sensei bunshû* 南郭先生文集 (Collection of Master Nankaku).<sup>91</sup> A *sharebon* called *Nankaku sensei bunshû* 南客先生文集 (Collection of Master guest of the south), alluding to a private demimonde in Shinagawa, obviously parodies Nankaku's anthology, and is commonly considered a production of Ôta Nanpo,<sup>92</sup> again on the basis of the seals stamped on this work. Hamada Keisuke explains that Nanpo used these "throwaway" pennames because the publisher for this work was not his regular publisher and he did not want to upset his main publisher.<sup>93</sup>

Hamada Giichirô suggests a financial reason for the usage of different names by Nanpo. Unlike Morishima Chûrô or Hôseidô Kisanji, who are from wealthy samurai families and able to afford writing *sharebon* as a leisurely literary pastime, Nanpo's family had inherited only a low-ranking position as security police at the shogunate's office. This relatively humble position probably required him to earn extra money to support his own family, and writing seemed to be the best solution for this. Whatever the reason, his use of different names indicates that Nanpo did not have much desire for fame

as an author of *sharebon* writings.<sup>94</sup> Nagai Kafū depicts Nanpo in his essay, *Kunsai manpitsu* 葦齋漫筆 thus: “A marvelous talent. [Nanpo had] a talent for comic verse, and a talent for playful writings, but [he] did not long for fame” 奇才ありき。狂歌の才あり戯作の才ありて而も其声明に恋々たらず.”<sup>95</sup>

#### e. The Names of Ôta Nanpo as a *Kyōka* Poet

As Nagai Kafū attests above, Ôta Nanpo was also a prolific poet of *kyōka* (comical verse) or, lit., “mad poems.” I would like now to also take a look at his pennames as a poet in the hope of furthering our understanding of Edo authorship and the peculiar hybrid or paradoxical aesthetics of refinement in vulgarity or vice-versa. (Also it might help to consider the case of Yamate no Bakahito, which we will discuss later.)

As a comic verse poet, Nanpo also used the names Yomo sanjin 四方山人 (Four directions [everywhere] mountain hermit), Yomo no Akahito 四方赤人 (Person with sake/miso paste at Yomo liquor store, lit. Everywhere red-person), and Yomo no Akera 四方赤良 (Sake/miso paste at Yomo liquor store is good, lit. Everywhere red-good). According to Bakin, Yomo sanjin also contributed the prefaces to the newly revised *saiken*, i.e., directory of courtesans, every spring.<sup>96</sup> Later Nanpo replaced these “Yomo” names with Shokusanjin 蜀山人 (Bronze-office/Osaka mountain hermit), which I will discuss in more detail below. These bibliographic works keep listing other names such as Kyōka en 杏花園 (Apricot flower garden, a homophone with *kyōka* 狂歌, comic verse, thus “garden of comic verses”); En’ô sanjin 遠櫻山人 (Far away cherry blossom mountain hermit) and others. Yamazaki listed seven more names in the section on “Ôta Shokusanjin.”<sup>97</sup>

The names used for his poetic works, “Yomo sanjin,” “Yomo no Akahito,” and “Yomo no Akara” came from the name of the liquor store “Yomo” at Kanda-Izumi-chō in Edo, and the sake brand “Aka” and/or miso-paste for snacks sold there. Needless to say, there is also a pun here on the names of the revered *Man'yōshū* ancient poet, Yamabe no Akahito 山部赤人. One of Nanpo’s collections of comic verse and proses is titled *Yomo no aka* 四方のあか (1787). In the preface, we see a description of “Yomo no aka,” written by Yadoya no Meshimori 宿屋飯盛 (Rice waiter at an inn), a comic-verse name for Ishikawa Gamō 石川雅望 (1754-1830). It informs us:

This book is, [like] Yomo no Aka, straightforward, and  
with no admixture of other bad sakes to dilute the flavor. . . .  
Come over and taste the flavor of good sake.<sup>98</sup>

この書や、四方の赤の一本氣にして、かりにも水くさき駄酒を  
まじへず、 . . . きたりて名酒の味をなめよ、

There was also a popular song that went; “with miso-flavored orange porgy (*tai*), we are drinking Yomo no Aka, then a winter crow from the mountain chirps, . . .” 鯛の味噌津で四方のあか呑みかけ山の寒がらす . . .<sup>99</sup> “Aka” could also indicate the sake flavored miso-paste called “Yomo no aka-miso” sold at the liquor store, whose trademark was in the shape of a fan with the Chinese character 巴 inside, which Nanpo utilized as his own seal.<sup>100</sup> As a poet, Nanpo also used another name Hajin-tei 巴人亭, which probably comes from this liquor store trademark.<sup>101</sup>

We can also find the following *senryū* (comic short verse) showing the popularity of the “Yomo no ama-miso,” the sweet miso of Yomo.

Sakamiso de  
sono na mo yomo ni  
hibiku nari

For its sake flavored miso,  
the name “Yomo”  
echoes everywhere.

*Yanagidaru* 72

酒味噌でその名も四方にひびくなり 柳多留 7 2

The name of the liquor store, Yomo, means “four directions,” that is, everywhere.

Jûbako ni torimakaretaru Yomo ga mise	In layered boxes surrounded the Yomo store.
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*Yanagidaru-shuui* 10

重箱に取り巻かれたる四方ヶ店 柳多留拾遺 1 0

Edo people brought their own containers, *jûbako* (layered box), for buying miso. We can see the customers with their containers must have been making a line in front of the store.

Kanban o miruna to miso o kai ni yari	“Don’t look at the theater signs” was the admonition when sent to buy miso.
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*Yanagidaru* 11

看板を見るなど味噌を買いにやり 柳多留 1 1

The Yomo store was located near a theater district, and when the errand boys were sent for the purchase, the housewives took special pains to make sure that these boys did not stop by the theaters and neglect their mission.

Given the popular song quoted above and also a verse in *Neboke sensei bunshû* (Collected works of Professor Half-asleep), that goes: “with miso-flavored orange porgy, Yomo” sake 鯛味曾津四方酒, Nakano claims that Nanpo’s penname Yomo no Akara, should come from the name of a type of liquor.<sup>102</sup> In fact, in *Yakko-dako* 奴師勞之,(1813), Shokusanjin (i.e., Nanpo) introduces a poem that alludes to a bottle of sake, and tells us

that the poets often drank this sake when they gathered to compose verses.<sup>103</sup> The poem goes:

Takaki na no	The echo of Yomo,
hibiki wa <u>yomo</u> ni	a name of high repute,
waki idete	springs out everywhere and
<u>akara akara</u> to	kids call out “akara, akara”--
kodomo made shiru	even they know the name.

高き名のひびきは四方にわき出て赤ら々と子どもまでしる

It seems plausible to conclude that the name Yomo no Akahito and Yomo no Akara came from the name of the sake at the liquor store called Yomo (the four directions or everywhere) store,

After he reached middle age, Nanpo replaced these Yomo names with Shokusanjin 蜀山人 (Shoku mountain hermit), that is actually based on his position in the shogunate government. Nanpo started out as a samurai official called as *okachi* 御徒 (walking guardian), a position he inherited from his father, and was later promoted to become an official at the *dō-za* 銅座 (Division of exporting bronze) in Osaka subsequent taking a promotion exam. Hamada informs us that bronze was also called Shokusan koji 蜀山居士 (Buddhist trainee at Shoku mountain). Nanpo thus seems to have started using the name Shokusanjin as derived from this governmental position.<sup>104</sup>

We should note that both Yomo no Akara and Yomo no Akahito echo in their pronunciation the *Manyō* poets, Yamanoue no Okura 山上憶良 (660?-733?), and Yamabe no Akahito 山部赤人 (?-736?). Yamanoue no Okura is known for his verses of affection for children and laments on poverty while Yamabe no Akahito was famous for his affective landscape and nature poetry. I will introduce the poems written by them along with Nanpo’s parodied version at the end of this chapter.

#### 4. The Case of Yamate no Bakahito

We often find the name Yamate no Bakahito 山手馬鹿人 (Idiot at the bluff) listed among *sharebon* authors. The name, in fact, alliterates and rhymes with, and contains the same numbers of syllables as Yamabe no Akahito whom we just mentioned above.

In a previous chapter, we discussed *Sesetsu shingo za* 世説新語茶 (A new word for tea from tales of the world, 1776?) as an example of the comical distortion used in *sharebon* titles. The name of the author is referred to in the preface as Yamate no Bakahito.<sup>105</sup> Let us examine other *sharebon* works that are signed with the name Yamate no Bakahito or considered to be by him/her. For example, *Suichō kōkei* 粋町甲闇 (Stylish town, Shinjuku boudoir), a parody of a phrase from *Wakan rōei shū* 和漢朗詠集 (Japanese and Chinese Poems to Sing),<sup>106</sup> indicating a lady's beautiful chamber, *suichōkōkei* 翠帳紅闇 (emerald curtain, crimson bed), lists Yamate no Bakahito as its author after a “preface written by the author.”<sup>107</sup>

The first preface in *Suichō kōkei* actually refers to another *sharebon* text, *Kōeki shinwa* 甲駅新話 (A new tales from Shinjuku, 1775) and reveals that it is also by Yamate no Bakahito, though we do not see that attribution in the actual *Kōeki shinwa*.<sup>108</sup> What we find there instead are the names of Bafun no Naka saku Shōbu 馬糞中咲菖蒲 (Iris blooming in horse manure) following a preface in Chinese, and Fūrin sanjin 風鈴山人 (Wind chime mountain hermit) after a Japanese preface.<sup>109</sup> The name Fūrin sanjin is, more over, almost certainly a parody of Fūrai sanjin, Hiraga Gennai's penname.

*Fukagawa shinwa* 深川新話 (New tales from Fukagawa) also contains the name Yamate no Bakahito. It has two prefaces: the first by Akkerakan shujin and the second

by Senri-tei Hakku 千里亭白駒 (Master Thousand miles [on] white horse) and each preface represents the work as written by Yamate no Bakahito.<sup>110</sup>

Yamate no Bakahito, which sounds like the name of a Man'yô poet, and is a parody of it, forces us to confront one of the major enigmas of identification concerning Edo artists.<sup>111</sup> In *Kinsei mono no hon Edo sakusha burui* (Recent books, a catalogue of the authors in Edo), Bakin cites the name Yamate no Bakahito, and adds, "I have no idea who this is."<sup>112</sup> There have been many discussions of the identity of the person using this name.<sup>113</sup> It has been commonly presumed that Yamate no Bakahito is Ôta Nanpo. Akera Kankô and Yamate no Shirohito 山手白人 (1737-1787), a comic verse poet, has also been adduced as a candidate for this identity. Fujii Fumika proclaims now that Yamate no Bakahito is not Ôta Nanpo but somebody else, though she does not speculate who that might be. She analyses these works and asserts that they do not share any characteristics with other writings by Nanpo.<sup>114</sup>

Here I would like to quickly indicate one possible trait. We have briefly noted that the sound of the name, Yamate no Bakahito has an association with the Man'yô poet, Yamabe no Akahito. Now we notice that the sound of the name, Yomo no Akahito can also be associated with the same Man'yô poet, except that the number of syllables fits somewhat better for the former name. We might consider Yomo no Akahito as a parody of Yamate no Bakahito or vice versa. Since the name Yamate no Bakahito works better for parodizing the sound of Yamabe no Akahito, it almost looks like the name Yamate no Bakahito is the earlier of the two. However, as far as we are able to determine at present, the actual appearance of the Yomo no Akahiko happens prior to Yamate-no Bakahito.

The preface in *Rōka shū* 弄花集 (Collection of floral playing cards), tells of a gathering for comic verse composition occurring in 1777. Karagoromo Kissshū 唐衣橘州 (1743-1802) tells us that the name Yomo no Akahito was first used around 1764. We also see the name Yomo no Akara in *Meiwa jūgo-ban kyōka awase* 明和十五番狂歌合 (1770).<sup>115</sup> In *Yakko-dako* 奴師勞之 (1813), Shokusanjin, (i.e., Nanpo), recollects “the first *kyōka* (comic verse) gathering held by Kissshū,” and tells us that he then called himself “Akahito” and changed his name to “Akara” later.<sup>116</sup> That is, the name Yomo no Akara appeared around 1770, and the name Yomo no Akahito was used earlier. In contrast, the first appearance of Yamabe no Bakahito is in *Fukagawa Shinwa*, which was published in 1779, more or less ten years later than the appearance of Yomo no Akahito.<sup>117</sup>

This chronological order of the appearance of the names actually makes sense when we think of the characteristics of the author names for *sharebon* works. As we have seen so far, almost all of the names listed as *sharebon* authors refer to be vocabulary of the Chinese classics but not to Japanese literature. Therefore it is rather odd to see the name of a *sharebon* author based on the Japanese *waka* tradition, which is the case with Yamate no Bakahito. Conversely, it is not as odd for the comic verse poets to use such names sprung out of Japasese *waka* tradition. In fact, in *Kyōkashi saiken*, *Kyōka shittari furi* 狂歌知足振, and other *kyōka* sources, we see the poets’ names taken from verses, folk songs, the names of Heian-era poets and so on. There are names, for example, like Tsukubane no Mineyori つくはねの峰依<sup>118</sup> and Mine no Matsukaze 峰の松風<sup>119</sup> that derive from traditional Japanese *waka* poems.<sup>120</sup>

We also find a poet with the name, “Hamamatsu no zazanza” 浜松三三三,<sup>121</sup> which is derived from an old folk song often sung in some *kyōgen* (comic interludes between

acts of a Noh play) pieces. The song goes; “*Zazanza, Hamamatsu no oto wa zazanza*” (Zazanza, the sound of [the wind blowing] through the pine trees on the beach goes zazanza).<sup>122</sup> There are also names based on the name of Heian poets. We find, Chie no naishi 智惠内子 (Having no wisdom)<sup>123</sup> imitating the name of a Heian poetess, Suô no naishi 周防内侍, who is included among the “hundred poets.” Chie no naishi was married to another comic verse poet, Moto no Mokuami 元黙阿弥 (1724-1811).<sup>124</sup>

As opposed to the pennames used by comic verse poets, as we have seen, the names of the *sharebon* authors are usually based on the Chinese classical texts and rarely on the Japanese *waka* tradition, and we also find some names that are the parody of other Edo literati. Now this indicates that the name, “Yamate no Bakahito” as a *sharebon* author should work as a parody of other names, rather than of Chinese classics. In other words, the name is only funny when it works as a parody of another Edo author’s name. Since it seems that the use of Yomo as a poet’s name was prevalent among these authors and well-known to their readers, Yamate no Bakahito would have been funny to them even as the name of a *sharebon* author. That is, we might be able to consider that the name, Yomo no Akahito existing prior to Yamate no Bakahito, was utilized and parodied in order to function as a *sharebon* author’s name, at least until another resource appears that indicates a reverse chronology.

Now this conclusion leads us to consider the manner in which these authors and poets produced their works. That is, for the name Yamate no Bakahito to work as a parody of Yomo no Akahito, these authors must know each other well enough to recognize the parody. The comic verse poets typically got together to compose verses, and thus were able to share not only topics of common interest, but also the very time and

occasions in which the works were produced. Moreover, since their main purpose was to produce a comic effect, the poets also needed an audience who would get their jokes. Simmilarly, it is most plausible to assume that many of the *sharebon* works were also produced under the same kind of the conditions, i.e., within a group at some social occasion. As we have seen, some of the *sharebon* authors assume different names for their poetic works. In fact, we see the same person listed both in the section on *sharebon* and on *kyōka* in the bibliographical works. It is quite natural then to think that the *sharebon* authors also got together to produce the works, and produced this peculiar aesthetic seen in the amalgamation of refinement and vulgarity as well as the anonymity of the authorship, or its collective, collaborative nature.

Now we can think of several reasons for this desire for anonymity. During the early stage of the genre's development, most of the authors were samurai who did not really have any ambition to achieve fame as a writer of these products at all, since their topic is exclusively the demimonde and courtesans, which is destined to be fallen out from their ideological thought of Neo-Confucianism. Another reason might be that they simply wanted to imitate Chinese literati who also employed many names, by having multiple pennames for themselves. Another aspect of this desire for anonymity would be the pleasure of pretending to be a different person other than oneself. In later stages in the genre's development, this trait contributed to producing social occasions in which the participants were treated as equals in spite of their social class in real life. The literati, i.e., the samurai high-officials, samurai secretaries, the merchants and others, possibly just wished to become somebody else as a way of stepping out of daily routine and social role. Their exclusive topic, demimonde and the courtesans, was well-suited for this

pursuit of their counterlife, since demimondes were located in a socially “other” realm, where the visitors left their social ranks and constrictions behind and became equal to each other with the help of the courtesans. By restricting the topic exclusively to the demimondes, the authors put themselves in a dimension far away from daily life, and a space they set themselves free to be as playful as they wished. Indeed, this seems to be one of the essential aims behind the production of *sharebon*, and in order to accomplish this aim, anonymity seemed to be a crucial element. As Suzuki puts it, “*sharebon* is a device to construct and fantasize the space and time of non-daily life, and so set oneself free from this world. This is the essence of *sharebon*.<sup>125</sup>

We could also surmise that Ikku simply did not wish to disclose his personal information to the public and would prefer that his biographical data remain uncertain. According to the records of his biography, he is originally from a samurai family, but his early life is not described in detail.<sup>126</sup> What mattered to him might have been the violation of his privacy itself rather than the specific fact concerning what he once did. That is, we could infer that he prefers to disguise himself under a hazy image concerning his personal life. We could even conclude that the uncertainty concerning himself as a real person might be part of the image a *gesaku* author Ikku was seeking. Anybody could enjoy a feeling of being free and equal, transcending the social boundaries, as long as they write and read *sharebon* literature.

## E. Courtly Refinement in Edo

Lastly, I would like to take a quick look at the *waka* poems written by Yama no ue no Okura and Yamabe no Akahito and their parodies by Edo comical verse poets.: One of the poems composed by Okura goes as follows:

Yononaka o  
ushi to yasashi to  
omoedomo  
tobitachi kanetsu  
tori ni shi araneba

Though I think  
life in the world  
painful and sorrowful,  
I cannot fly away  
since I am not a bird.

Yama-no-ue no Okura  
*Manyōshū*, no.893

世のなかを憂しとやさしと思へども  
飛び立ちかねつ鳥にしあらねば

We have seen a few examples of the many parody verses based on a verse by Yamabe no Akahito, which is included in the “One hundred poems by one hundred poets.” We can also find some comic verses that allude to Okura’s verse above, composed by Yomo no Akara, (i.e., Nanpo), such as following:

Yononaka wa  
iro to sake to ga  
kataki nari.  
douzo kataki ni  
meguri aitai

In this life/world,  
romance and liquor  
are the enemies.  
Please, I wish to  
encounter them.<sup>127</sup>

*Hajin-shū shū'i*

世の中は色と酒とが敵なりどうぞ敵にめぐりあひ度い  
「巴人集拾遺」

“Pain” and “sorrow,” the two major feelings of the poet toward life, are replaced here by the two major elements of life we should avoid: “romance” and “liquor,” and then

distorts the entire sentiment of the poem from lamentation to anticipation. There is also the following by Shokusanjin, (i.e., Nanpo):

Yononaka wa nani ka tsune naru	In the life/world, Is there anything unchangeable?
Asukayama kinou no hana wa kyou sakuranbo	At Asuka Mountain, Yesterday's blossoms are today's cherry. <sup>128</sup>

*Hōka shū*

世の中は何かつねなる飛鳥山きのふの花はけふ桜ん坊  
「放歌集」

Here, too, the last line brings us back to daily life from the lofty idea of nothingness and the sentiment of resignation. The exalted beauty of traditional *waka* poetry contributes to the production of a vulgar comicality and at the same time, the comicality embodied within the corporeal casualness implies the grace of court beauty.

Yamabe no Akahito has a well-known verse in the *Man'yō shū*. His verse is revised and adopted in *Shinkokin wakashū* 新古今和歌集 (New anthology of ancient and modern *waka* poems), as well as in *Hyakunin isshu* 百人一首 (One Hundred poems by one hundred poets).<sup>129</sup> It goes:

Tago no ura yu uchi idete mireba mashiro ni zo Fuji no takane ni yuki wa furikeru	From Tago inlet, when we rowed out and looked sheer white. The snow has fallen on Fuji's high peak. <sup>130</sup>
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Yamabe no Akahito,  
*Manyō shū* 318

田子の浦ゆうち出でてみれば眞白にそ  
富士の高嶺に雪は降りける

It is commonly said that the hundred poems in the work called *Ogura Hyakunin isshu* 小倉百人一首 were originally selected by Fujiwara no Teika 藤原定家 (1162-1241) for the decoration of screen doors (*fusuma* 棚) at a mountain villa in Ogura owned by one of the Heian aristocrats. Donald Keene describes its immense influence, noting that these poems have “constituted the basic knowledge of Japanese poetry for most people from the early Tokugawa period until very recent times.”<sup>131</sup> The set of these hundred poems was used to make a poem-card game (*uta k(/g)aruta* 歌かるた) that is still played as a popular family game, especially during New Year season.<sup>132</sup>

During the early Edo era, the *Hyakunin isshu* card game became extremely popular, as can be observed, several scenes of playing the game described in the works by Chikamatsu Monzaemon. An example is his *Kaoyo uta-karuta* 娥歌加留多 (Radiant uta-karuta).<sup>133</sup> From this, it is clear that the game was played on many occasions when a group of people – friends, family, courtesans and guests, got together. It is not surprising then that we see numerous versions of these hundred poems, including parodies, composed during this era. The most prominent version is *Kyōka Hyakunin isshu* 狂歌百人一首 (One Hundred Poems by one hundred parodic poets, 1843) written by Shokusanjin 蜀山人, i.e., Ôta Nanpo.<sup>134</sup>

Let us see a few examples of the parodies of the poem cited above by Yamabe no Akahito. In *Keisei Hyakunin isshu* 傾城百人一首 (Courtesans' hundred poems, 1703), we find:

Yoshiwara ni

To Yoshiwara when

uchi-idete mireba      we roamed out and looked,  
      shiro-kosode            the robes and flowering sleeves  
      sancha ageya no        of cortesans in the party kimono,  
      yuki no furisode      were white as snow.<sup>135</sup>

吉原に打ち出でてみれば白小袖散茶揚屋の雪の振袖

This describes the first day of the eighth month in Yoshiwara, alluding to a custom reflected in advertisements: the courtesans were to put on white kimonos on that day.

The poem above, which compares Akahito's snow from Mount Fuji to the urban demimonde, is just one example of many such comic and parodic poetry.

The profusion of these parody verses of the *Hundred poems by a hundred poets* displays not only the prevalence of courtly refinement as a form of play in the common life, but also the popularity of the game itself. Interestingly, in this poem-card game, the grabbing cards (*torifuda*) are inscribed in the *kana* alphabet, not with pictures as is the case for other card games. Hearing the poems, the players are required to visualize how they are written in language (*kana* alphabet) not in pictures. That is, the language of the poetry appeals to both the aural and the visual senses at the same time. In this sense, the Japanese *kana* alphabet, though they represent syllabic sounds, attain a visual function similar to Chinese characters as long as the game is being played. The simultaneous occurrence of visual and oral components in the poem-card game might contribute to the characteristic sense of vulgarity in refinement and refinement in vulgarity that define stylishness, or *iki*, among the Edo literati.

In the next chapter, to bring our discussion to a close, I would like to further address the question of how this contrapuntal aesthetics is constituted through its

simultaneous relation to two disparate reference points: the classical texts in Chinese culture and the tradition of Japanese courtly elegance.

## ENDNOTES:

### Chapter 5

<sup>1</sup> Roger Caillois, *Les jeux et les hommes*, p.55.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.4-5.

<sup>3</sup> A short description on Bokusen-tei Yukimaro is found in *Gesakusha senshû*, by Ishizuka Hôkaishi, p.257.

<sup>4</sup> *Gesaku rokkasen* as well as *Gesakusha shôden* 戲作者小伝 are included in *Enseki Jisshu dai-1*, Kokusho Kankôkai, 1907. In the preface written in 1856, Iwamoto Kattôshi 岩本活東子 (1841-1916) explains that six authors, namely, Santô Kyôden 山東京伝, Shikitei Sanba 式亭三馬, Kyokutei Bakin 曲亭馬琴, Jippensha Ikku 十返舎一九, Ryûtei Tanehiko 柳亭種彦, and Utei Enba 烏亭焉馬 are selected for *Gesaku rokkasen*, and other authors are included in *Gesakusha shôden*. He also clarifies that he referred to so-called “*Shôden*” in editing these collections of the biography. As Hirose claims “*Shôden*” here indicates *Gesakusha senshyû* 戯作者撰集, edited by Ishizuka Hôkaishi 石塚豊芥子 (1799-1862). It was first presented in 1843 with some additional parts added between 1848 and 1853. *Gesakusha sensû* in *Kasama sôsho* 96, ed. Hirose Tomomitsu, Kasama shoin, 1978, p.319.

*Gesakusha kô hoi* was edited and presented by Kimura Mokurô 木村默老 (1774-1856) in 1845. Kimura Mokurô, *Gesakusha kô hoi*, Yumani shobô, 1976. In the preface, Mokurô clarifies that he consulted *Shôden* and *Kinsei mono no hon*, *Edo sakusha burui*, presented in 1834 by Bakin. Kyokutei Bakin, *Kinsei mono no hon*, *Edo sakusha burui*, Yagi shoten, 1988. Again, *Shôden* here indicates *Gesakusha senshû* by Hôkaishi.

Moreover, according to Hirose, Hôkaishi consulted a previous collection, entitled *Haishitsû* 稗史通 and written by Bokusen-tei Yukimaro 墨川亭雪麿 (1797-1856) around 1813, which is untraceable now. Hirose, *Gesaku senshû*, pp.315-324. Hirose also claims that Bakin consulted this collection. We also find “gesakusha no bu” 戯作者之部 (section of playful writings authors) in *Kyôka-shi saiken* 狂歌師細見 (Directory of comical verse poets), with a postscript signed by “Yomo sanjin,” i.e., Ôta Nanpo. *Kyoukashi saiken*, SNKBT 84, annotated by Nakano Mitsutoshi et al., 1993, pp.521-6. Also in *Edo Kyôka hon senshû*, *dai-15 kan*, ed. Edo Kyôka hon senshû kankôkai, Tokyodô Shuppan, 2007, pp.87-98.

In this connection we might mention another collection titled *Shinpen Haishitsû* 新編稗史通, edited by Nishimura Ukichi 西村宇吉 and published in 1883. It includes biographies for Jippensha Ikku, Santô Kyôden, Shikitei Sanba and Kyokutei Bakin. *Shinpen Haishi-tsû*, *Reprint Nihon kindai bungaku* 31, ed. Nishimura Ukichi, Kokubungaku Shiryôkan, 2005.

<sup>5</sup> *Gesaku rokkasen*, In *Enseki jisshu dai-1*, p.398. *Gesakusha kô hoi*, p.195. *Gesakusha senshû*, p.184.

<sup>6</sup> Hirose Tomomitsu, *Gesakusha senshû*, *Kasama sôsho* 96, p.318.

<sup>7</sup> *Neboke sensei bunshû*, in Ôta Nanpo zenshû 1, ed. Hakada Giichirou and Nakano Mitsutoshi. Also in SNKBT 84: 3-52.

<sup>8</sup> Nobuhiro Shinji, “*Kyôbun takara awase no ki*” no kenkyû, Kyûko shoin, 2000.

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<sup>9</sup> Nagai Kafu, “Kunsai manpitsu,” *Nagai Kafū zenshū*, (Old Edition), dai-15-kan, 1963, p.512.

<sup>10</sup> Suzuki Toshiyuki, *Tutaya Jūzaburō*, p.81.

<sup>11</sup> *Tatsumi fugen*, ST 17: 375-9. *Sendō shinwa*, ST 24: 86, 359-364.

<sup>12</sup> *Shinpen Haishi-tsū*, Reprint *Nihon kindai bungaku* 31, (1883), pp.25-30.

Yamazaki Fumoto, *Kaitei Nihon shousetsu shomoku nenpyou*, *Shoshi shomoku* 6, p.754. *Gesakusha senshū*, (1843-53) ed. Ishidzuka Hōkaishi, annotated Hirose Tomomitsu, *Gesakusha senshū*, *Kasama sousho* 96, p.154-178. *Gesakusha kō hoi* (1845) ed. by Kimura Mokurō, pp.165-188. *Gesakusha rokkasen*, pp.380-390.

<sup>13</sup> *Sendō shinwa*, ST 24: 85-7.

<sup>14</sup> *Tatsumi fugen*, ST 17: 129-130.

<sup>15</sup> *Sendō beya*, ST 24: 339-340.

<sup>16</sup> Yamazaki Fumoto, *op.cit.*, p.788.

<sup>17</sup> Jinpo Itsuya, ST 24: 383-5.

<sup>18</sup> *Sendō beya*, ST 24: 354.

<sup>19</sup> The production of *sharebon* continued to flourish until Kansei Reformation started and the government undertook the restriction of publications. We must note that during the Kansei period (1789-1800), the Tokugawa shogunate started to exercise strict control and decided to suppress *sharebon* literature, since its topic was considered harmful to public morals, and the attitudes of the authors were anti-authoritarian. First, Koikawa Harumachi 恋川春町 (1744-1789) who was a samurai official and author of *Kinkin sensei eiga no yume* (1785), a *kibyōshi* 黄表紙 (easy reader) piece, was summoned by the government in 1789 for writing *Ômu gaeshi bunbu no futamichi*, that was believed to satirize government policy. He did not appear as summoned and was later found dead. Santō Kyōden was arrested and jailed for 50 days and put in chains for publishing his trilogy of *Shikake bunko* in 1791. In the same year, Tsutaya Jūzaburou had half of his fortune confiscated for publishing his works. For more detail, please see *Hikkashi* 筆禍史 (1911) by Miyatake Gaikotsu 宮武外骨. *Miyatake Gaikotsu chosakushū*, dai-4-kan, ed. by Yoshino Takao et al., Kawade shobō shinsha, 1985. Concerning the *sharebon* authors after the arrest of Kyōden, please see Tanahashi Masahiro, “Kansei, Kyōwa-ki no sarebon sakka-zō,” in *Edo bungaku, sōkan-gō*, Perikan sha, 1989, pp.99-114.

<sup>20</sup> *Sendō beya*, ST 24: 353.

<sup>21</sup> Kyokutei Bakin, Kinsei mono no hon, Edo sakusha burui, 1834.

<sup>22</sup> In real life he was the owner of a pharmacy.

<sup>23</sup> Suzuki Toshiyuki, *Tutaya Jūzaburō*, p.94.

<sup>24</sup> Though these authors use a new name for each *sharebon* piece they produce, they tend to use the same “seal” repeatedly. According to Nakano, these “seals” sometimes help to find out their identities. Nakano, *Edo no hanpon*, p.231.

<sup>25</sup> *Honzō mōmoku*, ST 10: 167-180, 383-4.

<sup>26</sup> *Honzō giyō*, ST 2: 112, 391-4.

<sup>27</sup> *Kakuchū sōji* 郭中掃除, ST 7: 281-95, 382-4.

Also please see Yamazaki Fumoto, *op.cit.*, p.822.

<sup>28</sup> *Kakuchū sōji* 廊中掃除, ST 24: 299-333, 380-2.

Also please see Yamazaki Fumoto, *op.cit.*, p.729.

<sup>29</sup> *Kochō no yume*, ST 8: 51, p.52.

<sup>30</sup> ST 8: 361-3.

<sup>31</sup> Yamazaki Fumoto, *op.cit.*, p.168, p.824.

<sup>32</sup> *Nihon Zuihitus Taisei dai-2ki*, 19, p.307.

<sup>33</sup> *Monzen (bunshō-hen) chū, Shinshaku kanbun taikei* 83, p.373.

This hearkens back to a story in the *Zhuangzi*; “Don’t you know the story of the praying mantis? It flailed its pincers around to stop an oncoming chariot wheel, not realizing the task was beyond its powers” 汝不知夫螳螂乎 怒其臂以當車轍 不知其不勝任也. Chapter Four: In the Human World 人間世篇 in *Zhuangzi: The Essential Writings with Selections from Traditional Commentaries*, trans. and annotated by Brook Ziporyn, p.29. *Sōji dai-1-satsu [nai-hen]*, trans. Kanaya Osamu, p.131. We can also find a similar passage in a later chapter; “The virtue of the king is like a praying mantis’s angry foreleg hits a large car. It will not accomplish the duty” 於帝王之德 猶螳螂之怒臂以當車軼 則必不勝任矣. Chapter of Heaven and Earth 天地篇 in *Sōji dai-2-satsu [gai-hen]*, trans. Kanaya Osamu, , p.118. The word “hatchet” also reminds us of a passage from *Zhuangzi* recounting a big tree that avoids being cut down by an ax or hatchet because of its crooked shape and celebrates its life, because of its uselessness 遙遙乎寢臥其下、不夭斤斧、物無害者、無所可用、安所困苦哉. Chapter of Wandering Far and Unfettered, *Sōji dai-1-satsu [nai-hen]*, trans. Kanaya Osamu, p.38.

<sup>34</sup> We should quickly review the four ways of pronouncing the combined characters. The first two would be to read both words either by *on-yomi* or by *kun-yomi*, with the addition of *kana* (Japanese syllabary). The other two are the combination of *on-yomi* and *kun-yomi*. One case, where *kun-yomi* is followed by *on-yomi*, is called *yutō-yomi* 湯桶読み, as seen in the characters, and the reverse one is called *jūbako-yomi* 重箱読み. The pronunciation of “Funuke” in this case, is produced by applying *jūbako-yomi*. When we try to read the set of characters using *on-yomi*, it yields “*fubatsu*,” which does not work as a homophone of any humorous words. If read as *kun-yomi*, it yields “*ono-nuke*,” that also does not convey any hidden meaning.

<sup>35</sup> Suzuki Toshiyuki, *Tsutaya Jūzaburou*, p.78.

<sup>36</sup> Nakano Mitsutoshi, In, *Gesakusya meimei-den*, p.269.

<sup>37</sup> Saitō Mareshi, *Kanbunmyaku to Kindai Nippon*, p.41.

<sup>38</sup> This can also be named as the concept of *iki* which is commonly referred to as one of the essential element of Edo aesthetics.

<sup>39</sup> *Tōshi sen*, ed. Maeno Naoaki.

<sup>40</sup> *Tōshisen kokujikai*, *Tōyō Bunko* 405-7.

<sup>41</sup> Hattori Nankaku Gion Nankai, In *Edo shijin senshū* 3., ed. Yamamo Kazuyoshi, Iwanami Shoten, 1991. Also *Shishū Nihon kanshi*, 4., ed. by Fujikawa Hideo et al., Kyūko Shoin, 1985.

<sup>42</sup> *Shishū Nihon kanshi* 4, ed. Fujikawa Hideo et al., Kyūko shoin, 1985.

<sup>43</sup> Hassui zuihitsu, In *Nihon zuihitsu taisei*, *dai-1-ki* 6, p.133.

<sup>44</sup> *Edo jidai rhōribon shūsei* 7, p.280.

<sup>45</sup> Shihekian Mochō, *Wasure nokori*, in *Zoku Enseki Jisshu* 1, p.449.

<sup>46</sup> Ōta Nanpo, *Ōta Nanpo zenshū* 10, p.537.

<sup>47</sup> ST 9: 95-110.

<sup>48</sup> SNKBT 5: 4-18.

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For the translation, please see Helen Craig McCullough, *Kokin Wakashû: The First Imperial Anthology of Japanese Poetry*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985. Here I use my translation.

<sup>49</sup> NKBT 65. For the translation, please see Robert H. Brower, *Conversations with Shôtetsu*, Dexter: Thomson-Shore Inc., 1992.

<sup>50</sup> Esperanza Ramirez-Christensen, *Heart's Flower; The Life and Poetry of Shinkei*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994, *Murmured Conversations ; A Treatise on Poetry and Buddhism by the Poet-Monk Shinkei*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008, *Emptiness and Temporality ; Buddhism and Medieval Japanese Poetics*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008.

<sup>51</sup> Motoori Norinaga *zenshû* 2, p.99.

<sup>52</sup> SNKBT 68: 36-7.

<sup>53</sup> Lao Tzu, *Tao Te Ching*, trans. D.C. Lau. Modified translation.

<sup>54</sup> *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*, trans. Burton Watson. Modified translation.

<sup>55</sup> Shusui-an Mutei-koji, *Shikidô showake; Naniwa dora*.

<sup>56</sup> NST 60: 233-4.

<sup>57</sup> Nagayama Hisao, *op.cit.*, pp.125-130.

<sup>58</sup> *Shinsan Dainihon zoku zôkyô* 73, ed. Tamaki Koushirô.

<sup>59</sup> ST 1: 316.

<sup>60</sup> ST 8: 313.

<sup>61</sup> *Sekifuden*, ST 1: 306.

<sup>62</sup> ST 12: 354.

<sup>63</sup> Hiraga Gennai, *Hiraga Gennai zenshû*, (jô), pp.424-431.

<sup>64</sup> ST 12: 50.

<sup>65</sup> Changing the last Chinese character in the title (from 通 to 將) would make “slough of a Japanese rat snake” (*Elaphe climacophora*).

<sup>66</sup> *Nukegara Ao daitsû*, ST 12: 49.

<sup>67</sup> *Hiraga Gennai Zenshû* (jô), Meicho kankoukai, 1970.

<sup>68</sup> Tozawa Yukio, *Oranda (“Holland”)-ryû goten-i, Katsuragawa-ke no sekai; Edo geien no kiun*, p.89.

<sup>69</sup> *Nukegara Ao daitsû*, ST 12: 49, 354.

<sup>70</sup> Tozawa Yukio, *op.cit.*, p.90, 294.

<sup>71</sup> Kyokutei Bakin, *Kinsei mono no hon*, Edo sakusha burui (1834). Gesakusha senshû (1843-53), Hirose, Gesakusha senshû, Kasama sousho 96, p.303. Gesakusha kô hoi (1845) pp.17-26 (with a portrait). Gesakusha shôden, ed, Iwamoto Kattôshi, In Enseki jisshu 1, pp.343-344. Yamazaki Fumoto, *op.cit.*, pp.820-1.

<sup>72</sup> *Gesakusha shôden*, ed. Iwamoto Kattôshi, pp.343-4.

<sup>73</sup> The passage is also very funny. For having one’s name recited is not necessarily a good thing. In fact, Mr. Savvy goes on to relate an episode in which other visitors and the courtesans were whispering his name to show off how famous he was, but obviously the visitors and the courtesans were instead expressing disapproval of his verbose jokes.

<sup>74</sup> Gesakusha senshû, (1843-53), p.81. Gesakusha kô hoi (1845) pp.94. Gesakusha shôden, pp.346-7. Yamazaki Fumoto, *op.cit.*, pp.768.

<sup>75</sup> *Ekisha sanyû*, ST 9: 66-7.

<sup>76</sup> Yamazaki Fumoto, *op.cit.*, p.787. ST 9: 389-2.

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This piece contains two prefaces; one is by the author and the other by “Reino Tobokeshi 例 \* 外惚子 [ \* = 林(top part) 土(bottom part)] (Master That droll), whose identity is also unknown.

<sup>77</sup> Hamada Giichirou, *Ôta Nanpo*, p.9.

<sup>78</sup> Hezutsu Tôsaku, *Tôyûki*, In *Nihon shomin seikatsu shiryou syûsei dai-4-kan, tanken, kikou, chishi*, San-itsu shobou, 1969. Terui Sôsuke, *Tenmei Ezo tanken shimatsuki*, Yaedake shobou, 1974.

<sup>79</sup> *Zatsumon sentei*, ST 8: 374-6.

Baika Shin'eki ST 7: 195, 397-9.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p.196.

<sup>81</sup> *Gesakusha senshû*, p.65. *Gesakusha kô hoi*, pp.82-3. *Gesakusha shôden*, pp.347-8.

Yamazaki Fumoto, *op.cit.*, pp.696-7.

<sup>82</sup> *Kamon kara Nihon no rekishi o saguru*, ed. by Kitagawa Masao et al., p.146.

<sup>83</sup> 卍 *Xuzangjing Vol. 80*, No. 1565 五燈會元, V1.69.

<sup>84</sup> *Gesakusha kô hoi*, pp.27-33 (with a portrait). *Gesakusha shôden*, p.347.

<sup>85</sup> Hamada Giichirou, *op.cit.*, p.9.

The passage goes: 大田多稼、既種既戒、既備乃事。以我覃耜、倣載南畝

<sup>86</sup> *Rongo chô*, ST 5: 295, 307. Also included in *Ôta Nanpo zenshû* 7, Iwanami Shoten, 1986.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.401-2.

<sup>88</sup> ST 10: 221.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p.97.

<sup>90</sup> SKBT 97.

<sup>91</sup> *Kana sesetsu*, In *Ôta Nanpo zenshû* 10, Iwanami shoten, 1986.

Hattori Nankaku, *Nankaku sensei bunshû*, *Kinsei juka bunshû shûsei dai-7*, annotated Hino Tatsuo, Perikan sha, 1985.

<sup>92</sup> *Nankaku sensei bunshû*, ST 9: 95-110. Also included in *Ôta Nanpo zenshû* 7, Iwanami Shoten, 1986.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.395-7.

<sup>94</sup> Hamada Giichirô, *op.cit.*, pp.49-50.

<sup>95</sup> Nagai Kafû, *Kunsai Manpitsu*, In *Nagai Kafû zenshû*, (Old Edition), dai-15-kan, Iwanami Shoten, 1963, p.491.

Kafû also presents a chronological biography on Ôta Nanpo in “Ôta Nanpo nenpu,” *Nagai Kafû zenshû*, (Old Edition), dai-15-kan, pp.525-547.

<sup>96</sup> Kyokutei Bakin, *op.cit.*

<sup>97</sup> Yamazaki Fumoto, *op.cit.*, p.807.

<sup>98</sup> *Yomo no aka*, In *SNKBT* 84: 247.

<sup>99</sup> Ôta Nanpo, *Tai no misozu*, In *Hanashihon taikei* 11, p.363, pp.186-198.

<sup>100</sup> Hamada Giichirou, *op.cit.*, p.30.

<sup>101</sup> *Hajin shû*, In *Ôta Nanpo zenshû* 2.

<sup>102</sup> SKBT 84, p.548.

<sup>103</sup> *Enseki jisshu*, dai-1, pp.325-6.

<sup>104</sup> Hamada Giichirô, *op.cit.*, pp.170-1.

<sup>105</sup> *Sesetsu shingo za*, ST 7: 237.

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<sup>106</sup> Translation is available by Thomas Rimer et. al., *Japanese and Chinese Poems to Sing*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.

<sup>107</sup> The first preface prior to the author's own preface does not contain a name but it is stamped with a seal repeatedly used by Nanpo.

<sup>108</sup> *Suichō kōkei*, ST 9: 79-80.

<sup>109</sup> *Kōeki shinwa*, ST 6: 293-4.

<sup>110</sup> *Fukagawa shinwa*, ST 8: 213-4.

<sup>111</sup> The most prominent one is the identification of Sharaku 写楽, an *ukiyo-e* artist. There is still controversy over who Sharaku really is.

<sup>112</sup> Kyokutei Bakin, *op.cit.*, p.95.

<sup>113</sup> Hamada Giichirou, "Yamate no Bakahito no mondai," in *Edo bungei kō*, pp.38-58.

<sup>114</sup> Fujii Fumika, "Yamate no Bakahito no sharebon," *Nihon Bungaku* 3, 2011, vol.60, Nihonbungaku-kyōkai, pp.78-90.

Bakin goes on to claim that Yamate no Bakahito is the author of *Baika shin eki* 売花新駅 (Selling flowers at post town Shinjuku), and as we saw previously, Akkerakan shujin is the author of this work. Kyokutei Bakin, *op.cit.*, p.95. *Baika shin eki*, ST 7:193. *Hana ore gami*, a contemporaneous critique of *sharebon* works, also indicates that Akkerakan wrote *Kōeki shinwa*. These statements contributed to the view that the person using this name could be Akera Kankō. However, research conducted by Hanada Giichirō denies the possibility of either Akera Kankō or Yamate no Shirohito as the real person behind the name Yamate no Bakahito. In "Yamate no Bakahito no Mondai" he concludes that Ōta Nanpo is the most likely author of this work. From an analysis of the handwritten print of the work *Kōeki shinwa*, Hamada Keisuke concludes that Ōta Nanpo himself wrote the block copy of the preface in Japanese and the postscript in this work. ST 6: 419. In sum, this elucidation tends to identify "Yamate no Bakahito" with Ōta Nanpo, unless we find other evidence showing another possibility. Yamazaki also asserts in *Kaitei Nihon shōsetsu shomoku nenpyō* that Fūrin sanjin is the author of *Kōeki shinwa*, and is Ōta Shokusanjin 大田蜀山人, i.e., Ōta Nanpo. Yamazaki Fumoto, *op.cit.*, p.821. Fujii claims that Nanpo carried out the copying of the manuscript for printing in order to earn some extra wage.

In my opinion, it might not be totally groundless to surmise that Yamate no Bakahito signifies a group of several authors, including Ōta Nanpo, who, in that case, definitely played the role of kingpin. Perhaps determining who Yamate no Bakahito was in his/her real life is a matter of no great import. The works were presented as the productions of Yamate no Bakahito and on order to appreciate the works, the readers, it is sometimes claimed, should take them as they are without investigating the detailed biography of the author. All the same, it is hard to deny the possibility that the quest might bring us some key insights toward a deeper understanding of *sharebon* works.

<sup>115</sup> *Meiwa kyōka awase*, In *Edo Kyōka hon senshū* 1, ed. Edo kyōka hon senhū kankō-kai, pp.57-64.

<sup>116</sup> Ōta Nanpo, *Yakko-dako*, in *Enseki jisshu*, dai-1, pp.326-7.

<sup>117</sup> *Rōka shū*, In *Kyōbun kyōka shū*, Nihon meicho zenshū, Edo bungei no bu, dai-19kan, Nihon meicho zenshū kankō-kai, 1929.

<sup>118</sup> *Kyōka-shi saiken*, *Kyōka shittari furi*, in *Edo kyōka hon senshū* 15, p.90, 96, 108.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, p.89, 94, 111.

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<sup>120</sup> Tsukubane no Mineyori is from a poem composed by Yôzei-in, the Rtd. Emperor Yôzei, and is included in *A hundred verses by a hundred poets* (*Hyakunin isshu*). It goes:

Tsukubane no  
mine yori otsuru  
Mina no kawa  
koi zo tsumorite  
fuchi to narinuru  
(Emphasis Added)

From the peak of Tsukuba  
drops the waters  
of Mina-snail River,  
Gathering up the mud of love  
and making a deep pool.

Yôzei-in  
*Gosen-shû* 771

筑波嶺の峰より落つるみなの川 恋ぞ積もりて淵となりぬる  
陽成院

Needless to say, there are also numerous parodies of this verse composed during the Edo Era.

The phrase *Mine no Matsukaze* (pine tree breeze from the peak of) often has an association with *koto*-harp playing, and can be found in many of the traditional Japanese *waka* poems. A prominent example goes as follows:

Koto no ne ni      In the sound of the zipper,  
Mine no matsukaze      The pine tree breezes from the peak  
Kayourashi      seems to be stirring;  
Izure no wo yori      Which string</ridge> was the first  
Shirabe someken      to start playing, I wonder.  
(Emphasis Added)

Saigû no nyôgo  
*Shûi waka-shû zatsu-jô* 451  
*SNKBT* 7: 128.

琴の音に峰の松風かよふらしいづれの緒よりしらべそめけん  
斎宮女御

Here, the sound of a *koto*-harp is compared to the wind coming through the pine trees from the ridges of a mountain, the strings of the instrument to the peaks of the mountain, and the wind to a *koto*-player's hands. This verse is also referred to in the text of *Yûshi hôgen*.

There is also a verse using this phrase, “pine tree breeze” without the association with the *koto*-harp, written by Saigyô:

Fukaku irite

Going deep within

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kamiji no oku wo  
tazunureba  
mata ue mo naki  
mine no matsukaze

the sacred mountain trail,  
I found loftyness  
Without compare.  
The pine breeze on the peak.  
(Emphasis Added)

Saigyô  
*Senzaishû*

深く入りて神路の奥をたづぬればまた上もなき峰の松風

西行

<sup>121</sup> *Kyōka-shi saiken, Kyōka shittari furi*, in *Edo kyōka hon senshū* 15, p.90, 96, 109.

<sup>122</sup> For example, “Cha-tsubo 茶壺 (tea pot) starts with a scene where this tune is sung. SNKBT 58: 72.

<sup>123</sup> *Kyōka-shi saiken, Kyōka shittari furi*, in *Edo kyōka hon senshū* 15, p.103, pp.340-1, p.404.

<sup>124</sup> A verse composed by Suô no naishi, goes:

Haru no yo no      Like a dream on a spring night,  
Yume bakari naru      brief was the moment  
Tamakurani      I rested my head on your arm.  
Kai naku tatamu      Then the vain rumors piling upon my name!  
Na koso oshikere      How vexing!

Suô no naishi.  
*Senzaishû* 941

春の夜の夢ばかりなる手枕に かひなく立たむ名こそをしけれ  
周防内侍

<sup>125</sup> Suzuki Toshiyuki, *op.cit.*, p.78.

<sup>126</sup> Yamazaki Fumoto, *op.cit.*, pp.756-7.

*Shinpen Haishi-tsû, Reprint Nihon kindai bungaku* 31, (1883) ed. Nishimura Ukichi, pp.7-14. *Gesaku rokkasen*, ed. (and copied from *Gesakusha senshû*) Iwamoto Kattoushi, *Enseki Jisshu dai-1*, pp.397-399. *Gesakusha kô hoi* (1845) p.193-8. *Gesakusha senshû*, (1843-53) ed. (and copied from “Haishitsû” by Bokusen-tei Yukimaro) by Ishizuka Hôkaishi, *Gesakusha senshû, Kasama sôsho* 96, annotated by Hirose Tomomitsu, pp.182-187.

Kyokutei Bakin, *Kinsei mono no hon, Edo sakusha burui* (1834), (Tokyo: Yagi shoten, 1988). Bokusen-tei Yukimaro, “Haishi-tsû 稗史通” (1813), (untraceable).

<sup>127</sup> *Hajin-shû shûi*, In *Ôta Nanpo zenshû* 2, p.473.

<sup>128</sup> *Hôka shû*, In *Ôta Nanpo zenshû* 2, p.202.

<sup>129</sup> For the translation of *Hyakunin isschu*, please see Joshua S. Mostow, *Pictures of the Heart: The Hyakunin Isshu in Word and Image*, Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press,

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1996. Also see *One Hundred Poets, One Poem Each*, trans. Peter McMillan, NY: Columbia University Press, 2008.

<sup>130</sup> Revised version in *Shinkokin wakashû* 新古今和歌集 (New anthology of ancient and modern poems), the poem goes like this:

Tago no ura ni uchi idete mireba shirotae no Fuji no takane ni yuki wa furitsutsu	From Tago inlet, when we rowed out and looked, pure white on the lofty peak of Fuji The snow is falling.
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Akahito  
*Shinkokinshû*, Winter 675

田子の浦にうち出でてみれば白妙の富士の高嶺に雪は降りつつ

<sup>131</sup> Donald Keene, *Seeds in the Heart*, p. 674.

<sup>132</sup> For the research on the process by which these poems were made into a game, please see Nakamura Yukihiko, “Uta-garuta,” in *Nakamura Yukihiko Chojutsu-shû* 3, Chûô Kôronsha, 1983.

<sup>133</sup> Chikamatsu Monzaemon, *Kaoyo uta-karuta*, In *Chikamatsu gikyoku-shû, chû-kan*, Kokumin Bunko Kankô-kai, 1910.

<sup>134</sup> Shokusanjin, *Kyôka Hyakunin isshu* (1843), In *Ôta Nanpo zenshû* 1, pp.325-340.

<sup>135</sup> See *Keisei Hyakunin isshu*, In *Mikan zuihitsu hyaku-shu* 4, Chûô Kôronsha, 1976.

## Chapter VI.

### “*Saluo*” as the Fifth Meaning of *Share*: Reception of Chinese (2): Courtly Elegance

Koisezuba  
hito wa kokoro mo  
nakaramashi  
mono no aware mo  
kore yori zo shiru

Without falling in love,  
a person would have no heart  
for it is through this also  
one comes to know  
the moving power of things.<sup>1</sup>

Fujiwara no Toshinari, *Chōshū eisō*, 352,

恋せば人は心もなからましもののはれもこれよりぞ知る  
藤原俊成『長秋詠藻』 352番

A man may excel at everything else, but if he has no taste  
for lovemaking, one feels something terribly inadequate  
about him, as if he were a valuable wine cup without a  
bottom.<sup>2</sup>

Yoshida Kenkō,  
*Tsurezuregusa*, section 3

よろづにいみじくとも、色このまざらむをのこは、いとさうざ  
うしく、玉のさかづきのそこなきこちぞすべき。  
吉田兼好『徒然草』第三段

Moi, je dis: la volupté unique et suprême de l'amour gît  
dans la certitude de faire le *mal*. – Et l'homme et la femme  
savent de naissance que dans le se trouve toute volupté.

L'amour, c'est le goût de la prostitution. Il n'est même pas de plaisir noble qui ne puisse être ramené à la Prostitution.

L'amour peut dériver d'un sentiment généreux: le goût de la prostitution; mais il est bientôt corrompu par le goût de la propriété.

Qu'est-ce que l'art? Prostitution.<sup>3</sup>

Baudelaire, "Fusées"

hito wa bushi  
naze keisei ni  
kirawareru

A true samurai, am I.  
Then why are the courtesans  
cold and distant?

from *senryū* comical verse

人は武士 なぜ傾城に 嫌われる 川柳

In the previous chapters, we examined *Yûshi hôgen* (Vagabond dialect), and other *sharebon* works, according to four of the five possible meanings of the word, “*share*,” which are “demimonde,” “pretending,” “word play,” and “stylish,” in hopes of obtaining some knowledge of the mechanism constituting the peculiar trait of Edo aesthetics represented as “refinement within vulgarity and vulgarity within refinement.” We have observed that each key word, i.e., the meanings of “*share*,” intertwine with each other and contribute to a presentation of the notion of beauty that is peculiar to Edo aesthetics. Moreover, we have discerned the important role of the reception of Chinese classical culture, especially Neo-Confucianism, and saw that the erudition in Chinese culture not only helps in the presentation of stylishness and refinement, i.e., “samurai dandyism,” but also works as an admission ticket into the elite literary groups in Edo Japan. Based on their erudition in Chinese, in other words, they pretend to be Chinese literati, scholars, or

rulers, and employ various kinds of word play as shown in the *sharebon* works and other Edo playful writings. In this way, the refinement is vulgarized and that generates humor and ironic beauty.

In this chapter, I would like to analyze this ironic beauty by making use of the notion of original meaning of Chinese word “*saluo*,” which can be translated as “dispersing,” “dropping off,” “shedding,” or “squandering,” though we cannot find this meaning in Japanese dictionaries and references. It is a sense of the word that connects directly to the second meaning, “pretending.” “*Saluo*” has several implications here, including “to waste or dissipate,” and “to take away,” and while “shedded” will have an implication of “weather-beaten,” “washed clean” or “experienced,” i.e., stylish or savvy. What we want to appraise is the agent that “vulgarizes,” or we can probably say “splashes” (distorts, and wastes) the samurai dandyism, which is presented usually as a form of refinement distinguishing the ruling class and literati in Edo. I would like to conduct this examination of how the Chinese classics were received and splashed out, by inspecting the “*Yûshi hôgen Jo*” 遊子方言叙 (Preface to *Yûshi hôgen*).

Now let us read the “*Yûshi hôgen Jo*,” (from now on abbreviated as “Preface”), and examine the vulgarity within the refinement and precisely how this refinement is vulgarized. Here is a complete translation of the Preface:

The beauties of the flowers are admittedly manifold. But they are no match for the beauty and passion of the flowers in the “streets of flowers” [the demimonde]. Although the peaches and plums are beautiful, they never speak or chat. Although the tree peonies and crabapples are charming, they never laugh or sing. But these “flowers” not only can speak, chat, laugh and sing. A single glimpse of their appearances steals your spirit away and shakes your soul. A single whiff of their fragrance sends your heart flying and

breaks your heart. Frost and dew do not wither them; wind and rain do not crush them. They can be picked without restraint, and enjoyed without being used up. Spring and autumn, and day and night, there is no time they do not scent and bloom. How could they bloom and fade like mere trees and flowers? We appreciate and praise even the trees and flowers—then why not these “flowers”? This journey to the northern region--oh, so much fun! Thus I made this introduction.

Written with care by  
Countryside-aged-person  
Just-an old-man  
[Seal in circle] Life  
[Seal in square] A Single Pleasure  
(3-5)

花之美多即多矣 不若花街花之美且情 桃李雖然美不言不語  
牡丹海棠雖然艷不笑不歌 此花也不唯能言語笑歌 其色一過目  
即奪精蕩魂 其香一蝕鼻即飛心斷腸 加旃霜露不凋風雨不摧  
取之無禁用之不尽 春秋昼夜莫時不芳菲 奚為與艸木花同榮枯  
哉 艸木花猶且賞之況於此花乎 北州之遊嗚呼樂夫 因以序

田舍老人多田爺謹書  
[○印] 人生  
[□印] 一樂

Our discussion of this passage must begin with a consideration of the way it is “packaged,” how it meets the eye of the reader, and some of the semiotic forces that shape its impact and define its function. This will require us to spend a little time on the materiality, sequence, intertextuality and literary form of the preface, along with some remarking some peculiarities of the reading process that this format encourages. (For the photocopy of the text from the woodblock, please see Appendices.)

To do all these, we need to distinguish three distinct phases an Edo reader would bring to the process of apprehending a text written entirely in Chinese characters, as this preface is: 1) the “first impression”; 2) what I will call “pre-reading”; and 3) the line-by-

line reading. Of these three, the “pre-reading” is the stratum that is most distinctive to a text of this sort, and will require some explication. The “line-by-line” reading is the ordinary reading process, going through the text one line at a time in sequence. But “pre-reading” is a distinctive sort of preliminary “skimming” that gives a general impression of topic and tone, a non-linear overview rich in parataxis, which is perhaps especially important in understanding the reception of a text like this because of some peculiarities of the Chinese language and of the Japanese reader’s relationship to it.

## A. First Impression

When we turn the ash-beige front cover with the title, *Yûshi hôgen*, our eyes find the “Preface” which is three pages long and written all in Chinese, as we have already addressed in Chapter 3 when we discussed the format of the book and ideas of wrapping and *share* as “pretending.” We discerned that a book adorned with a preface in Chinese resembles at first glance a Chinese academic book, the only difference being its smaller size. In other words, not only the title presented in Chinese characters, but also the “Preface” contributes to the refined Chinese look of the book. That is, the “first impression” of the “Preface,” needless to say, is that it portends something lofty and profound.

We can presume that the inclusion of proper prefaces in their books is another way to exhibit their “samurai dandyism.” However, we should note that this impression of erudition is destined to be belied or “splashed” by the careful reading of the prefaces,

not to mention of the content of the main texts themselves. In the previous chapter, we learned how a title with a pedantic quote from the Chinese canon turns into a joke. More or less the same thing happens to the prefaces in the *sharebon* works.

## B. Pre-reading

First, let us review briefly the characteristics of the Chinese language in comparison with English. In English, the basic reading usually occurs successively from left to right and line-by-line. Reading Chinese is more or less the same way, though we read from top to bottom and usually from right to left. However, since classical Chinese depends almost exclusively on context for the disambiguation of meanings performed in other languages by grammatical transformations, a thick intertextuality is implicit in even the most simple declarative sentence, requiring the reader to note allusions to past texts, parallelisms, and even retrospective revisions of provisional semantic hypotheses before comprehending a given portion of text. This also means that the language is particularly susceptible to puns and innuendos, because one and the same phrase can have radically different meanings and connotations when placed in different contexts. By recontextualizing an innocuous phrase, unchanged, it can be opened to radically different interpretations and implications. Moreover, we should also consider the case of reading Chinese as Japanese. Many Edo literati were supposed to be able to read Chinese as Chinese, but because the syntaxes of the two languages are so radically different, the Japanese tradition had developed a special way to read Chinese with the help of parsing

marks, and without necessarily understanding its syntax and grammar. These marks indicate the altered syntactic order in which to read each character so that we can read the Chinese passage in Japanese syntactic order.

Using this method, the process of reading definitely does not occur linearly, as a one by one succession. The readers have to skip some words and come back to them again later many times. Luis Frois (1532-97), a Jesuit missionary to late medieval Japan recounts thus: “we read quite fast, they read slowly and sometimes skip some words.”<sup>4</sup> In this way, the chances that other words that are ahead in the passage come to the eyes become much greater. In other words, when they cast a brief look at the preface, there is a big chance that the readers will notice some words prior to reading the sentences precisely, especially the ones that are obviously an allusion to Chinese classical works. This form of quick “pre-reading” at the first glance at the “Preface” still gives an impression of a refined Chinese scholar referring to typical Chinese flowers and classical works only to fortify their samurai dandyism.

For instance, the words/characters which relatively easily jump out before our eyes are probably the term “flower” as well as the names of particular flowers, such as “peaches and Chinese plums” 桃李 and “tree peonies and crabapples” 牡丹海棠, and the quotations from Su Shi 蘇軾 [J. So Shoku] or Su Dongpo 蘇東坡 [J. So Tôba] (1036-1101), a Song poet, literatus and government official. (Please see Appendices.) Although there is of course some possibility that the words and phrases to be caught at this stage of reading would vary from reader to reader, I would like to suggest that, because of the preceding stage of the “first impression,” most readers will probably at least initially tend to “read” in such a way as to confirm and endorse their first impression, i.e., the

expectations activated at the stage of “pre-reading.” Let us examine these words and phrases within this stage of “pre-reading.”

### **1. Peaches, Plums, Peonies, Crabapples, and These Exotic and yet Authentic Flowers!**

When we take a quick glance over the text, the names of “flowers” catch our eyes. These are “peaches and Chinese plums” 桃李 and “tree peonies and crabapples” 牡丹海棠, each of which had been known as representative flora for China rather than Japan. (For these flowers, please see Appendices.) It is useful to get a sense of the rich associations to China an Edo reader would bring to the mere presence of the Chinese characters for, say, “peony” half-noted in his peripheral vision a few lines further into the text of the preface. Kaibara Ekiken, a renowned Edo herbalist, says in his *Yamato honzō* 大和本草 (*Materia medica Japonica*, 1709) that “in China, [the tree peonies are] called the king of flowers and considered to be rich and graceful.”<sup>5</sup> Hino Tatsuo describes the peonies as something that “accumulate munificent layers of the world of Chinese Refinement upon them, such as we find in Ouyang Xiu’s 欧陽修 [J. Ohyô Shû] (1007-1072) *Luoyang mudan ji* 洛陽牡丹記 [J. Rakuyô botan ki] (Record of the tree peonies in Luoyang, 1030).”<sup>6</sup> Ouyang Xiu was a literatus during the Song dynasty and left many poems as well as essays and historical books. In *Luoyang mudan ji*, he dwells on his appreciation of peonies and develops his unique aesthetics.<sup>7</sup> Bo Juyi 白居易 [J. Haku Kyo] (772-846), a Tang poet, portrays people’s joy at seeing the beauty of the peonies thus:

For twenty days from the opening of the flowers to their scattering,  
All the people in the city are as if crazed.

花開花落二十日  
一城之人皆若狂.

The peony flowers only last for twenty days and during that period, and the people in an entire town seem to be obsessed by the idea that the peony flowers are blooming.<sup>8</sup> I will discuss this poem and poet again in the stage of “line-by-line reading.”

Other flowers are also considered among Edo literati to represent the Chinese aesthetic sense of beauty. For example, Kaibara Ekiken introduces the flowers of the “crabapples” in his *Yamato honzō*, by noting that during the Tang dynasty, they were called “the divine immortals among the flowers” 花中ノ神仙, or “the great friend among the flowers” 花中ノ名友.<sup>9</sup> Terashima Ryōan also explains that the crabapples are considered to be the number one flower in China, in his encyclopedia, *Wakan sansai zue* 和漢三才図会 (Japanese and Chinese illustration of the three worlds, 1712), one of the most influential Edo encyclopedias.<sup>10</sup>

Terashima Ryōan also explains, in the same work, that “peach” trees had been considered to possess mythical power and embody the spirit of the Five Phases—the five elemental phases of yin-yang growth and decline that were thought to compose and regulate all natural processes—*Gogyō* 五行 [Ch. Wu Xing] in China. He also recounts that peach trees are mentioned as early as *Huainanzi* 淮南子 [J. Enanji] (2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE), and there is an entry for them in *Bencao Gangmu* 本草綱目 [J. Honzō Kōmoku] (1578).<sup>11</sup>

The *Shijing* 詩經 [J. Shikyō] (Book of Poetry), one of the Five Classics in China, also has an ode on “peaches”:

The peach tree is young and elegant;  
Brilliant are its flowers.  
This young lady is going to be wed

And will order well her chamber and home.

The peach tree is young and elegant;  
Abundant will be its fruits.  
This young lady is going to be wed,  
And will order well her home and chamber.

The peach tree is young and elegant;  
Luxuriant are its leaves.  
This young lady is going to be wed,  
And will order well her family.<sup>12</sup>

桃夭  
桃之夭夭、灼灼其華  
之子于歸、宜其室家

桃之夭夭、有蕡其實  
之子于歸、宜其家室

桃之夭夭、其葉蓁蓁  
之子于歸、宜其家人

The ode is celebrating a new bride by comparing her to the peaches. It gives us an impression that the ode is meant to rhapsodize the beauty of women and peach flowers. Again, I will discuss this ode in the next stage of reading which will recoup our reading here.

In *Shiji* 史記 [J. Shiki] (Records of History), written by Sima Qian 司馬遷 [J. Shibasen] (145-?BCE), the most prominent historian in ancient China and one of the most important sources of background knowledge for the samurai ruling class, we find the following passage: “The peaches and Chinese plums do not talk, however, footpaths naturally form underneath them” 桃李不言下自成蹊.<sup>13</sup> Here, the “peaches and plums” are compared to the merit of General Li 李廣 (?-119BCE) of the early Han dynasty. The passage asserts that as long as one possesses one’s own virtue, people will come to appreciate it, even when one does not broadcast it, just like the paths are naturally made

to the peach and plum trees when people seek for the beauty of their flowers and the taste of their fruits. The Chinese graph for the name of General “Li” 李 also signifies “plum” 李, indicating that the historian was not averse to the use of oral play.

Hence we can already sense an element of “refinement” provided by the depth of allusion and the weighty intellectual glamour associated with the application of a vocabulary used typically in Chinese classics that are an essential part of a samurai education, as we have shown in Chapter 4.

## 2. Passage from Su Shi’s “Ode to the Red Cliff”

We also notice that there are a few quotes from “Chibifu” 赤壁賦 [J.Sekiheki fu] (Ode to the Red Cliff) written by a Song poet, Su Shi [J. So Shoku], or Su Dongpo [J. So Tôba] toward the ending in the “Preface.” The Red Cliff is supposed to be the historical place where a war occurred among three ancient kingdoms as recorded in *Sangoku-shi*, 三国志 [Ch.Sanguo Zhi] (Records of Three Kingdoms) written by Chen Shou 陳壽 (233-297), and later became a tourist spot.<sup>14</sup>

The Preface quotes Su Shi’s ode verbatim once and verbatim a second time except for a single place name substitution. The first quotation is the line: “They can be picked without restraint, and enjoyed without being used up” 取之無禁用之不盡. In the original ode, Su Shi exclaims that the beautiful scenery and the sound of the river will not be exhausted no matter how much he and his companion enjoy seeing and hearing them. The *sharehon* preface, as we shall see, makes quite another use of this line, though without changing a single character. The other near-quote is almost at the end of the “Preface,” which goes: “This journey to the northern region--oh, what joy!” 北州之遊嗚呼

樂夫！ This sentence alludes to the ending of the second part of the “Ode to the Red Cliff.” In the ode, a wise man shows up in the poet’s dream and asks him, “Isn’t it a joy, having a journey to the Red Cliff?” 赤壁之遊樂乎夫？<sup>15</sup> In the “Preface” the name of the place “Red Cliff” 赤壁 is changed to the “northern region” 北州, which is a term in Buddhism and symbolizes one of “the four continents” 須弥四州 of Buddhist mythology, as we can see in *Shôbo genzô* 正法眼藏 by Dogen 道元 (1200-1253), where it is preached that the people living in “the north region” live for a thousand years.<sup>16</sup>

Ôta Nanpo, the renowned Edo literatus examined in the previous chapter, recounts in his essay *Nanpo Yûgen* 南畝雋言 (Nanpo’s poisonous words, 1817) that So Shoku’s “Ode to the Red Cliff” is well known among contemporaneous people.<sup>17</sup> We can also find the ode quoted as an inspiration for one of the Basho’s *haikai* verses.<sup>18</sup> Indeed, Su Shi’s poems were often used as a calligraphy text during the Edo era.<sup>19</sup> Here again, in a first and quick glance, the “Preface” gives us an impression of refined appearance with the reference to Chinese literature that will fortify the dandyism being an educated samurai ruling class, in a way that would have been immediately present to the eye of an Edo reader, even before he reached that point in the text, through the aforementioned process of “pre-reading.”

## C. Line-by-line-reading

### 1. First Sentence

Now let us take a closer look at the “Preface” line by line, and find out what it portrays and conveys to us. In the original text, there are no full stop marks applied, but Japanese readers can figure out where the sentences end due to the parsing marks added to read a Chinese sentence as a Japanese sentence. The numbers in the parentheses indicate the page numbers in the Benseisha edition, which is a photocopy of the original book bound during the Edo era. It starts thus:

The beauties of the flowers are admittedly manifold. (3)

花之美多即多矣

The preface starts with the appreciation of the beauty of the flowers 花之美, and now this makes us realize that the Chinese classical text quoted above regarding the flowers are not really about the beauty of the flowers.

In the *Shiji* passage just cited, what is signified is the wordless attraction of peaches and plums as fruits to be eaten, as a metaphor for the importance of the personal beauty and moral goodness of a military man and his wordless power to inspire appreciation and loyalty. This is quite different from the enhanced attractiveness imagined for flowers, appreciated for non-utilitarian reasons, where the focus is on the flowers themselves rather than the fruit—the solid, utilitarian achievement—to be gained from them.

The ode from the *Shijing* cited above celebrates a new bride by comparing her to the peaches, and gives us an impression that the ode is intended to rhapsodize the beauty of women and peach flowers. However, the ode’s meaning does not stop there. It rhapsodizes the whole life cycle of a peach tree, and by the comparison to a peach tree, it praises the virtue of women who are supposed to take care of family members and make

the family prosper. Needless to say, the stable family life is the basis of the feudal social system. That is, the peaches here are also used as a metaphor to describe the merit of a person within that system. In this way, the ideas shown in these texts well fit the education of *samurai* who are to take their place as officials in the feudal government.

As for Bo Juyi's verse above on the beauty of tree peonies, and this *is* actually rhapsodizing the beauty of the flowers. The title of the verse is "Mudan fang" 牡丹芳 [J. Botan Kanbashi (Botan hô)] (The fragrance of peonies), and starts this way:

The fragrance of peonies, the fragrance of peonies!  
The pistils and stamens unfold into a tuft of ruby.  
Thousands of red petals glitter like dawn. ...

牡丹芳 牡丹芳  
黃金蕊綻紅玉房  
千片赤英霞爛爛 ...

The collection of Bo Juyi's verses, *Haku-shi monjū* 白氏文集, was introduced to the people at Heian (平安 794-1191) court and became popular among them. Bo Juyi was one of the most familiar Tang poets most familiar to at the time, as we can see in *The Pillow Book* 枕草子 by Sei Shônagon 清少納言 (966?-1025?). However, unlike these two classics, Tang poems like this had much lower priority in the reading list for Edo education, especially for *samurai*.

#### a. Chinese Reception and Samurai Dandyism

We have already seen previously that the erudition in the Four Books and Five Classics 四書五經 [Ch. Sishu Wujing] was considered to be an essential quality for the samurai in Edo Japan. At the *han* schools 藩校 (official school for the children from samurai families) during the Edo era, the main textbooks were basically "the Four Books

and Five Classics” while other classical Chinese works, especially poetry, were seldom used. Research conducted by Ishikawa Matsutarô shows that in all the curriculum records from these schools, “the Four Books and Five Classics” appear almost 700 times while poetic works appear only 19 times.<sup>20</sup> Kawase Kazuma also explains that “the Ashikaga school,” which is commonly considered to be the oldest school in Japan (probably founded in the 8<sup>th</sup> century), even made it a rule that nothing but “the Four Books and Five Classics” along with a small selection of other books such as *Laozi*, *Zhuangzi*, *Lieze*, *Shiji* (Record of History), and *Wen Xuan* 文選 [J.Monzen] (Selected literature) in 1446.<sup>21</sup> The Chinese poetry, especially Tang poems was rather well received as a part of the Japanese courtly elegance and tradition from the Heian through the Muromachi era, the previous regime of Tokugawa shogunate.

In “pre-reading” what came to our eyes were Chinese allusions which seemed to underscore the samurai dandyism, however, in the “line-by-line reading,” the previous reading or impression is now distorted and the reading of the “Preface” now starts to reveal another dimension, that is, the world of Chinese poetry. As a matter of fact, we can find numerous Chinese classics that illustrate and appreciate the beauty of flowers. But to understand the heavily ironic use to which this familiar trope is put here, we must delve more deeply into the complex overdetermination of the “flower” trope in the Chinese poetic universe.

#### b. The Chinese Poems on Flowers

In the “pre-reading,” we briefly viewed a passage from an ode by the *Song* dynasty poet, Su Shi, which is quoted later in this “Preface.” He also wrote various

poems on peonies and crabapples, as well as on other flowers. One of these, titled “The Crabapples” goes as follows:

### The Crabapples

The East wind is calm and mild and the moonlight sheds.  
The fragrant mist is faint and soft and the moon stirs.  
I am just afraid when the night deepens,  
    the flowers will fall unto sleep.  
Let me burn the torch more brightly  
    and illuminate the crimson crabapples.<sup>22</sup>

海棠 蘇軾  
東風嫋嫋泛崇光，  
香霧霏霏月轉廊  
只恐夜深花睡去  
更燒高燭照紅妝

In this poem, the appearance of the flowers, that is adorable and dainty enhanced by seeing them as if they were dozing off. Su Shi has many poems of the same imagery. We see here a tendency to personify the flowers, a kind of East Asian “pathetic fallacy” based on a notion of a monistic panpsychism, where everything can serve as a symbol of everything else, and each is a microcosm of the macrocosm. In this poem, the direction of the metaphor flows from flowers to human beings: flowers are like people.

Su Shi also wrote many poems about peonies. Let us quickly consider the first poem of “Yu zhong kan mudan san shou” 雨中看牡丹三首 [J. Uchû botan o miru san shu] (Three Poems for Watching peonies in the rain). It goes:

The misty rain leaves no visible drop.  
    Reflecting the sky, it is uncertain whether or not it is  
        there.  
Now and then it shows itself on the flowers,  
    The spots on the petals run like bright pearls.  
The exquisite colors are as if washed by rouge and powder.  
    A hidden fragrance emerges from their snowy skin.

At dawn they rustle like flutes and harps.  
One wants to help support their heavy drooping  
heads.<sup>23</sup>

雨中看牡丹 蘇軾

霧雨不成點，映空疑有無。  
時於花上見，的皚走明珠。  
秀色洗紅粉，暗香生雪膚。  
黃昏更蕭瑟，頭重欲相扶。

Su Shi again voluptuously personifies his flowers here, depicting them as frail, beautiful, wafting mysterious fragrances and hues, tactile, musical—all of which are standard tropes for beautiful women and courtesans.

Li Bo 李白 [J. Rihaku] (701-762), who is commonly considered one of two greatest poets of China, along with Du Fu 杜甫 [J. To Ho] (712-770), has a verse titled, “Chun ye yan tao li yuan xu” 春夜宴桃李園序 [J. Shun-ya tôri-en ni en-suru no jo] (the preface to the feast at the Peach and Plum Garden on a spring evening). The verse rhapsodizes the transience of life, capped with a carpe diem attitude toward making poems and drinking at a garden amidst the blooming of the peach flowers:

Heaven and earth are like  
a lodging house for the ten thousand things.  
Lights and shadows (day and night) are like  
the guests of a hundred generations (/eternity).  
And this floating life is like a dream.  
What small fragment of it is spent in joy?

...  
Now let us meet at the fragrant garden of peach and plum,  
and talk about the joyous things of the world.<sup>24</sup>  
(Emphasis Added)

春夜宴桃李園序 李白  
夫天地者 萬物之逆旅  
光陰者 百代之過客  
而浮生若夢 爲歡幾何  
• • •

會桃李之芳園 序天倫之樂事

Though Li Bo does not present the beauty of the peach and plum flowers directly here, the place where these flowers bloom is portrayed as an inspiring and mirthful place for the literati to get together.

c. The Demimonde, and Chinese Poems of Flowers and Willows

Another Tang poet, Wang Wei 王維 [J. Ôi] (699-759), whose works are also often alluded to in Japanese literature along with Li Bo, Du Fu and Bai Juyi, depicts the beauty of flowers in his numerous poems and paintings. In “Tian yuan le” 田園樂 [J. Den’en gaku] (Rural Fun), he portrays the beauty of peach flowers amidst spring scenery:

The peaches are crimson, also full of last night’s rain.  
The willows are green, wearing also the spring mist.  
The flowers fall and the servant has not swept yet.  
A bush warbler sings while the mountain sojourner still  
sleeps.<sup>25</sup>  
(Emphasis Added)

田園樂 王維

桃紅復含宿雨  
柳綠更帶春煙  
花落家僮未掃  
鶯啼山客猶眠

Here, the beautiful color of peach crimson is illustrated at the beginning, followed by the color green of the willows in contrast, in the next line, evoking the picturesque image of a spring landscape within which a guest is still asleep. The contrasts seen in the third and fourth lines between waking and sleeping, sound and silence, give the poem color and depth. But what should be noted here is the pairing of crimson and green of flowers and willows, which come to be emblematic of a form of natural beauty and pleasure with

implications stretching into both the pleasures of the demimonde and Buddhist ideas of ultimate bliss. Indeed, “flowers and willows” will later become a standard term for the demimonde itself. These tropes built around the beauty of peonies and peaches, as we shall see, serve as a linking term between the profane world of sensual pleasure and the transcendent ideals of enlightenment as bliss.

Wang also has various poems on peonies that employ this trope, such as “Kōbotan” 紅牡丹 [Ch. Hoan mutan] (Crimson peony):

Crimson Peony Wang Wei

The sensuous luster of its green is stealthy and quiet,  
The crimson coats are light but also deep [colored].  
The heart of flowers is sorrowful and desires to cease,  
Do the spring colors know their heart?

紅牡丹 王維  
綠艷間且靜  
紅衣淺復深  
花心愁欲斷  
春色豈知心

The portrait of the crimson peony flowers expresses the sentiment toward spring, which is beautiful and yet transient. Here again, the green leaves are present and make a color contrast of crimson and green. The green is a “sensuous luster,” a word that literally denotes the sexual attractiveness of women. The crimson is a “coat,” literally clothing, again suggesting a direct personification. And the terms “flower mind” and “spring color” in the final two lines are in fact both puns, being standard euphemisms for “sexual desire.” This poem may well be initially understood as simply a anthropomorphizing description of a spring landscape, or as an indirect metaphor for general feelings of

arousal and frustration, but these phrases, recontextualized, can serve equally well as markers of specifically sexual themes and feelings.

This way, the colors of these spring flowers and the leaves and willows are often representations of the spring landscape in Chinese classical poems, and typically evoke metaphorical overtones of a personifying relation to women and their sexual allure.

Jia Zhi 賈至 [J. Ka Shi] (718-772), another Tang poet, has a poem titled “Chunsi” 春思 [J. Shun shi] (Spring thoughts), on the beauty of peach and plum flowers, delineating the sentiment toward spring. He also contrasts the colors of pink flowers, grass-blue and willow-yellow in the poem:

### “Spring Longings”

The colors of the grasses are so blue,  
and the colors of the willows yellow.  
The peach flowers are wild with bloom,  
and the plum flowers are fragrant.  
The east wind does not endeavor to blow away my sorrow,  
though.  
A spring day rather provokes my enduring regret.<sup>26</sup>  
(Emphasis Added)

春思 賈至  
草色青青柳色黃  
桃花歷亂李花香  
東風不為吹愁去  
春日偏能惹怨長

Though the subject matter of the poem is the feeling of sorrow, the contrast with the exquisite colors of “peaches and plums” accentuates the sorrow at the transience of the flower’s beauty and frustration of unfulfilled desire. In all these poems we see a convergence of sexual innuendo, natural imagery and feelings of simultaneous attraction

and resentment at the transience and unobtainability of the pleasures promised by the glories of flowers, of women.

#### d. The Flower Street

Before proceeding to analysis of the second line of the Preface, we should also quickly note the usage of the contrasted colors in these Chinese poems. We have seen the colors of “the pink flowers and green willow” often contrasted to illustrate the radiant spring landscapes. This expression actually worked in other ways in the Chinese literary tradition. One aspect of this is seen in a Chan (Zen) verse by Su Shi. In *Tonbo Chan xi ji* 東坡禪喜集 [J. Tōba zenki-shū], he writes, “the willows are green and flowers are crimson—that is the original face” 柳綠花紅真面目.<sup>27</sup> Here the phrase encapsulates the Zen view that everything has its own principles and is right just as it is, hence the flowers are pink and the willows are green. Like these flowers and willows, as long as we stay true to our original uncontrived selves, we are in the state of nirvana, a transcendent state of bliss. This “willow-green, flower-crimson” trope is used in a similar way in *Wudenghuiyuan* 五燈會元 [J. Gotōegen], (1252), a history book on Chan compiled during the Song dynasty.<sup>28</sup>

Another implication embedded in these tropes is seen in their enfolding of the phrase, “flower-street and willow-lane,” which indicates or is a metaphor for the demimonde in China. Its seemingly paradoxical religious overtones, as connotating a kind of transcendence, can also be detected, for example, in the coy use of the phrase in the works of the renowned Daoist, Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓 [J. Ryo Dōhin] (late 8<sup>th</sup> - the 9<sup>th</sup> CE.). In the section on “Miscellaneous songs: Spring in a secret garden” 敲爻歌 沁園春註

解 (vol.31) in *Lü-zu Quan-shu* 呂祖全書 [J. Ryoso zensho] (Collective works of Master Lu), he writes thus:

The man of Daoist power is a wastral of a fellow. Liquor is his best friend, and flowers/courtesans his companions. If you want to find the True Man, search for him in “the flower-street and willow-lane.” For the True Man is simply at play there in “the street of flowers.”<sup>29</sup>

道力人 真散漢 酒是良朋花是伴  
花街柳巷覓真人 真人只是花街翫

In this passage, the expression, “the flower-street and willow-lanes” obviously indicates the demimonde, or, at least, the districts with the drinking bars and bar girls.

This poem is generally taken as a metaphorical expression of the Daoist “internal alchemy” meditation, where the liquor and the courtesans (the compassion flowers) represent elements that must be joined within the cultivation of the Daoist spiritual path. Thus, instead of flowers simply being likened to women, we have a complex layering where “flower / women” are used as an expression of various spiritual practices and states. This Taoist usage bridges the connotations of sex, natural beauty and spiritual attainment, converging into a single image. Which is literal and which metaphorical, which the metaphier and which the metaphrand, becomes increasingly difficult to discern as the layering of these tropes ramifies through repeated allusion and intertextuality in the course of the Chinese literary tradition.

The abbreviated version of the phrase, “*huajie*” 花街 [J. kagai] (the flower-street), “*liuxiang*” 柳巷 [J. ryûkô] (the willow-lanes), and “*hualiu (xiang)*” 花柳(巷) [J. karyû (no chimata)] (flower and willow (lanes)) can be observed in some Chinese writings and novels such as *Hong Lou Meng* 紅樓夢 [J. Kôrômu] (Dream of the Red Chamber), in order to indicate the demimondes. During the Qing dynasty, *Suzhou huafanglu* 蘇州画舫

錄 [J. Soshū gahō-roku] (Record of the roofed boats in Suzho, (originally titled as *Wumen huafanglu* 吳門画舫錄 [J. Gomon gahou-roku]), a collection of the little notes on the renowned courtesans in Suzhou, was published. In it, we see the expression of “flower and willow lanes” is used several times to describe the demimonde.<sup>30</sup>

These expressions for the demimonde, needless to say, were imported into Edo writings, especially to the *sharebon* works. We see several *sharebon* titles with these words, and many of them are pronounced as *sato* 里 originally meaning “village/where people mingle” or *kuruwa* 廓 / 曲輪 (enclosure / demimonde) indicated.

Among the early works, we see, for example, *Tōsei kuruwa dangi* 当世花街談義 (Talks on the modern demimonde) from the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>31</sup> For the word read *kuruwa* (demimonde), the Chinese characters for flower-street 花街 are used in the title. There is also a work titled *Heian karyū roku* 平安花柳錄 (Record of the Heian [Kyoto] demimonde) from the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>32</sup> We see *Shimabara yasamogatari* 原柳巷花語 (A vulgar story of the demimonde in Shimabara [in Kyoto]), published around the same time.<sup>33</sup> In its Chinese preface, the *furig(/k)ana* suggests another pronunciation from its text, which is “*Gen ryū kō ka go*” in *on-yomi* (Chinese way of pronunciation). By the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, we see *Sato-namari* 柳巷訛言 (Yoshiwara demimonde accents), and the words “willow-lane” used to indicate the Yoshiwara demimonde.<sup>34</sup> Around the same time, there is also the work titled *Rōka kagai ima ima hakke* 浪花花街今今八卦 (Naniwa [/Osaka] demimonde modern-modern fortunetelling).<sup>35</sup> In the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, we see such titles as *Sato-kagami* 花街鑑 (An exemplary model in demimonde), *Sato-suzume* 花街寿々女 (Demimonde sparrow [meaning “savvy”]) as a sequel to the former, and *Sato-furige* 花街風流解

(Comments on stylishness in the demimonde), all referring to the demimondes in terms of flowers.<sup>36</sup>

Above we have shown that the first sentence and a few words from the “Preface,” that is, “the beauty of the flowers,” and the specific names for them that occur later, but would overdetermine this first line for a Japanese “pre-reader”— such as the peony, plum, crabapple and peach—arise in numerous poems from the Chinese tradition and bring with them thick layers of associations with Chinese cultural tropes representing an ideal of refinement intermixed with sexual innuendo, especially in poetry. Later I will discuss in detail what the allusions to the Chinese poems suggest about the uses of Chinese refinement seen in this *sharebon*, but here let us retain the thought that what we have seen are mostly poems, not official Confucian writings.

## 2. Second Sentence

Now let us proceed to the second line. After the first sentence on the beauty of the flowers, the Preface continues:

But they are no match for the beauty and passion of the flowers of “flower-street.” (3)

不若花街花之美且情。

Now we know that the “flower-street” here means “demimonde.” Then this makes us wonder what “the beauty of the flowers” of the “flower-street” 花街花之美 really signifies.

### a. Courtly Romance in Ancient China

With some familiarity with Chinese connotations, we can immediately tell that “the beauty of the flowers” here signifies “the beauties of women,” as association whose

locus clasicus is the legendary love story of the beautiful consort, Yang Guifei 楊貴妃 [J. Yôki-hi] (719-56) and the Emperor Xuan zong 玄宗皇帝 [J. Gensô kôtei] (685-762; r.712-756) of the Tang dynasty. Poems evoking Yang Guifei's beauty in the language of flowers are quite numerous.

Perhaps the most renowned Chinese poem on the peony is Li Bo's “Qingping diaoci” 清平調詞 [J. Sei hei chô shi] written when the Emperor Xuan zong was having a peony-viewing banquet with Yang Guifei at Gong kei gu 興慶宮 [J. Kôkeikyû] palace in Chang'an 長安 [J. Chô'an] capital (present-day Xi'an [J. Shîan] 西安). In this poem, Li Bo compares the lady's breathtaking beauty to a peony flower, “a branch of sensuously radiant crimson filled with a dewy-moist fragrance” 一枝紅艷露凝香, and concludes that such “a fine flower and a peerless beauty are both pleasing” 名花傾國兩相歡 to the Emperor.<sup>37</sup> I would like to briefly note the word that I have rendered as “a peerless beauty” 傾國 in this line, which originally means, “toppling a country,” as a term for a kind of femme fatale, by way of observing once more the connection made between flowers and the consort Yang Guifei.

Equally striking is an entry in the *Kaiyuan tianbao yishi* 開元天寶遺事 [J. Kaigen tenpô iji], a collection of Tang dynasty historical anecdotes, citing the Emperor Xuan zong's comment on the beauty of Yang Guifei as that of “a flower that understands language” (*jieyuhua*) 解語花 [J. kaigo no hana] and no other flowers can beat its beauty.<sup>38</sup> Going back to the “Preface” of *Yûshi hôgen*, “the flowers” can indicate “the beautiful women,” and in this sense, “the flowers” of the “flower-street,” i.e., the demimonde, in the “Preface” indicates “the courtesans” in the demimonde. Thus the “Preface” here starts advocating that how admirable the courtesans are by using the flower image. Note

however that while the Chinese examples tended to personify the flowers, likening them to women, the “Preface” reverses the direction of the metaphor: the women are instead likened to flowers.

Moreover, after this sentence, the meaning derived from our “pre-reading” is itself turned over. What turns out to be the subject matter here when we finally get to reading the sentence itself –i.e., the beauty of the courtesans – distorts or splashes out our “pre-reading,” and the gap generates the comicality. In a sense, the refinement alluding to the Chinese aesthetics turns out to be “vulgarized.” Now I would like to analyze this system that “vulgarizes” the “refinement”—in this context, “samurai dandyism”—through reading the rest of the “Preface.”

### **3. Third and Fourth Sentences**

Now let us proceed to the next line of the “Preface.” In the following passages, we see the specific names of the flowers such as peach, plum, peonies and crabapples, that are, as we have already seen, the representative markers for a certain complex of images and sentiments in Chinese aesthetics. We also see the obvious allusion to the episodes of Yang Guifei we just discussed. It goes:

Although the peaches and plums are beautiful, they never speak or chat. Although the tree peonies and crabapples are charming, they never laugh or sing. (3)

桃李雖然美不言不語。牡丹海棠雖然艷不笑不歌。

Although these flowers are marvelously beautiful, they do not speak, laugh or sing. Thus, with these first two sentences, the “Preface” has already attained the genuine mood of the world of Chinese literature from the names of the flowers and the allusions to the Emperor and his consort of the Tang dynasty. This “world” of Chinese literature is

mainly characterized by poetry and personal episodes from the romance of the Emperors. Simply stated, we do not see any trace of the Confucian classics that the samurai were required to master. So far, none of the classics called to mind by the passages from the “Preface” are among those of which the samurai were expected to have thorough knowledge.

#### a. *Shidaifu* in China and *Samurai* in Japan

In the previous chapters, we saw the importance of erudition in the Chinese cultural tradition among members of the Japanese ruling class, i.e., *samurai*. This desire toward mastery of the Chinese classical texts is based on the aspiration to be like the “*Shidaifu*” 士大夫 [J.shitaifu] (scholar-officials) in China, as Saitô Mareshi points out.<sup>39</sup> The term “*Shidaifu*” denotes those members of the intellectual class who also served as government officials, from the 6<sup>th</sup> century to 1912. (The Anglo-American term “mandrins” has been used to represent this kind of intellectual—or scholar-official.) The notion of “managing the world and bringing welfare to the people” 經世濟民, founded on the Confucian idea, was the central tenet of their ideology, especially their public life as the ruling class, and they took this tenet as their mission.

As we saw in the first chapter, the samurais or warriors that were established as a ruling military class struggled to maintain their identity in many ways, i.e., socially, financially, culturally and psychologically. During the long period of peace that constituted the bulk of the Edo era, the *samurai*, as members of a “military” ruling clique of the government, tussled to acquire their own *raison d'être*. The martial arts were transformed into a technique to train their mental and spiritual, rather than their physical

powers, and no longer had any direct relationship to military effectiveness, as we can see in the development of *kendō*, or “the way of swordmanship.” Moreover, the government policy of strengthening Confucianism, especially from the Kansei Reformation, favored the mastery of scholarship as the essential factor in establishing one’s status and authority. Because of this, it became crucial for them to train to attain what they understood to be the state of mind of a ruler, by seeking an understanding of *shidaifu* in China and modeling themselves on them. When the Edo samurai try to master the Chinese classical texts, then, what they are endeavoring to learn is not just the language, but also the mentality of the scholar-officials behind the language. This complex forms the distinctive aesthetics among the samurai that we propose to call “samurai dandyism.” In other words, samurai dandyism was the aesthetic goal sought by the samurai in their quest for a social and psychological identity.

#### b. Courtly Elegance and Samurai Dandyism

However, it was not that the Tokugawa era was monopolized exclusively by the notion of this dandyism, especially aesthetically and culturally. We should note in this connection the popularity of a card game based on Heian (794-1192) court poetry in Edo households. This card game is based on knowledge of a collection of *waka*-poetry, called the *Hyakunin isshu* 百人一首 (One hundred poem by one hundred poets) selected by the famous medieval poet courtier Fujiwara no Teika 藤原定家 (1162-1241).<sup>40</sup> It is commonly said that Teika selected these hundred poems originally for the decoration of screen doors 襖 (*fusuma*) at a mountain villa in Ogura owned by one of the Heian aristocrats, and later compiled them into the work called *Ogura Hyakunin isshu* 小倉百人一首. The set of these hundred poems was used to make a card game (*uta k(/g)aruta* 歌かるた) that is still played

in modern Japan as a popular family recreation, especially during the New Year celebration.<sup>41</sup>

During the early Edo era, the “*Hyakunin isshu*” card game became extremely popular, as we can observe from several scenes depicting the playing of the game described in the works of Chikamatsu Monzaemon, for example *Kaoyo uta-karuta* 哀歌加留多 (Radiant *uta-karuta*), as we have already seen in the previous chapter.<sup>42</sup> By the end of the Edo era, a set of the *Hyakunin isshu* card game was considered an essential item for new brides to bring as a dowry, regardless of social status, as Miki Sasuke, a publisher from the late Edo era, recalls.<sup>43</sup> As mentioned in the previous chapter, Donald Keene states that the 100 poems of this collection have “constituted the basic knowledge of Japanese poetry for most people from the early Tokugawa period until very recent times.”<sup>44</sup>

In his essay, “Kuge-teki na mono to buke-teki na mono” 公家的なものと武家的なもの (Court-noble tradition and samurai-noble tradition), Hanada Kiyoteru suggests that the popularity of the “*Hyakunin isshu*” card game is so universal that it can even serve as the “symbol of the unity of Japanese citizen” 国民統合の象徴, and proposes that the unity derives from “the tradition of courtly refinement” 公家的なものの伝統, which has continued to be appreciated by the general public, especially among women.<sup>45</sup> Moreover, Hanada claims that this tradition of the “courtly matter” 公家ぶり (*kuge-buri*) is the precisely the reason for the Pax Tokugawana. For “the samurai-noble tradition” 武家的なもの (*buke-teki na mono*), that is, the shogunal government founded on the military power, or what Hanada also calls a “violent hegemonic power,” another source of authority from the anti-violent realm is needed for the maintenance of equilibrium, and the concealment

of the violent nature of the regime's source of power. "The court-noble tradition" had functioned to provide this authority. Hanada suggests "the long peacetime was generated by the suppression of the power established by violence and the display of [another] authority engendered in anti-violence."<sup>46</sup>

Now let us examine more searchingly the court-noble tradition represented by the *One Hundered Poems* card game. I myself would like to summarize its subject matter as an apprehension of the impermanence of beauty and romance. The literary scholar Maruya Saiichi defines the collection of the hundred poems used for the game, as "a textbook for the composition of love verses by the emperors"<sup>47</sup> In other words, Maruya claims that the main function of the collection was to display the love verses composed by the emperors, and by doing so to encourage the entire nation to do the same, i.e., to be involved in romances and cultivate the sentiments proper to composing poetry on that topic. On this basis, Maruya advances his theory on the essence of Japanese literature, according to which, the core of the Japanese literature is *waka*-poetry, especially the love poems composed by the emperors and their courtiers.

This opinion recalls Yoshida Kenkô (1283?-1350?), a medieval poet and Buddhist monk who states in his early 14<sup>th</sup> century book, *Tsurezuregusa* (*Essays in Idleness*):

A man may excel at everything else, but if he has no taste  
for lovemaking, one feels something terribly inadequate  
about him, as if he were a valuable wine cup without a  
bottom.<sup>48</sup>

Yoshida Kenkô,  
*Essays in Idleness*, dai-3 dan,

よろづにいみじくとも、色このまざらむをのこは、いとさうざ  
うしく、玉のさかづきのそこなきこちぞすべき。

吉田兼好『徒然草』第三段

Kenkō clearly proclaims here that any man without a feeling for romance is just like the drinking cup without a bottom, in other words, useless. We see a similar sentiment in a poem composed by Fujiwara no Toshinari 藤原俊成 (or Shunzei, 1114-1204), which goes so far as to ascribe the central aesthetic of *aware* to an understanding of love:

Koisezuba hito wa kokoro mo nakaramashi mono no aware mo kore yori zo shiru	Without falling in love, a person would have no heart for it is through this also one comes to know the moving power of things. <sup>49</sup>
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Fujiwara no Toshinari, *Chōshū eisō*, 352,

恋せば人は心もなからましもののあはれもこれよりぞ知る  
藤原俊成『長秋詠藻』 352番

This *waka*-verse by Shunzei rhapsodizes the feeling of love as the seed of the sense of the beauty of things. The name for love in the medieval and Edo narrative literature is *iro-gonomi* 色好み.<sup>50</sup> *Iro-gonomi* literally translated as “fond of sexual love,” or “amorous,” comes to have a connotation of having an insightful and empathetic sensitivity to human experience, and its contexts, in other words, to the depth and yet fragility of desire and its objects. This is precisely what Shunzei’s poem expresses as a poetic embodiment of the norm of the courtly elegance or refinement.

All this is not to say that erudition in Chinese classical texts was not important and essential for the court people as well, including the women writers who produced what is now the classical canon of traditional literature. *The Pillow Book* by Sei Shônagon 清少納言 (966?-1025?) includes several anecdotes showing off the author’s prowess in recognizing and employing passage from the Chinese, such as the well-known episode of the “snow at the Kôro-hô-peak” 香炉峰の雪 [Ch.Xianglu feng xue].<sup>51</sup> We also previously saw a few examples of Japanese *waka* poems that allude to the

Chinese texts. The most famous classical masterpiece of Japan, *The Tale of Genji* was inspired and based on Bo Juyi's "Chang hen ge" 長恨歌 [J. Chô gon ka] (Ballad of eternal sorrow), which recounts the tragic love of the Tang emperor for Yang Guifei, as mentioned earlier. We might also note the format of another key courtly text, *Wakan rôei shû* 和漢朗詠集 (Collection of Japanese and Chinese Verses for Reciting), compiled around 1018, that includes the Japanese *waka* poems alternating with Chinese verse.<sup>52</sup> Thus it can be concluded that the courtly aristocracy did not eschew the Chinese classical texts as such (we can also find allusions to the *Record of History* in *The Pillow Book* and *The Tale of Genji*) but rather that it showed an apparently higher appreciation for poetry than for the official Confucian and historical works.

To further clarify the influence of non-official Chinese literature on Heian courtly culture, it is useful to weigh the conclusions of Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730-1801), a national learning (*kokugaku*) scholar who pursues the idea of *iro-gonomi* or the amorous and develops it into the theory that *mono no aware*, the pathos or moving power of things that constitute their beauty, defines the core principle of the Japanese psyche and Japanese literature. He also tries to argue that this notion is a manifestation of *Yamato-gokoro* 大和心, the Japanese heart-mind, a concept with strong nationalistic overtones, alleged to be a very unique Japanese sensitivity, and criticizes the virtue of virility sought by the samurai as *Kara-gokoro* 漢意 (Chinese mentality), or something not Japanese.<sup>53</sup>

However, as the eminent Sinologist Yoshikawa Kôjiro claims in his essay, "Bunjaku no kachi 文弱の価値 (The value of bookishly weak)," Motoori's use of the phrase, "the sentiment toward things" 物に感ず (*mono ni kanzu*) or 物の哀を知る (*mono no aware wo shiru*), actually derives from a phrase in the Chinese classics, "the sentiment

toward things 感於物 (*gan yu wu*), found in the *Book of Rites* 禮記 [Ch.Liji, J. Raiki],

which was also used by Motoori in another context.<sup>54</sup>

In *Ashiwake obune*, Motoori praises a range of personality, characteristics as indicative of true ability to know the pathos or moving power of things. These include sentimentality, timidity or weakness, a cowardly unmanliness, indecision, and even slovenliness. In contrast, he deprecates such qualities as manliness, decisiveness, orderliness, heroic coolness and courage—in other words, the aspect of samurai dandyism—as a false path generated from a Chinese way of thinking. Here Yoshikawa again attempts to undercut Motoori’s advocates as Japanese are not unique to Japanese culture and literature. When one replaces the phonetic *kana* words with their close approximations in common Chinese-graph phrases, the opposition disappears. Examples are Japanese *memeshisa* 女々しさ (sentimentality; lit. effeminacy) which is analogous to Chinese *wenruo* 文弱 [J. bunjaku], and *miren* 未練 (indecisive) which is close to Chinese *youroubuduan* 優柔不斷 [sic.] [J. yûjûfudan].<sup>55</sup> Moreover, Yoshikawa proposes that these notions of Japanese mentality not only exist in China, they constitute a key lineage of the tradition of Chinese literature and aesthetics, as represented by the famous poets Li Bo, Du Fu, Bo Juyi, Su Shi and some other scholars. Interestingly, Yoshikawa notes that none of these figures are depicted as wearing their swords in their portraits.

Then Yoshikawa, after declaring that he himself adores the “sentimental” side of Chinese civilization, concludes that as a matter of fact Motoori can be viewed as a person with Chinese character who is rarely seen in Japan.<sup>56</sup> In other words, what Motoori advocates as the unique traits of Japanese interiority, also originally comes from the Chinese tradition, i.e., from a strand of the Chinese tradition sharply differing from that

after which the samurai sought to model themselves. Thus the sentiment and aesthetics that are left out of “samurai dandyism” also have their foundation in the Chinese classical texts, but in a different, alternative strand of that tradition.

### c. *Shidaifu* and *Wenren* Tradition

This means that there exist “two poles” in the realm of the reception of the Chinese classical texts, as Saitô Mareshi suggests. The lineage of “sentimentality” that influenced “courtly elegance” in Japan corresponds to the tradition of *wenren* 文人 [J.bunjin] (literati)” in China.<sup>57</sup> Saitô explains that the *wenren* or Chinese literati were the people who turned their back on the political world and devoted themselves to cultural practices, with special emphasis on the appreciation of poetry. Saitô Shigeru (no relation) explains that the *wenren* is also a term indicating the private side of the life of the *shidaifu* scholar officials, who typically devote themselves to managing the world and bringing welfare to the people 經世濟民, a public mission rooted in Confucian ideals, as I mentioned above.<sup>58</sup> In other words, the private life of *shidaifu* can be seen as a source of what Motoori called “sentimentality,” and their sentiments strongly influenced the tradition of courtly elegance in Japan. In turn it also influenced the culture of the courtesans in the demimondes of China and Japan.

Our characterization of Edo aesthetics as “vulgarity within refinement and refinement within vulgarity” saw that “samurai dandyism” functions as the main factor of Edo ideas of refinement, with the “vulgarity” that co-exists with the “refinement” as perhaps the most intriguing feature of Edo aesthetics. Now here it turns out that the “vulgarity” which seemed to be positioned as the opposite of “samurai refinement” does not necessarily bear the cultural markers of “vulgarity” as commonly conceived. If we

try to specify exactly what the “vulgarity” opposed to “samurai refinement” actually was, we find that it turns out to be another form of “refinement,” i.e., “courtly elegance and love,” rooted in the same source, i.e., the Chinese classical texts. I will discuss this point in more detail below. Now, however, our purpose is, having gained some cognizance of the nature of the Chinese classical texts and their reception in Japan, to proceed with the reading of the “Preface.”

#### **4. Fifth, Sixth, Seventh and Eighth Sentences**

The “Preface” continues to appraise the beauty of these flowers, i.e., the courtesans:

But these “flowers” can only can speak, chat, laugh and sing. A single glimpse of their form steals your spirit away and shakes your soul. A single whiff of their fragrance sends your heart flying and tears apart your intestines. Frost and dew do not wither them; wind and rain do not crush them. (3-4)

此花也不唯能言語笑歌。其色一過目即奪精蕩魂。其香一蝕鼻即飛心斷腸。加旃霜露不凋風雨不摧。

As the flowers attract people with their exquisite appearance and colors, and with their pleasant fragrances, the courtesans also, the “Preface” says, allure, to the extent that a person who has a chance to see them would be completely overwhelmed and staggered. We saw previously that the beauty of Yang Guifei is portrayed as so powerful that it infatuated rulers forgot all before it, to the point of imperiling the nation. Beauty puts the entire country in turmoil. Here the effect of the charm of the courtesans is described as something that, metaphorically, almost amounts to a health hazard, certainly the loss of

self-posession.

### **5. Ninth Sentence**

Then the “Preface” continues:

Frost and dew do not wither them; wind and rain do not  
crush them. (4)

加旃霜露不凋風雨不摧。

Unlike the real flowers, the courtesans are not destroyed easily by the rain and wind. The harsh weather does not affect their beauty. What this could be signifying is displayed in the following line.

### **6. Tenth Sentence**

They can be picked without restraint, and enjoyed without  
being used up. (4)

取之無禁用之不尽。

As we saw earlier, this is quoted from a passage in Su Shi’s “Ode to Red Cliff.” In order to obtain a better grasp of its meaning here, let us read the related passage from Su Shi’s ode. As we saw previously at the stage of “pre-reading,” Nanpo’s essay suggests that Su Shi was widely read and revered among the Edo literati.

#### a. Su Shi’s “Ode to the Red Cliff”

The ode depicts a summer night when Su Shi and his friend enjoyed a boat trip to the cliff. The friend ponders upon the heroes who once waged a historical battle, there as

recorded in *Sanguo Zhi* 三國志 [J. Sangokushi] (Record of Three Kingdoms), and laments the transience of human life. He envies the eternity of the water and moon, and Su Shi replies to him in the ode:

“My guest, you understand too  
what the water and moon indicate.  
The transience of things is like this [water],  
which however does not go away.  
That things wax and wane is like that [moon],  
which however never really shrinks or grows. . . .

客亦知夫水與月乎。  
逝者如斯、而未嘗往也。  
盈虛者如彼、而卒莫消長也。

As a reply to his friend, Su Shi starts talking about his view of life and time and the transience of things in the world. First he suggests two aspects of the observable water and moon. He claims that both of them come and go,<sup>59</sup> and yet they also forever remain, a line that is generally considered one of the clearest expressions of Su Shi's aesthetic and philosophical principles, as we shall see. After these lines Su Shi explicates his perspective on the water and moon further:

Su Shi continues:

When we see these from the point of view of their changes,  
then, heaven and earth cannot be what they are even for one  
moment.  
When we see these from the point of view of their  
changelessness,  
Then all things, and I myself, are never destroyed.  
Then why should we be jealous?

蓋將自其變者而觀之、則天地曾不能以一瞬、  
自其不變者而觀之、則物與我皆無盡也。  
而又何羨乎。

Here Su Shi suggests that by switching one's point of view, all things in the universe can be viewed legitimately in opposite ways. Thus human life that seems so puny and transient can also be seen as indestructible. This way of perceiving the universe can be seen in *Zhuangzi* 莊子 [J. Sôji] from fourth century BCE, the distinctive phraseology of which is pointedly echoed in Su Shi's verse.

First, we must note a deliberate resonance with the following passage in the section called “Dechongfu” 德充符 [J. Tokujûfu] (Makers of Full Virtuosity) in the *Zhuangzi*.

“Looked at from the point of view of their differences, even your own liver and gallbladder are as distant as Chu in the south and Yue in the north. But looked at from the point of view of their sameness, all things are one. If they take the latter view, you become free of all preconceptions about which particular objects might suit the eyes and ears. ...<sup>60</sup>

Here Zhuangzi advocates both the dependence on perspective of all attributes of things, and the freedom to switch between perspectives at will, as well as a transcendent point of view always available among these many perspectives. We should also take a look at the following in the section of “Qiwulun 齋物論 [J. Seibutsu-ron] (Equalizing Assessment of Things)”:

Nothing in the world is larger than the tip of a hair in autumn, and Mt. Tai is small. No one lives longer than a dead child, and old Pengzu died an early death. Heaven and earth are born together with me, and the ten thousand things and I are one.<sup>61</sup>

Here, when we read in Chinese, we can see the reflection of the Zhuangzian term “together with me,” and “things and I” in the phrase “all things, and I myself, are never

destroyed” in Su Shi’s poem. The following passage in the same *Zhuangzi* section is also a propos:

There is no being that is not “that.” There is no being that is not “this.” But one cannot be seeing these from the perspective of “that”: one knows them only from “this” [i.e., from one’s own perspective]. Thus, we can say: “That” emerges from “this,” and “this” follows from “that.” This is the theory of the simultaneous generation of “this” and “that.” But by the same token, their simultaneous generation is their simultaneous destruction, and vice versa. Simultaneous affirmability is simultaneous negatability, and vice versa. What is circumstantially right is also circumstantially wrong, and vice versa. Thus, the Sage does not proceed from one of them alone but instead lets them all bask in the broad daylight of Heaven. And that too is only a case of going by the rightness of the present “this.”<sup>62</sup>

*Zhuangzi* here declares that the character of all the things in the universe depends on how we perceive them. Therefore simultaneously generation can be perceived as destruction, and destruction can be generation. So something we affirm can be something we negate and vice versa. Right and the wrong can be viewed in the same way. Then he advocates transcending the judgment, not taking sides and following along with whatever changes of perspectives may occur, free to take both sides unobstructedly.

A derivative of this attitude actually seems to underlie Su Shi’s unique aesthetics and approach to life. We should note that when Su Shi visited the Red Cliff he was being expelled to the countryside from the capital, for his poetry was interpreted as some kind of metaphor to criticize the government. This obliged him to lead the life of a refugee, as Lin Yutang puts it in his biography of Su Shi, “a life salvaged from nine deaths” 九死に一生を得る, i.e., escaping death by the skin of his teeth.<sup>63</sup> Under these cruel circumstances,

he still succeeded in maintaining an affirmative attitude toward life, appreciated the natural environment and manifested the joy of life in the Ode. He might be “one little molecule” in the universe, but Su Shi enjoyed life as eternal and good. According to Lin Yutang, that is the “secret of his genius.”<sup>64</sup>

In actual fact, Su Shi’s life as a *shidaifu*, i.e., his public life, had been full of all kinds of hardships and sufferings from beginning to end. According to Lin Yutang, his ordeal even made him wish to quit writing since it was his writings that usually invited these troubles. However, Su Shi did not stop writing. In his private life, as Lin Yutang puts it, he is “a great poet,” “a great stylist,” “a painter,” “a calligrapher,” “a conversationalist,” and “a great traveler.” He was also the first innovative poet who introduced the Buddhistic philosophy into the composition of his verses.<sup>65</sup> In other words, he was an exemplary of *wenren*, that is, “sentimental” in a way that limits one’s success in public life, but encourages an awareness of and sentiment toward natural beauty and a broadened philosophical view of the universe.<sup>66</sup>

Let us consider the conclusion to Su Shi’s ode. After he suggests the different perspectives through which one can see the world, he continues thus:

Between heaven and earth,  
each thing is owned by someone or other.  
If we do not own them,  
we should not take even a strand of hair.  
However, as to the pure breeze over the river  
and bright moon between the mountains,  
our ears get hold of these and make them into sounds,  
our eyes meet these and make them into a landscape.”

且夫天地之間、物各有主。苟非吾之所有、雖一毫、而莫取。惟江上之清風與山間之明月、耳得之而為聲、目遇之而成色。

In the beauties of the natural world, there is no such thing as proprietary rights of the kind we find in the socio-political world. Each of us joins in making the landscape that is ours to enjoy. Our eyes create the beautiful landscape, and our ears the soundscape, Su Shi claims. Then he continues thus:

...

They can be picked without restraint,  
and enjoyed without being used up.  
This is the inexhaustible storehouse of the creation of  
things.”<sup>67</sup>

取之無禁、用之不竭。是造物者之無尽藏也。

Su Shi continues that the beauty of the universe surrounding us either in the visual way or the audio way, are not only free from ownership but also inexhaustible for anyone. Thus just like the Sage in the *Zhuangzi*, the poet and his friend let all the splendid scenery of the Red Cliff all bask in the broad moonlight of the ceaseless generation of things, in which they too are participants. Then the ode ends with their laugh followed by a good night’s sleep.

## 7. Tenth Sentence, Re-reading

Now let us go back to the “Preface.” *Returning* to the line quoted from Su Shi’s ode, we can now interpret the phrase in light of a more sufficient knowledge of the ode. It continues:

They can be picked without restraint, and enjoyed without being used up. (4)

取之無禁用之不尽。

This line is now revealed as a verbatim quote from Su Shi's ode, an intertextual resonance that opens up other dimensions of meaning in the phrase. First, we can take it at face value and interpret it as a continuation of the praise for the beauty and charm of the courtesans, which is inexhaustible. But we can read it also as playing on the original sense of Su Shi's line. Here in the "Preface," "they" indicate "the courtesans." In Su Shi's ode, "they" are "the pure breeze over the river and bright moon between the mountains," and these are the avenues that enabled Su Shi's friend to attain the new vista to the world. Now if we merge Su Shi's line into the "Preface," we arrive at the implication that the courtesans are, like the river water and the moon, existences who help the visitors, like Su Shi and his friend, to attain a deeper and more insightful perspective on life.

In other words, what the passage passionately proclaims here is that the demimonde visit, like Su Shi's boat trip, enables the visitor to realize an expanded and enriched sentiment toward human existence, apprehending it simultaneously as trivial and transient in the face of the vastness of heaven and earth, but at the same time, as generating the inexhaustible joy of perpetual and unchanging creation and life, i.e. the demimonde is a human microcosm of Su Shi's landscape. That is to say that the "Preface" is here implying that the courtesans are to set us free from being imprisoned in one fixed way of thinking. The notion described here has strong resonances with the category of *iki* characterized by Kuki Shûzô as the "fusion of the coquetry and resignation," the distinctive aesthetic idea derived precisely from life in the demimonde.<sup>68</sup>

#### a. Stylishness and Dispersing

Now this tenth line of the “Preface” begs for a discussion of this aesthetic notion of *iki* (or *sui*), which is considered as one of the essential manifestations of Edo aesthetics. As we have seen previously, one of the main motivations for the demimonde visitors was to embody their aesthetic ideal, to achieve the state of being stylish, in other words, being *iki*. In order to attain this aesthetic goal, the visitors were expected to visit the demimonde as often as possible to refine themselves through extended interaction with the courtesans, as *Naniwadora* 難波鉢 (Prodigal son of Naniwa [Osaka]), a *Yûjo hyôban-ki* (Courtesan Review) suggests.<sup>69</sup> However, this conclusion stands in stark contradiction to the phrase quoted as “the golden words,” in *Keisei-kai futasuji-michi* 傾城買二筋道 (Two ways on acquisition for *keisei*, 1798) written by Umebori Kokuga 梅暮里谷峨 (1750-1821):

“In short, what is demimonde is genuinely stylish [*sui /iki*] is not to visit the [Yoshiwara] demimode at all; such are the golden words of Takao.”<sup>70</sup>

つまり、されば吉原（さと）へは入らぬこそ、実（まこと）の通意（すい）と高雄が金言”

This abstention from attendance at the demimonde was considered as the manifestation of the concept of *iki*, and can be observed in several other pieces of Edo writings. For example, this same point is expressed in *Sekifuden* 跖婦伝 (Biography Lady Seki), Deirôshi 泥郎子 (Mud-master), considered the penname of Yamaoka Matsuake 山岡浚明 (?-1780), a government official and scholar of National Studies:

[You, men] talk about *iki* this, *sui* that, but what makes a man stylish is not to come [to the demimonde] at all.<sup>71</sup>

粹じや粹がといへど、来ぬが粹なり”

We are now perhaps in a position to shed some light on this apparent paradox. Keeping in mind the expanded implications of our passage from the “Preface,” which stressed the importance of the ability to switch perspectives, then to become *iki* would not be attained by simply increasing the frequency of one’s visits or displaying cleverness in fashion and conversation. On the contrary, the resilience shown in desisting from showing up at all or in surrendering all deliberate and willful action was deemed a higher level of stylishness. Such is the attitude to the fourth generation, Takao, one of the most renowned courtesans in Yoshiwara. In other words, to set aside or to “drop” off (*saluo*), what one actually wants to cling to is the way to be stylish. This principle also applies to *sharebon* works. The authors had made every effort to master the knowledge and ability to read the Chinese classical texts, especially the Classics, and this is the basis of their aesthetics and being stylish as *iki* and *tsû* (penetrating). However, rather than displaying their erudition straightforwardly, what they did was to “*saluo*,” shed off, squander, waste, dissipate, even deface what they had mastered into the silly sounding passages. We should quickly note this is one way they vulgarized their refinement, deliberately pulled down the lofty into the world of the streets. In the paradoxical passage quoted here, we see something similar: the “stylishness” is attained by first having, and then renouncing, the means or inclination to go to the demimonde: to have it and then to waste it. Now let us go back to the reading of the “Preface.”

## 8. Eleventh Sentence

The “Preface” continues the praise of the courtesans:

Spring and autumn, and day and night, there is no time they  
do not scent and bloom. (4)

春秋昼夜莫時不芳菲。

We can also read this line in several ways. As a superficial level we can interpret it to mean that the courtesans stay beautiful all the time through the four seasons of the year, unlike the real flowers, which come and go according to the season and the time of the day. But if we take Su Shi's Ode into consideration, this line also reveals another facet. That is, the flowers in bloom come and go, like spring and autumn, and night and day, but the "life of the flowers" remains no matter what they look like from outside. In other words, it is not that the courtesans stay resplendent all the times: rather, although they go through many "waxings and wanings" of mood and availability, their very existence, like the river and the moon, reminds the visitors that "the life of the flowers" has its own eternity.

In this sense, we could possibly say that the courtesans, with their splendor and misery, arouse the spirit of *wenren* in the visitors. In their writing and reading, the *sharebon* authors and audience were modeling themselves after the private lives of *shidaifu*, by putting the courtesans into a position that caused the sentiments reminiscent of those they believed to be typical of *wenren* in them. I will discuss this point in more detail below.

## 9. Twelfth Sentence

How could they bloom and fade like mere trees and flowers? (4)

奚為与艸木花同榮枯哉。

As the preceding, this line could simply mean what the word say, that the beauty and charm of the courtesans is much greater than that of the real flowers, but it could also imply the joys of the demimonde where the visitors could feel a sense of changelessness within natural flux typical of Chinese literati sentiment.

## 10. Thirteenth Sentence

The passage then goes on:

We appreciate and praise even the trees and flowers—then why not these “flowers”? (4-5)

艸木花猶且賞之況於此花乎。

The point is brought home here: “these flowers” do just what the real flowers do, but more effectively. What is it that real flowers are prized for? Not simply their sensual properties, but the sentiment of changelessness and ceaseless life in the very midst of transience, available to the switch of perspectives imagined, through works such as Su Shi’s, to be the distinguishing feature of Chinese *wenren* poetic sentiment.

## 11. Fourteenth Sentence

Now the “Preface” comes to its conclusion:

This journey to the northern region--oh, so much fun!

北州之遊嗚呼樂夫。

As we have seen above, this passage too contains an allusion to the “Ode to the Red Cliff” by Su Shi, with the name of the place “Red Cliff” in the original ode switched to the “northern region.”<sup>72</sup> This makes us wonder what “the northern region” indicates. As we saw earlier, the term can sometimes mean a certain realm in Buddhist cosmology. But here, in this sentence, “northern region” indicates Yoshiwara, the official demimonde in Edo, a distortion of the “pre-reading,” that generates the ironic beauty and humor.

The Yoshiwara demimonde was located north (or more accurately, northeast) from either Nihonbashi, which functioned as “Kilometer Zero” since 1603, or north of the Edo castle. For example, in 1756 a book titled *Hokushū retsujoden* 北州列女伝 (Record of heroic women in the Northern region) was published. This book explains that the origin of several terms for courtesans, with information on several courtesans in the “northern region,” i.e., the Yoshiwara demimonde.<sup>73</sup> Needless to say, the title is derived from *Lienü Zhuan* 列女伝 [J. Retsujoden] (The Biographies of Exemplary Women), a history book compiled around 18 BCE by Liu Xiang 劉向 [J. Ryū kyō] (77 BCE-6 BCE), a renowned scholar of the Han dynasty: it depicted the lives and deeds of female moral exemplars in Confucianism.<sup>74</sup> Ôta Nanpo also wrote a lyric titled “Hokushū sennen no kotobuki” 北州千年寿 (A thousand years of long life in the northern region) for the Kiyomoto singing, a style of narrative music with choreography, first performed in 1818.<sup>75</sup>

There are variations of the term “Hokushū” to indicate Yoshiwara. We find, for example, Hokuri 北里 (north village), Hokkoku 北国 (north country), and Hokkaku 北郭 (廓) (north demimonde), all derived from the location of the place. There are some *sharebon* titles that contain the word north, such as *Hokuri-ka* 北里歌 (North village song),

and *Hokkaku tamago no shikaku* 北廓鷄卵方 (lit. North state cube-shaped egg, meaning, a courtesan's sincerity).<sup>76</sup> We also have a historical essay on Yoshiwara called, *Hokuri kenmonroku* 北里見聞録 (Tales of the north village), which tells us the origin, customs and manners of the Yoshiwara demimonde. This was published in 1817 by Kankanrō Yoshitaka 寛閑樓 佳孝.<sup>77</sup>

From these references we can perhaps get some idea of the cultural freight borne by the phrase the “Northern region.” However, the significance of this phrase is not limited to the pleasure involved in a revised re-reading or distortion of the “pre-reading.” Astonishingly, “northern region” reveals even more about the reception of *wenren* culture by the Edo literati and samurai. Now I would like to discuss this reception and the ways in which it is encoded in the Edo Japanese aliases for the demimonde.

#### a. Aliases of the Demimonde

First, let us quickly view the aliases for the demimonde used in Edo Japan. This kind of alias, a circumlocutory countersign for a place name, is commonly seen in Edo literature. As a matter of fact, Yoshiwara has many aliases, using both varied pronunciations and varied Chinese characters, as we have seen from several examples in the previous chapters. There are “Lost Eights” (*wanpâ*, 亡八, Lost the eight virtues), the graphs pronounced, however, as *kuruwa*; *kugai* 苦界 (world of suffering), and *takai* 他界 (the other realm), where the last two are originally Buddhist terminology, but were also used to refer, tongue in cheek or not, to the demimondes. Other terms such as *arinsukoku* ありんす国 (*arinsu* country) indicates a special linguistic locution the Yoshiwara-courtesans use. In order to hide their country accents and to make themselves different

and special, they use *arinsu* at the end of sentences.<sup>78</sup> Go-chō machi 五丁町 (five streets town) was used because there were five major streets inside the Yoshiwara. In this connection, the theater streets were called Ni-chō machi 二丁町 (two-streets town)—both of which were considered areas of questionable respectability.

There were also several demimondes that were not government accredited, such including, Shinjuku 新宿, Shinagawa 品川, Fukagawa 深川 and so on, and they too figure in several *sharebon* titles such as *Shinagawa yōji* 品川楊枝 (*Shinagawa toothpick*), *Shinjuku yawa* 新宿夜話 (*Shinjuku night tale*), and *Fukagawa shinwa* 深川新話 (*Fukagawa new tales*).<sup>79</sup> *Kōeki shin-wa* is also set in Shinjuku.<sup>80</sup> These places also had their aliases. Shinagawa was called Nanshū 南州, meaning the southern state, since Shinagawa is located to the south of Nihonbashi. Fukagawa, another area for the private demimonde, was referred to as Tatsumi 辰巳, indicating the southeast in the premodern method of designating directions Edo people used.

Now we are almost convinced that the alias “Northern region” was only made to indicate Yoshiwara’s actual location, and is intrinsically Japanese. However, we soon discover that its origin came is, what else, Chinese.

#### b. Chinese Books on the Demimonde

Here I would like to take a look at a book published in Tang dynasty China. The title is *Beili zhi* 北里志 [J. Hokuri shi] (*Record of the North village*), and completed around 885 by Sun Qi 孫槩 [J. Sonkei].<sup>81</sup> “Beili” [J. Hokuri] (the north village) in the title, indicates the demimonde located in the northeast corner, Pingkangfang 平康坊 [J. Heikōbō] of Chang’an 長安 (present-day; Xi’an 西安), the old capital of China. The book

is about the Pingkangfang demimonde and the courtesans there. Though the book does not tell us the origin of this kind of alias for the Pingkangfang demimonde, it is obvious the word indicates the demimonde. It is mentioned in among others, a poem by Bo Juyi.<sup>82</sup> *Suzhou huafang lu* 蘇州画舫錄 [J. Soshû gahô-roku] (Record of roofed-boats in Suzhou) also mentions the Pingkangfang demimonde.<sup>83</sup> In *Banqiao zaji* 板橋雜記 [J. Hankyou zakki] (Miscellaneous record on Banqiao bridge), the author refers to the Pingkangfang demimonde as “Beili” [J. Hokuri], and mentions that he had a good time there.<sup>84</sup> In other words, it seems likely that the usage of aliases for the demimonde, especially those referring to geographical directions, came from the customs in the Chinese demimonde.

We also saw earlier that the phrase “flower streets” in the “Preface” indicates the demimondes and the expression, abbreviated from *huajie liuxiang* [J. kagai ryûkô] 花街柳巷 (the flower-street and the willow-lanes), also came from Chinese literary tradition. The influence from the other side of Chinese culture does not stop here. We can see its distinguishing traits in the aliases of Edo courtesans.

### c. Chinese Courtly Beauties and Edo Courtesans

In *Hokushû retsujoden* (Exemplary women of the North region), several words are listed with which denote courtesans, such as *yûjo* 遊女, and *keisei* 傾城 or *keikoku* 傾國. It explains that *yûjo* is a Japanese word and not Chinese. The author claims that he has not seen the word “*yûjo*” in Chinese writings. On the other hand, it gives the explanation that *keisei* originated from the Chinese classics.<sup>85</sup> We saw earlier that Li Bo compares the beauty of the consort Yang Guifei to the peony flower in his poem, “*Qingpingdiaoci*”

清平調詞 [J. Seiheichōshi], using the term “a peerless beauty” to describe her charm. This is my English rendering of the words that literally mean, “toppling a country” 傾國, or “making a country collapse.” That is, the enchantment of the beautiful woman drives the country to ruin. We can also see Yang Guifei is described as a beauty who brought the country into decline in the beginning of the Bo Juyi’s “Changhen’ge” 長恨歌 [J. Chōgon ka] or “The Ballad of Everlasting Sorrow” from 806.<sup>86</sup>

The character “city” 城, is sometimes used in this phrase instead of “country,” and pronounced *keisei* 傾城 [Ch.chingcheng]. The combination of these two characters, “to topple” 傾 and “country” 國 or “city” 城, is used to describe the breathtakingly beautiful woman, implying that she is so beautiful that she leads the ruler astray and causes the collapse of a country. We sometimes find the word used in medieval Japanese literature, describing a matchless beauty who is not a courtesan. For example, we find the word, *keisei* used to mean a beautiful woman in the episode of “Nasu no Yoichi” in the eleventh volume of *The Tale of Heike*.<sup>87</sup>

It is commonly known that the words *keikoku* and *keisei* are derived from a lyric composed and sung by Li Yannian 李延年 (? - 82 BCE), a court musician to the Emperor Wu of Han 武帝 (156-87 BCE), as recounted in the *Hanshu* 漢書 [J.Kan jo], the Book of Han:

In the north, there is a beautiful woman, who stands alone as the fairest of the fair. Seeing her once would bring down a man’s city walls, seeing her twice would topple his country. But he wouldn’t even notice that his city or country is destroyed, for such a peerless beauty would be very hard to find again.”

北方有佳人、絕世而獨立。  
一顧傾人城、再顧傾人國。  
寧不知傾城與傾國。

佳人難再得。

『漢書「外戚・孝武李夫人伝」』列伝 6 7 卷上

Here, to portray the matchless beauty, it is suggested that she is so beautiful that any ruler who sees her will lose himself over her, and as a result his city and country will be destroyed. It turned out that Li Yannian's sister was the peerless beauty whom Emperor Wu of Han dynasty later met and married.<sup>88</sup>

Now this vocabulary originally used to describe a beautiful woman became a term for courtesans in China. For example, we find the expression “*keikoku 傾国*” used to describe a courtesan in *Suzhou huafang lu* [J. Soshû gahô-roku].<sup>89</sup> The other variant of the expression, *keisei 傾城* is used also for the description of a courtesan in *Banqiao zaji* [J. Hankyô zakkji].<sup>90</sup> This book, written by Yokai 余懷 [Ch. Yu Huai] (1616-1696) in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century about the courtesans of the demimonde in Nankin 南京 [Ch. Nanjing], seemed to have been well-received among Edo literati such as Narushima Ryûhoku 成島柳北. His essay on Yanagibashi, *Ryûkyou shinsi* 柳橋新誌 (New note on Yanagibashi, 1859, 1871) is known to have been influenced by the Nanjing account, as Maeda Ai pointed out.<sup>91</sup>

This usage was apparently widely adopted in Edo literature. In *Jinrin kinmô zui* 人倫訓蒙図彙 (Illustrated book on the occupations), written in 1690, the word entered for the profession of courtesan is *keisei*.<sup>92</sup> Takarai Kikaku 宝井其角 (1661-1707), one of Basho's *haikai* disciples, has a few *haikai* poems on *keisei* courtesans. For example:

keisei no ko-uta wa kanashi Kugatsu-jin	A courtesan's songs are sad at the end of autumn. “Gogen shû”
---	--

傾城の小歌はかなし九月尽 『五元集』

This Chinese vocabulary is also utilized in some kabuki drama pieces, such as “Keisei hangonkō” 傾城反魂香 (*Keisei* magical incense) written by Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653-1725) and performed in 1708.<sup>93</sup> Naturally, we can find the word *keisei* often in many *sharebon* works, though the expression is not actually used anywhere in the entire text of *Yûshi hôgen*.<sup>94</sup>

There are many *sharebon* works using the word in their titles. There is Santô Kyôden’s 山東京伝 (1761-1816) *Keisei-kai shijû-hatte* 傾城買四十八手 (Forty-eight methods to buy *keisei*, 1790).<sup>95</sup> There is also *Keisei-kai futasuji-michi* 傾城買二筋道 (Two ways to buy *keisei*, 1798) written by Umebori Kokuga 梅暮里谷峨 (1750-1821).<sup>96</sup> These are only a few examples among many other titles containing the word, *keisei*, in *sharebon* works.<sup>97</sup> However, it is not that the Japanese did not have their own native vocabulary for the courtesans. They had a choice of vocabulary for these women, the examination of which alerts us to some interesting patterns in their usages.

#### d. Courtesans and the Courtly Tradition in Japan

The Japanese language has its own tradition of words for female entertainers, such as *yûjo*, as we saw in *Hokushû retsujo-den*, and also in Chapter 2. Here, let us take a quickly review of the word, *yûjo*, and other related words in ancient and medieval Japanese literature. One of the earliest examples of a word indicating the women who specialized in entertaining is in *Man'yôshû* 万葉集 (Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves), the oldest existing collection of Japanese poetry, compiled in the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. There we see the word, *ukare-me* 遊行婦 (traveling female entertainer) to refer to women

who sang and danced and/or provided sexual pleasure at noble mansions or for traveling parties. The poems of these women, who might be described as both courtesans and traveling artists, and have also been considered as sacred prostitutes, can be seen in volumes 18: 4066-69, 4047; 19: 4232, and others in the *Man'yōshū*. They are exchanging poems with the emperors.<sup>98</sup>

In the *Sarashina nikki* 更級日記 (Sarashina diary), a memoir of the years 1020-1059, written by a Heian court lady known as Sugawara no Takasue no musume 菅原孝標女 (Sugawara no Takasue's Daughter, 1008-1059?), the author recounts that her party was visited by women performers who seemed to just emerge from the hillside, on their way back to the capital, Heian (present-day Kyoto), from the eastern region where her father had just completed his tenure as governor general. She calls them *asobi-me*, using the Chinese graphs 遊女 which we have also read as *yūjo* above. She describes her enchantment with the singing of one of the women, and her great regret at parting from them as they continue on their way.<sup>99</sup>

We find the word, *ukare-me* also in the poem-tale, *Yamato monogatari* 大和物語 (Tale of Yamato), a collection of stories centering around the contexts and authors of *waka*-poetry, completed probably in 951. It explains that Shiro, the *ukareme*, i.e., the courtesan, was a great poet and Emperor Uda 宇多天皇 (867-931) paid a visit to show appreciation for her poetry.<sup>100</sup> One of her poems in *Yamato monogatari*, is also included in *Kokinwakashū* 古今和歌集 (A Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern), the first imperial collection of Japanese poetry compiled in 905: she is listed there as “Shiro-me (the women, Shiro).”<sup>101</sup>

We see several terms indicating courtesans cum, female entertainers in *Jikkin shō*, 十訓抄 (Notes on the ten teachings), a collection of orally transmitted moral stories that were later compiled into a book by 1252. In the section, “Longing for Talent,” the names of several courtesans who were skilled at composing poetry are giving along with the titles of the imperial anthologies that contain their poems:

Among the courtesans and puppeteers [*asobi, kugutsu*], ... there is the one with a good voice...who is called Shiro-me. [Her poem is] in *Kokinshū* 古今集. The *Gosenshū* 後撰集 tells of Higaki no ouna 檜垣嫗, the courtesan [*yûkun* 遊君] from Higo 肥後 country, *Goshûi-shû* 後拾遺集 tells of the courtesan [*yûjo*], Miyaki 宮木 from Kanzaki 神崎, *Shika-shû* 詞花集 tells of the puppeteer/courtesan [*kugutsu* 傀儡], Nabiki 名曳 from Aohaka 青墓, and *Shinkokinshû* 新古今集 tells of Tae 妙, the courtesan [*yûjo*] from Eguchi 江口.<sup>102</sup>

[遊びくぐつ]の中に・・・声よきもの・・・白女と申せり。古今集にいれり。肥後國遊君、檜垣嫗は後撰集に入、神崎遊女宮木は、後拾遺集をけがす。青墓傀儡名曳は詞花集をゆり、江口遊女妙は、新古今の作者なり。

We see here several words indicating the courtesans or/and female entertainers: they are *yûjo* 遊女 (female entertainer), *yûkun* 遊君 (Miss entertainer) and *kugutsu* 傀儡 (puppeteer). The text also notes the name of the places of origin of these women such as Higo 肥後 (present-day Kumamoto), Aohaka 青墓 (present-day Ôgaki-city in Gifu), Kanzaki 神崎 and Eguchi 江口 (present-day Amagasaki-city in Hyôgo, near Osaka). Moreover, we learn that each of them has the honor of her poems appearing in the imperial anthologies of *waka*-poetry.<sup>103</sup>

The courtesans mentioned above from Kanzaki and Eguchi along the Kanzaki River are also mentioned by Ôe Masafusa (大江匡房 1041-1111), Chancellor and poet, in *Yûjo no ki* 遊女記 (Record of the courtesans). Masafusa wrote in Chinese of the state of

the places and the courtesans that the emperors and aristocrats visited. We also see in his account some words that reveal their sacred origin, such as *shirabyōshi* 白拍子, girls who perform sacred dances or assist as medium at rites of exorcism at shrines throughout the country.<sup>104</sup>

There are then abundant examples of the usage of the term, *yūjo* in Japanese literature. However, we seldom find *sharebon* titles with “*yūjo*” in them. As opposed to the *sharebon* titles with the word *keisei*, examined earlier, of which there are so many, we see only two titles that contain *yūjo* 遊女 in the entire series of these texts in the *Sharehon taisei*. These are *Yūjo anmon* 遊女案文 (Model letters for *yūjo*, ca.1791), and *Yūjo daigaku* 遊女大学 (Great Learning for *yūjo*, ca.1807).<sup>105</sup> The first is a collection of models for letter writing to be used by courtesans, and the second was used as a textbook of Confucian morals for the courtesans. The latter text clarifies in its preface that it is written in *kana* letters so that it can be read by the courtesans. That is, these two have practical uses targeted toward the courtesans rather than the samurais and literati. The unavoidable conclusion to be drawn is that the literati, who are the principal writers and readers of the *sharebon* books, prefer to use Chinese vocabulary.

#### e. Edo Demimonde Culture and the Longing for China

The evidence of the strong longing for Chinese culture cherished by the samurai and literati are clearly reflected in *sharebon* works. This means that Edo literati, as represented by the *sharebon* authors manifestly favored the reproduction in Japan of the demimondes in China as they encountered them in Chinese literature. In fact, Chen Yixiu proposes the hypothesis that the demimonde culture in Japan during the Edo era

weas modeled after the ones in China from the Ming to the Qing dynasties. Prior to the settlement of the Yoshiwara demimonde, Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1537-1598), the shogunate at that time, gave a permit to Hara Saburôzaemon 原三郎左衛門 and Hayashi Mataichirô 林又一郎 to establish a demimonde at Shimabara 島原 in Kyoto.<sup>106</sup> Chen suggests the possibility that these men studied the demimonde in China such as the one in Qinhuai 秦淮 in Nanjing, and followed their examples.<sup>107</sup>

Yoshiwara was established in Edo (present-day Tokyo), following the Shimabara precedent, and this simultaneously means that Yoshiwara also indirectly imitated the demimondes in China. That is, there is a possibility that the samurai in Japan followed the Chinese examples, not just in the realm of literature but also in real life. In any case, either just literarily or both physically and literarily, there were some elements the samurai wanted to emulate in China. In order to get a sense of what these were, we need to undertake a quick overview of the demimondes in China. In the aforementioned *Beili zhi* [J.Hokuri-shi], Sonkei starts out his essay with the recounting of the *keju* 科举 [J.kakyo], the Imperial Examination, which had been practiced from 598 till 1905 to select the members of the government bureaucracy. He recalls that the Tang Emperors valued the Examination, and that therefore the celebration for the students who passed the Exam tended to be prodigious. More important for our study here, the place they went for the special banquets in Chang'an was the Pingkangfang demimonde.<sup>108</sup>

Lu Xun 魯迅 [J. Rojin] (1881-1936), the author of *A Q Zhengzuan* 阿Q正伝 [J. A kyû Seiden] (The True Story of Ah Q), also describes demimonde visits in *Chûgoku Shôsetsu Shiryaku* 中國小說史略 [Ch. Zhongguo Xiaoshuo Shilue] (A concise history of Chinese fiction, 1930), in the section on “the Demimonde Novels in China.” He also

says that after meeting with success in the Examination, the Tang students went to the demimondes. This had become a custom among the students that was passed on for many generations. He claims that this custom was considered to be a standard and uncontroversial practice among the elites.<sup>109</sup>

From these passages, it can be concluded that the members of the ruling class, that is, the *shidaifu*, scholar-officials who visited the demimondes to celebrate passing the Imperial Examinations, were major customers of those quarters. As they had to pass an extremely difficult exam, the predominant characteristic of the *shidaifu* was their scholarship. The mastery of the Sishu Wujing 四書五經 [J. Shisho Gokyô] (Four Books and Five Classics) was the basic knowledge for them, and indeed the very source of their rise to wealth and power. Moreover, they were required to display the qualities of civil leadership. So the *shidaifu* had the full complement of qualities the samurai, a nominal but no longer actual military class, were eager to obtain. This means that *shidaifu*, the Chinese scholar-officials in their public lives were one of the exemplars for the construction of samurai dandyism. As we saw in the use of citations from Su Shi's Ode, in the "Preface," here, too, we can say that by using the same vocabulary for the courtesans and the demimondes, the *sharebon* authors and the Edo literati were trying to replicate even the private part of the life of a *shidaifu*.

#### f. Edo Reception of *Wenren* Culture

Let us further examine the reception and emulation of the private life of *shidaifu* among the *sharebon* authors and readers, in order to clarify the peculiar aesthetics, i.e., the amalgamation of refinement and the vulgarity, seen in *sharebon* works. I would like

to start with the quick comparative observation of how the courtesans are described by both Chinese *shidaifu* and Edo literati. Let us start with the description of the courtesans in Chinese writings. Most notably for our purposes, they are described as highly cultivated in literature and arts.

In *Beilizhi*, Sun Qi states that in the Pingkangfang demimonde, “many of the courtesans were great conversationalists, quite learned, and able to talk on academic matters,” 其中諸妓、多能談吐、頗有知書言話者.<sup>110</sup> He continues that their interaction with the guests was very tactful and hospitable. They were also good at reciting and making poetry.

Both *Banqiao zaji* [J. Hankyô zakkî] and *Suzhou huafang lu* [J. Soshû gahô-roku] also contain the same kind of descriptions of the courtesans. According to these writings, the courtesans mastered all kinds of refined skills besides the appreciation of literature, calligraphy and paintings, such as playing *zheng*-harp, *pipa*-lute and so on, singing and dancing, playing the *weiqi*-chess game, acting out some plays, knowledge of incense, and whatever else *shidaifu* did as their pastimes.<sup>111</sup>

Here I would like to borrow the term Wang Hongtai proposes to describe the qualities of high skills and education among the courtesans. He calls it the “*wenren*-ization of the courtesans” 妓女の文人化. That is to say, he claims that the courtesans in the demimondes are to become like *wenren* 文人, literati, themselves.”<sup>112</sup> Since the term indicates the private part of the life of the *shidaifu*, as we saw earlier in this chapter, this means that the courtesans in China were expected to be like the *shidaifu* in their private life.

Now let us view the Japanese side. As we have seen, the demimonde visitors, especially the group of *sharebon* authors and readers, longed to emulate the Chinese scholar-officials *shidaifu*, and in fact their patronage of the demimonde can be taken as an activity allowing them to replicate their image of the private life of *shidaifu*. It can be said that, in Japan, we see is, so to speak, “the *wenren*-ization of the demimonde patrons who were also the *sharebon* authors and readers, the transformation of the official samurai into literati” 酒落本作家/読者の文人化. This makes us wonder if this is also what happens to the Japanese courtesans.

As a matter of fact, we can find the descriptions of the courtesans that suggest this conclusion, especially concerning the courtesans in Yoshiwra, in many of the *sharebon* works. The courtesans in Japan are also portrayed as the possessors of refined skills and manners. Let us take *Sato no odamaki hyō*, 里のおだ巻評 (Critique on “Sato no odamaki Yoshiwara saiken”), published in 1774 by Fûrai sanjin 風来山人, considered one of the pennames for Hiraga Gennai 平賀源内, as an example. It says:

There is no need to mention their playing the *koto*-harp and the *samisen*-guitar [in praising the courtesans]. [They are also good at] *waka*-poetry and *haikai*-verse, incense, tea ceremony, the game of *go*, the game of *sugoroku*, and possess refined manners. In all fields, there is nothing they do not know. Though they know many kinds of arts, they do not show off their knowledge. [They have] dignity and refinement. Each of them has an art in which they excel.<sup>113</sup>

琴三絃はいふに及ばず。詩歌俳諧香茶の湯。碁双六駕方。何れの道にも闇からず。諸藝を知て知た顔せず。意氣地あり風雅あり。各たしなみの芸術あり。

Though the skills, abilities and knowledge the courtesans acquire are praised in this passage, careful consideration reveals that there is an intrinsic difference between these

skills and those attributed to Chinese courtesans. The art and culture that the courtesans are said to have mastered in this passage rather remind us of the ones that the Heian court ladies were supposed to possess, such as we see in *The Tale of Genji* and other women's literature in the Heian era. For example, we find a great number of poems about *koto* playing as a requisite skill among court ladies, written by the emperors and the court attendants, among the Imperial collections.<sup>114</sup>

In other words, in China, the *wenren* seem to be the main group of demimonde visitors, and as a consequence, it happened that the courtesans themselves became “*wenren*-esque.” In Japan, as we saw above, a certain subset of the demimonde visitors, i.e., *sharebon* authors and readers, was trying to replicate the culture of *wenren*, and trying to be “*wenren*-esque.” If we follow the precedent of China, the courtesans in Japan would have to be “*wenren*-esque-esque.” However, the courtesans who were to be the partners of the “*wenren*-esque” Japanese patrons, and to entertain them, they became rather, “*kuge*-esque” (court noble-esque). That is, they modeled themselves after the *kuge-buri*, the manners and ways of the old court aristocrat culture.

#### g. Chinese Courtesans and Japanese Courtesans from Utopia

To explore this question further, I would like to examine another trait shared by the Chinese and Japanese courtesans. That is the sacred or spiritual dimension often attributed to them. Unlikely as it may seem, it is a remarkable fact that the courtesans are sometimes described as something divine in both China and Japan. In the Chinese work *Beili zhi* [J.Hokuri-shi], a poem written for a courtesan, Tian Shui 天水 is introduced, the last two lines of which read:

Though we know that this [liquor] is not scooped from the floating haze [in paradise], we wish to listen to the sound of the ‘se’-zither from Yunhe [played by Tian Sue].<sup>115</sup>

雖知不是流霞酌、願聽雲和瑟一聲

The implication is that though they are not drinking the liquor from heaven, when the courtesan plays the zither, then it becomes like a paradise. This actually shows that the courtesan matches some divine figure from a paradise, or at least her zither playing does. In *Banqiao zaji* [J.Hankyô zakki], another Chinese work, we see the description on a courtesan’s room thus: “whoever goes into her room feels as if they were away from the earthly world.”<sup>116</sup> In other words, we can consider that the stay in the courtesan’s room is just like being in a transcendental realm.

Now let us take a look at the descriptions seen in Japanese literature. As to Japanese literature, there are an uncountable number of works that refer to the transcendental element in not only the courtesans but also the entertainers such as singers and dancers, and even mere prostitutes. We have already considered several works where we can locate the vocabulary indicating the courtesans. Many of these terms are drawn from recounting of visits by emperors, and many implying that they considered these women as sacred figures.<sup>117</sup>

In the genre of *sharebon* as well, there are many instances in which the courtesans are likened to sacred figures. After listing the abilities and talents possessed by the courtesans, the *sharebon*, *Sato no odamaki hyô* state:

Even if a bodhisattva transformed into an earthly being and appeared here, or a celestial being came down here from heaven, the courtesans here [Yoshiwara] would not be defeated [in their sacredness].<sup>118</sup>

仮令菩薩の影向あり。天人が天降ても負ぬが此地の女郎なり。

Here, the earthly courtesans are described as being more glorious and holy than a bodhisattva and a celestial being.

There is a renowned Nô drama piece, *Eguchi*, in which a courtesan, Eguchi, turns into “Samantabhadra Bodhisattva” 普賢菩薩 [J. Fugen bosatsu], (the Bodhisattva Universally Worthy) in the end. We find that this episode is quoted in several sharebonworks. For example, in *Sekifuden* 跖婦伝 (Record of the Lady Seki), the story of Eguchi is introduced and a courtesan named Seki is also compared to Jizô-bosatsu 地蔵菩薩 [Skt: Ksitigarbha] (the guardian of souls in hell and a popular protector of children), quoting the episode of Eguchi in *Sekifuden*:

I still felt delighted by Seki's lofty manner. That is why I wished to visit her remains. I stayed at Irie-chô all day long asking and inquiring, but her name was hidden and her traces were buried, and there was no one who knew her. Seeing it this way, Eguchi is indeed the manifestation of Fugen bodhisattva. And Seki also can be considered as a manifestation of a chipped-nosed Jizô.<sup>119</sup>

In this work, the author also compares the demimonde to a Buddhist “Pure Land.”

In this connection, I would like to introduce *Youxianku* 遊仙窟 [J. Yûsenkutsu] (Paradise hollow), one of the *chuanqi* 传奇, short stories written during Tang and Song China. *Youxianku*, written by Zhang Wencheng 張文成 [J. Chô Bunsei] was lost in China and we do not see the title in the Chinese bibliographical records. However, the work came over to Japan when the Buddhist cannon was transported, and since then it has been a popular work in Japan. Imamura Yoshio proclaims that the work can be counted as one of the most influential for Japanese literature, along with Bo Juyi's “Changhenge” [J. Chôgonka] 長恨歌 (Song of eternal resentment).” Quoting from *Tang shu* 唐書 [J. Tôsho]

唐書 (Record of the Tang dynasty), Imamura explains that the messengers from Nara-Heian, Japan as well as Silla 新羅 [J. Shiragi] (Korea) paid a large sum of money to purchase copies of the work.<sup>120</sup> There exist several copies of the work, with the 1690 edition most prevalent.

In the story, the main character, Zhang Sheng 張生 [J. Chô Sei], goes on a trip and gets lost in a deep mountain area. He climbs up the side of the cliff along a river and arrives in a paradise within a hollow or grotto. There he is entertained by immortals and meets a breathtakingly beautiful nymph, Shi'niang 十娘 [J. Jujô] there. His mystical and spiritual experience and the night of bliss they spent are described beautifully and sensuously.<sup>121</sup>

The influence of this work on the earliest quasi-historical chronicle, *Kojiki* 古事記 (Record of Ancient Matters), and the first poetry anthology, *Man'yôshû* 万葉集 (Collection of ten-thousand leaves, ca.759), has already been pointed out.<sup>122</sup> During the Edo era, the scholar Keichû 契沖 (1640-1701) conducted research on *Man'yôshû*, and pointed out that the legend of Umaine's 美稻 encounter with a nymph in a sacred mountain, appearing in volumes 1 to 27, could have been inspired by the story of *Youxianku* [J.Yûsenkutsu].<sup>123</sup> (Please see Appendices.) As a matter of fact, in both the *Manyôshû*, and *Kaifûsô* 懷風藻 (Cherished words and songs), the oldest collection of Chinese poetry composed by Japanese, completed in 751 in Japan, we can find many poems rhapsodizing the Yoshino (in Nara) area as a paradise conducive to mysterious experiences, such as meeting the immortals and obtaining eternal life.

Umehara Takeshi claims that the emperors and empresses in Man'yô times must have read *Youxianku* [J. Yûsenkutsu] and state that the poems by Ôtomo no Tabito 大伴旅

人 (665-731) and Yamanoue no Okura 山上憶良 (660-733) unmistakably make references to the story. Thus, he suggests, the idea of paradise with beautiful nymphs has been cherished among Japanese court people and their literature.<sup>124</sup> Maruya Saiichi goes so far as to suggest that all the love stories written by the court people in Japan should be considered as generated from *Youxianku*. Maruya is the same scholar who proclaims that the core of Japanese literature is the courtship poems written by the emperors to the court ladies.<sup>125</sup> Given the ubiquitous topic of Love in the poetry anthologies and narrative literature from the most ancient until the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Japan, his point is taken.

Meanwhile, *Youxianku* seemed to have been utterly forgotten in China. We might be able to point out its influence on worship of the immortals 仙人 in Daoist books, but the idealizing of the longing for an encounter with a celestial being in a remote mountain place along a river, the yearning for a blissful night with an ethereal goddess, seemed to have a wonderful night, seemed to have disappeared, at least from the stage of the “public” life of “*shidaifu*.” While official Chinese *shidaifu* ideology seemed to forget all about this archetype of spending a wonderful night with an otherworldly nymphs, probably due to the influence of the Confucian moral ideas, the story gained in popularity and was pursued as a Chinese model of an ideal of life, first by the court people in Japan, but also later in the broader culture. In other words, while taking *Youxianku*, as an ideal of Chinese refined culture, and trying to recreate the new land of “China” by imitating the world of *Youxianku*, ancient Japanese court people started to form their own tradition, which we can call the court-noble way *kuge-buri*, a culture mainly consisting of elaborations of longing toward the romantic partners, immortalized in poem-exchanges detailing the waxing of passion in the language of natural images. The affirmation and

worship of the courtesans probably came out of this. The court-nobles conceived of their visits to the courtesans as a part of their emulation of *Youxianku*, as we can see from Japanese court literature. This aspect of “romance” is precisely “left out” from the social system that the Tokugawa shogunate established on the basis of Neo-Confucianism and samurai ethos.

#### h. Japanese Courtly Tradition and Sacred Courtesans

Let us further analyze the characteristics of the courtly tradition *kuge-buri*. It seems that the court-nobles threw away the “public” part of the life and made the “private” part their main focus, which unlike in China, now became the basis of the form of official ideology of the hegemonic power. Ishikawa Kyûyô took this to mean that “the will toward the formation of a Paradise-nation” created an un-Chinese aesthetics and culture that does not derive from “political” motivation.<sup>126</sup> But this comment must be supplemented by pointing out that what had indeed been a non-political aspect of Chinese *wenren* culture, serving indeed as a kind of counterbalance to the intensely political ideology of the *shidaifu* but within the lives of the very same individuals, in Japan came to form a centerpiece of an official ideology by which the ruling aristocracy formulated their own cultural identity; the non-political half of the Chinese spectrum was, in this sense, politicized. As a process for this formation, probably the foundation made by *Youxianku* had been intertwined with the belief in fecundity and prosperity in the agricultural society, as we saw embedded in *Endô Tsûgan* in the previous chapter, and as also extensively documented by Origuchi Shinobu and Yanagida Kunio.<sup>127</sup>

For example, the worship of the courtesan seen in *Tsuyudono monogatari* 露殿物語 (Story of Prince Dewdrop), a storybook written around the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, is intimately and explicitly bound up with the quest for fecundity and social prosperity:

Ever since the heaven opened up and the ground settled,  
and ever since the god and the goddess Izaanagi and  
Izanami had mated at the heavenly rock, men and women  
made promises to one another, and the Way of Yin and  
Yang has thus been handed down to us for a long time. A  
bush warbler singing in a flower, a frog living in the water,  
an insect chirping in grass-- no one does not know this  
Way. Because of this, the courtesans emerged, cheering  
the hearts of people, and ten thousand artworks have  
celebrated them. Even the invisible devil gods have felt the  
pathos and even consoling the brave warriors' heart-- this is  
the Way of the courtesans.<sup>128</sup>

Here, the worship is definitely connected to the general fecundity and the flourishing of the society. As Origushi and Yanagida Kunio show us, this worship is embodied in the ritual of the emperors or nobles visiting a shrine for a meeting with the deity, an occasion known as the “divine game” 神遊び (*kami-asobi*), with the courtesans and the entertainers/prostitutes playing the role of the deity in most cases. This attitude formed a key component of the distinctive aesthetics based on the erotic sentiments, i.e., “*iro-gonomi*,” as we discussed above. This is the main essence of “*kuge-buri*” (the court-noble-way).

#### i. Dispersing and the Dual Reception of Chinese seen in the “Preface”

Now let us go back to the “Preface” and see what is revealed to us. At the very first glance and “pre-reading,” the reader sees that the language used in the passage is the language that determines the ethos of “public” ideology, i.e. the language of the “Empire.” Then through “line-by-line reading,” the interpretation of the language of the Empire is

distorted into the “private” language, generating the first level of comic effect, accomplished by bringing to awareness another dimension of the language of Empire. Careful reading of the “Preface,” however, reveals to us in the end that the private dimension of the language of the Empire connotes and is supported strongly by another lineage, which is itself the transformation of the “private” side of the imperial tradition into the public face of a new imperial tradition, i.e., the ancient Japanese courtly ethos. The comic effect is generated through the amalgamation of refinement and vulgarity, the latter itself being, it turns out, derived precisely from the distortion of the refinement. The element that distorts the refinement looks vulgar at first glance, but turns out to be generated from another aspect of the refinement.

In other words, we could probably read this “Preface” to show us another dimension of the mechanism that Lacan notes in his *Ecrits*; quoted and discussed in a previous chapter: “if I am allowed to say so, setting aside the fear of being misunderstood, for those who speak the Japanese language, it belongs to daily behavior to tell the truth *through the medium of* a lie, in other words, *without being* a liar.”<sup>129</sup> We may add that this structure also sheds some light on what Lacan says about the generation of wit (*mot d'esprit*). We saw that this applies to the phonetic system of the Japanese language and generates both a particular type of comic effect and sense of pleasure. Now our reading of the “Preface” shows that there are also similarly structured layers in the process of reading itself. The layers of the reading process bring us possible differences in cognitive content, and the gap between these layers creates not only the comic effect but even a sense of beauty.

It can be said that, in a certain sense, this is how the “samurai” slaughter, or we can say “*saluo*” or “disperse,” their own authority and pride. In other words, their own norm defined by certain relation to the Chinese classical texts, i.e., the official language, is undermined by the richness of the un-official language. We might think here of Bataille’s theory of the potlatch, the ritual destruction of excess goods as a means of securing social status and security, as we saw in Chapter 4.<sup>130</sup> For Bataille, the central problem faced by social systems is not scarcity, but precisely the opposite, excess; cultural systems must have a way of expending their excess energy, goods, power in a ritual manner that can also serve to buttress the social system and its characteristic relations. Their seeming self-destruction is actually a crucial part of their self-preservation. While Bataille is mainly talking about the squander of material goods, our current example perhaps makes it possible to talk about a kind of potlatch of ideology itself: a manner in which ideological and cultural capital, is itself ritually destroyed, but in a way that also serves to further secure the prestige of the squanders. The “samurai” class depended on erudition in the Chinese classical texts for their ideological identity; in the *sharebon* literature, they squander or shed (*saluo*) this erudition in lewd jokes and puns, undermining the august authority of these revered cultural sources. But in so doing they display precisely the mastery of the tradition, and the luxury of being able to dispose of it wastefully, that define them as a class. Pax Tokugawana obviously had an excess of useless *samurai* warriors who no longer had any wars to fight. Instead, they slaughtered their own *samurai* norm with the help of an alternate “ideology,” the court beauty, which itself was shaped from the un-official version of their model itself.

## 12. Last Sentence

The Preface ends thus with a signature:

Thus I made this preface.

Written with care by  
Countryside-aged-person  
Just-an old-man  
<Seal:Life>  
<Seal:A Single Pleasure>  
(5)

因以序。

田舎老人多田爺謹書  
<印：人生>  
<印：一樂>

### 13. Books that “Disperse”

As we have examined above, the book at first glance presents itself as some kind of academic book on linguistics of the kind the “*shidaifu*” would read, except for the book’s physical size. In the Edo era, almost all the books in the category of “*mono no hon*,” i.e., academic books that were usually Chinese Classics if not, the translation or annotation of them, came with the bigger size, and these books were regulated to register with the shogunate government. On the other hand, the books, categorized as “*ji-hon*,” i.e., local books or casual books, usually came with the size of “*ko-bon*” and “*chû-bon*,” the smaller sizes. This category including all the entertaining books such as theater pamphlets, guidebooks on games, picture books and so on, did not have to go through the governmental registration. Nakano Mitsutoshi suggests that it might have been easier and less restricted for the group of the authors and publishers for the playful writings including *sharebon* to publish. We can also say that these small size books, including

*sharebon*, were not published to be kept permanently, that is, they were meant to be disposable, i.e., to be “*saluo*” or “dispersed.”<sup>131</sup>

Lastly let us refresh our memory and read the preface to *Futsuka-yoi ôsakadzuki* (Hangover glasses and cups), written by Manzô-tei (Master of all things), which we previously read. This passage reveals to us that the book is meant to be wasted. It goes: ““Write a wasteful book.” So they say. “Leave it to me,” I replied. … Please laugh. Please laugh!” 無駄本を書けとい。まかせておける。・・・笑っておくれ笑っておくれ<sup>132</sup> Here, “a wasteful book” can be “a book to be splashed away.” Thus, “to shed,” which is one of the meanings of the word “*saluo*” in Chinese, actually turns out to explicate the attributes of *sharebon* literature. After the preceding discussion, and all the various aspects of the meaning of “*saluo*”, i.e., shedd, disperse, dissipate, or squander, brought together there, with the other implications of the term *share*, we are now perhaps in a better position to understand what this means. In this renewed and enriched sense, then I would here like to assert the suitability of the translation for “*sharebon*” that I tentatively suggested in the beginning of this thesis: “dispersable witty book (by mimicry) (for demimondeans).”

## ENDNOTES:

### Chapter 6

<sup>1</sup> Fujiwara no Toshinari, *Chōshūei-sō*, In *Chōshūeisō, Sanka shū, Nihon koten zenshū dai-1 kai*, p.37.

<sup>2</sup> Yoshida Kenkō, *Essays in Idleness; The Tsurezuregusa of Kenkō*, trans. Donald Keene, p.5. *Tsurezuregusa*, SNKBZ 44: 84.

<sup>3</sup> Baudelaire, *Œuvres Complètes*, pp. 649. 652,

<sup>4</sup> Luis Frois, *Yōroppa (Europe) bunka to Nihon bunka*, trans. Okada Akio, p.146.

Frois also observes in this book thus: “we learn a lot of actual skills and information from books, but they spend their whole life to understand the meaning of the words.” p.139.

<sup>5</sup> Kaibara Ekiken, *Yamato honzō*, p.233.

<sup>6</sup> Hino Tatsuo *chosaku-shū dai-3 kan, Kinsei bungaku-shi*, p.10.

<sup>7</sup> Ouyang Xiu, *Ouyang Wenzhonggong ji* 4, in *Guoxuejibencongshu*, ed. Wang Yunwu, Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1967.

Japanese translation: Ou Yōshū, *Rakuyō botan-ki*, In *Chūgoku no kafu, Tōyō Bunko* 622, pp.49-72.

<sup>8</sup> *Haku Kyo* (jou), In *Chūgoku shijin senshū* 12, pp.134-8.

<sup>9</sup> Kaibara Ekiken, *op.cit.*, p.7.

<sup>10</sup> Terashima Ryōan, *Wakan sansai zue* 16, *Tōyō Bunko* 521, p.320.

<sup>11</sup> Terashima Ryōan, *Wakan sansai zue* 15, *Tōyō Bunko* 516, pp.300-304.

<sup>12</sup> Legge's translation, slightly modified.

<sup>13</sup> Shibasen [Ch.Ssu Ma Chien], *Shiki* [Ch.Shi Chi], ed. Kotake Fumio et al.

<sup>14</sup> Obviously there is a discrepancy between the place Su Shi visited and the one that is considered to be a real war ruin. The former is called “Cultural Red cliff” and latter, “Military Red Cliff,” and differentiate the two places. The “Cultural Red cliff” is on Hang Jiang 漢水 [J. Kansui] (Han River), branched out of Chang Jiang 長江 [J. Chōkō] Chang River) in Hubei 湖北 [Ch. Kohoku] district.

<sup>15</sup> *Kobun shinpō (koushū)*, *Shinshaku kanbun taikei* 16, P.48, 56.

<sup>16</sup> *Dōgen zenji zenshū* 2, pp.272-3.

<sup>17</sup> Ôta Nanpo, *Nanpo yūgen*, In *Nihon zuihitsu taisei dai-2 ki* 24, pp.227-9.

<sup>18</sup> In his letter to Miyazaki Keikō 宮崎荊口, Basho recounts that the following verse of his was inspired by a passage from So Shoku's “Ode to Red Cliff,” which goes “the white dew hovers over the river, the light of the water reaches the sky” 白露横江 水光接天:

hototogisu koe ya yokotou mizu no ue	The cockoo its cry still hovering over the water.
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ほととぎす声や横たふ水の上

In *Zenshaku Bashou shokan shū*, p.566.

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<sup>19</sup> Koyama Sodô, “So Tôba; Edo-jidai no Shûji tehon,” *Sumi* 68, (Sep.Oct. 1987), Geijutsu sinbunsha.

<sup>20</sup> Ishikawa Matsutarô et al., *Zuroku Nihon kyôiku no genryû*, Dai-ichi houki shuppan, 1984.

<sup>21</sup> Kawase Kazuma, *Ashikaga gakkou no kenkyû*, p.32.

<sup>22</sup> *Kanshi taikan* (ge), *So Tôba shishû maki* 22, p.2743.

<sup>23</sup> *So Tôba shishû dai-Isatsu*, 5vols.

<sup>24</sup> *Shin-shaku kanbun taikei* 16, kobun shinpô (kô-shû), p.101.

春夜宴桃李園序 李白

夫天地者萬物之逆旅光陰者百代之過客而浮生若夢爲歡幾何古人秉燭夜遊良有以也況陽春召我以煙景大塊假我以文章會桃李之芳園序天倫之樂事群季俊秀皆爲惠連吾人詠歌獨慚康樂幽賞未已高談轉清開瓊筵以坐花飛羽觴而醉月不有佳作何之伸雅懷如詩不成罰依金谷酒數

The beginning of this work is alluded by Matsuo Basho in his *Oku no hosomichi* 奥の細道 (The Narrow Road to the Deep North), which starts, “Months and days are the travelers of hundreds generations and the years that go by are also merely wanderers.” 月日は百代の過客にして、行かふ年も又旅人也 Matsuo Basho, *The Narrow Road to the Deep North*, trans. by Yuasa Nobuyuki. Matsuo Basho, *Oku no hosomichi*, p.9.

<sup>25</sup> *Kanshi taikei dai-10 kan Ôi*.

<sup>26</sup> *Tô shi sen* (ge), p.181.

<sup>27</sup> *Zenki shû*.

<sup>28</sup> Xuzangjing Vol. 80, No. 1565, CBETA Chinese Electronic Tripitaka V1.69.

五燈會元卷第八

起来天地還依旧 門前綠樹無啼鳥 庭下蒼苔有落花  
聊興東風論箇事 十分春色屬誰家 秋到山寒水冷  
春來柳綠花紅 一點動隨萬變 江村煙雨濛々 有不有  
空不空 . . .

<sup>29</sup> Lu-zu Quan-xue 呂祖全書.

<sup>30</sup> Hankyô zakki, Soshû gahôroku, *Tôyô Bunko* 29, p.69, 72, 80.

The expressions of “flower-street” 花街 and “flower-willow” 花柳 are still common for the daily use in modern Japanese language. The first one is usually pronounced as “hana-machi” 花街 with Japanese pronunciation, and usually indicate the bar districts or the ex-demimondes area. The latter is pronounced as “karyû” in Chinese way of pronunciation and usually used as “karyû-kai” 花柳界 (flower-willow world) to indicate the traditional Japanese dancing society.

<sup>31</sup> *Tôsei kuruwa dangi*, ST 1: 321-354, 407-411.

<sup>32</sup> *Heian karyû roku*, ST 1: 119-135, 371-8.

<sup>33</sup> *Shimabara yasa-monogatari*, ST 3: 275-286, 394-6.

<sup>34</sup> *Sato-namari*, ST 12: 105-118, 362-4.

<sup>35</sup> *Rôka kagai ima ima hakke*, ST 12: 297-311, 388-9.

<sup>36</sup> *Sato-kagami*, ST 27: 59-96, 364-7. *Sato-suzume*, ST 27: 259-288, 386-8. *Sato-furige*, ST 27: 181-224, 376-382.

<sup>37</sup> *Tô shisen* (ge), pp.131-4.

其一

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雲想衣裳花想容，  
春風拂檻露華濃。  
若非群玉山頭見，  
會向瑤台月下逢。

其二

一枝紅艷露凝香，  
雲雨巫山枉斷腸。  
借問漢宮誰得似，  
可憐飛燕倚新妝。

其三

名花傾國兩相歡，  
常得君王帶笑看。  
解釋春風無限恨，  
沈香亭北倚欄杆

<sup>38</sup> Komada Shinji, *Chûgoku koji monogatari: aijou no maki*, pp.14-6.

<sup>39</sup> Saitô Mareshi, *Kan-bunmyaku to kindai-Nihon*, pp.125-6, 166.

<sup>40</sup> For the translation of *Hyakunin isshu*, please see Joshua S. Mostow, *Pictures of the Heart: The Hyakunin Isshu in Word and Image*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996. Also *One Hundred Poets, One Poem Each*, trans. by Peter McMillan, NY: Columbia College Press, 2008.

<sup>41</sup> For the research on the process by which these poems were made into a game, please see Nakamura Yukihiko, “Uta-garuta,” in *Nakamura Yukihiko Chojutsu-shû 3*, Chûô Kôronsha, 1983.

<sup>42</sup> Chikamatsu Monzaemon, *Kaoyo uta-karuta*, In *Chikamatsu gikyoku-shû, chû-kan*, Kokumin Bunko Kankôkai, 1910.

<sup>43</sup> Miki Sasuke, *Meiji shuppan-shi-wa*, p.4.

<sup>44</sup> Donald Keene, *Seeds in the Heart*, p. 674.

<sup>45</sup> Hanada Kiyoteru, “Kugete-teki na mono to buke-teki na mono,” *Mou-hitotsu no shura*, p.33.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p.26-7, 32.

<sup>47</sup> Maruya Saiichi, *Koi to Onna no Nihon bungaku*, Kôdansha, 1996.

<sup>48</sup> Yoshida Kenkô, *Essays in Idleness; The Tsurezuregusa of Kenkô*, trans. Donald Keen, p.5.

<sup>49</sup> Fujiwara no Toshinari, *Chôshû eisô*, In *Chôshû eisô, Sanka shû, Nihon koten zenshû dai-1 kai*, ed. by Yosano Akiko et. al., p.37.

<sup>50</sup> Nakamura Shin'ichirou, *Iro-gonomi no kôzô*, Iwanami shoten, 1985.

<sup>51</sup> On a snowy day, when the Empress asked the court ladies the way to appreciate the “snow at the Kôro-hô-peak,” Sei Shônagon replied, “Flip over the screen” 撥簾看. This is obviously a reference to a line from Bo Juyi’s verse, “Flip over the screen to see the snow at the Xianglufeng peak” 香爐峯雪撥簾看.

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<sup>52</sup> J. Thomas Rimer et al., *Japanese and Chinese poems to sing: the Wakan rōei shū*, New York : Columbia University Press, 1997.

<sup>53</sup> Please see, for example, Motoori Norinaga's *Ashiwake obune* 排芦小船, *Tamakatsuma* 玉勝間, *Iso no kami no sasame-goto* 石上私淑言, *Shibun yōryō* 紫文要領, *Genji monogatari tama no ogushi* 源氏物語玉の小櫛. In *Tamakatsuma*, we can see; 人の心の、いづれの国のことなることなきは、本のまごゝころこそあれ、からぶみにいへるおもむきは、皆かの国人のこちたきさかしら心もて、いつはりかざりたる事のみ多ければ、真心にあらず.” *Motoori Norinaga zenshū* 1, 2., 4.

<sup>54</sup> Yoshikawa Kōjirō, “Bunjaku no kachi,” In *Motoori Norinaga, Nihon shisou taikei* 40, pp.593-625, esp.p.610.

<sup>55</sup> The Chinese phrase is usually 優柔寡斷 [Ch.yourouguaduan].

<sup>56</sup> Yoshikawa Kōjirō, *op.cit.*, pp.593-625. esp. pp.601-3, 623-4.

<sup>57</sup> Saitō Mareshi, *op.cit.*, p.125,130.

<sup>58</sup> Saitō Shigeru, *Gijo to Chūgoku bunjin, Tōhō-sensho* 35, p.74.

<sup>59</sup> The line, “The transience of things is like this” 逝者如斯 is quoted from Analects, 9:17.

<sup>60</sup> *Zhuangzi: The Essential Writings*, trans. Brook Ziporyn, p.33.

自其異者視之、肝膽楚越也。 . . .

*Sōji, dai-1 satsu (nai-hen)*, trans. Kanaya Osamu, pp.149-150.

<sup>61</sup> *Zhuangzi: The Essential Writings*, trans. Brook Ziporyn, p.15.

. . . 天地與並生、而萬物與為一、 . . .

*Sōji, dai-1 satsu (nai-hen)*, trans. Kanaya Osamu, pp.67-8.

<sup>62</sup> *Zhuangzi: The Essential Writings*, trans. by Brook Ziporyn, p.12.

物無非彼，物無非是。自彼則不見，自知則知之。故曰彼出於是，是亦因。彼方生之?也。雖然，方生方死，方死方生；方可方不可，方不可方可；因是因非，因非因是。是以聖人不由，而照之于天，亦因是也。是亦彼也，彼亦是也。

*Sōji, dai-1 satsu (nai-hen)*, trans. Kanaya Osamu, pp.54-57.

<sup>63</sup> Rin Godō [Ch. Lin Yutang], *So Tōba* [Ch. Su Dongpo] (ge), p.12.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.8-9.

In this connection, it is worth making a quick note here on the aesthetic notion of “fueki ryūkō” 不易流行 (Unchanging and in flux), advocated by Matsuo Bashō, which prevailed among the Edo *haikai* poets. Matsuo Bashō is known to adore both Su Shi and Zhuangzi, and both of their ideas and writings probably contributed in many ways to develop Bashō's unique notions on the beauty of *haikai* poetry. Peipei Qiu, *Basho and the Dao: the Zhuangzi and the transformation of Haikai*, Honolulu: U. of Hawaii, 2005. Also, Morimoto Tetsuro, *Chūgoku shikyou no tabi*, Kyoto: PHP kenkyūsho, 2005, pp.128-9. One of his disciples, Hattori Dohō 服部土芳 (1657-1730), recalls what Bashō said about this notion, *fueki ryūkō* in *Sanzōshi* 三冊子 (The Three Booklets). He explains thus:

The Master's poetry has both the unchanging (*fueki*) that remains for thousands of years and the ever-changing (*henka*) that lasts only momentarily. These two, in the final analysis, are one at the base. This “One at the base” is the sincerity of poetry (*fuga no makoto*). If one does not understand what the unchanging is, one cannot understand the sincerity of poetry. The unchanging does not depend

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on the old or the new, nor is it affected by changes and fashions; it is firmly rooted in the sincerity of poetry.

師の風雅に万代不易あり、一時の変化あり。この二つにきわまり、その本一なり。その一といふは風雅の誠なり。不易を知らざれば實に知れるにあらず。不易といふは、新古によらず、変化流行にもかかはらず、誠によく立ちたるすがた也。

*Sanzôshi*, NKBZ 51: 545. Trans. Peipei Qiu, *op.cit.*, p.136.

Dohô condenses Bashô's guidance on the composition of *haikai* verse into two aspects, that is, the eternally unchanging and transient phenomena, both of which come from the same base, the recognition of which is essential to the beauty of *haikai* verse. Here I do not wish to summarize the intrinsic notion for *haikai* poetry, or to clarify the influential link between the Bashô, Su Shi and Zhuangzi, but this could show us one example of the reception of Su Shi in the Edo aesthetics.

<sup>65</sup> Rin Godô, *op.cit.*, pp.34-8.

<sup>66</sup> Above we saw “the water and the moon” used for the clarification of Su Shi’s metaphysics. I should note that this image plays an important role in the development of the concept of *iki*. In *Naniwadora* 難波鉢 (Prodigal son of Naniwa [Osaka]), one of the *Yûjo hyôbanki* (Courtesan reviews), published in 1680, Yûsuian Muteikoji 西水庵無底居士 claims that “the water” and “the moon” are the essential symbolic manifestations of the aesthetics demanded of the demimonde visitors. It is the highest aesthetic goal for the visitors to be called “water.”

The explanation for this is thus. The beginners of the demimonde visit are compared to the moon, and the courtesans to the water. The moon is reflected on the water and finally sinks in the water. When the customer becomes accomplished in the ways of the demimonde, he too becomes “water.” Now I should note here that the word, “water” 水 is pronounced as *sui* in Chinese way of pronunciation, and is a homophone of the word *sui* 粿 that is the common pronunciation in the Osaka-Kyoto area for the character usually pronounced as *iki* in the Edo area. Nakano Mitsutoshi proclaims that this usage of “water” is the origin of the aesthetic concept of “*iki/sui* 粿.”

Nakano Mitsutoshi, note In *Shikidou showake; Naniwa dora*, pp.37-8, 243, 261.

<sup>67</sup> *Kobun shinpô* (*kô-shû*), *Shinshaku kanbun taikei* 16, Meiji shoin, 1963.

Also in Translation: *The Poetic Exposition on Red Cliff; An Anthology of Chinese Literature*, trans. by Stephen Owen, pp. 292-294, 675-676. Translation is modified.

<sup>68</sup> Kuki Shûzo, ‘*iki*’ no *kôzô*, p.22, 25, 27.

<sup>69</sup> For more information on *Naniwadora*, please see footnote 66.

Yûsui-an Mutei-koji, *Shikidou showake; Naniwa dora*, pp.38.

<sup>70</sup> ST 17: 126.

Also in NKBZ 47: 189.

<sup>71</sup> *Seki-fu-den*, ST 1: 306. Also in NKBZ 47: 48.

<sup>72</sup> We should note here some bibliographical information pertaining to this preface. We can find the same preface, word for word with one small exception, in another *sharehon*

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titled *Tōyō eiga* \*陽英華 [=木壽], which was published in 1742 in Osaka and attributed to the same author, prior to the publication of *Yūshi hōgen*. ST 11: 137.

The entire text of *Tōyō eiga* is written in Chinese, in a style that imitates the style of “Ode to Red Cliff.” That is, the allusion to the “Ode” in the preface, works very well in conjunction with the content. The only discrepancy between the two is the name of the place where all the fun is being had. In the preface of *Tōyō eiga*, the name of another demimonde area in Osaka, “Tōyō” is put in lieu of “Hokushū” 北州 (northern region), \* 陽之遊鳴呼樂夫. Our author seems to have no objection to recycling his prefaces—which further supports the idea that their function was mainly to establish a certain relationship to existing Chinese literary traditions, and their subversion, by virtue of their format rather than their content.

<sup>73</sup> *Hokushū retsujo-den*, In *Daisō-bon kisho shūsei*, dai-1 kan, pp.74-81.

Nakamura Yukihiko suggests that the author of the book should be Shōji Jin’emon, the founder of Yoshiwara demimonde and the author of *Dōbō goen*. Nakamura Yukihiko, *Kinsei shousetsu-shi*, p.411.

<sup>74</sup> *Retsujo-den* 1-3, *Tōyō Bunko* 686-9, trans. Nakajima Midori, Heibon-sha, 2001.

<sup>75</sup> “Hokushū sen’nen no kotobuki” is considered to be one of the classics of the genre and performed for the occasions of celebration. At the performance, a dancer uses no background setting nor costumes and performs twenty roles of men and women, from samurai to horse driver to courtesans of different ranks, in various events and settings throughout the four seasons. It was supposed to be performed for the memory of the courtesan, Tamagiku. This piece is now considered to be a difficult task for the dancers. For the lyric written by Nanpo, please see; Takikawa Masajirō, *Yoshiwara noshiki; kiyomoto “Hokushū sen’nen no kotobuki” koushou*, Seia-bō, 1971. Also an article in *Yomiuri shinbun* 2006 May 29<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>76</sup> *Hokurika*, ST 4: 234. *Hokkaku tamago no shikaku*, ST 16: 157-177.

<sup>77</sup> *Hokuri kenmon-roku*, maki 1-3, In *Yoshiwara fūzoku shiryō zen*, pp.421-522.

<sup>78</sup> We can see the word in some of the *senryū* comical verses.

taikomochi	A male entertainer is
arinsu-koku no	at Arinsu country
tsūji nari	an interpreter

太鼓持ありんす國の通辞なり

<sup>79</sup> *Shinagawa yōji*, ST 17: 285-302. *Shinjuku yawa*, ST 28: 219-234. *Fukagawa shinwa*, ST 8: 211-226.

<sup>80</sup> *Kōeki shin-wa*, ST 6: 291-311.

<sup>81</sup> *Kyōbō ki*, *Hokuri shi*, *Tōyō Bunko* 549, trans. by Saito Shigeru, pp.113-240, 252-271.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.222, 272.

<sup>83</sup> *Soshū gahōroku*, in *Hankyou zakki*, *Soshū gahou-roku*, *Tōyō Bunko* 29, p.68.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p.4.

<sup>85</sup> *Hokushū retsujo-den*, In *Daisō-bon kisho shūsei*, dai-1 kan, pp.81-4.

<sup>86</sup> “Changhen’ge” starts thus:

The Chinese Emperor values eros

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and thinks of a country-declining [beauty].  
However, during his long reign period,  
he has been unable to find one.

漢皇重色思傾國

御宇多年求不得 *Tang shi san bai shou xiangxi*, p.112.

Though the name of the Emperor of Wu of Han dynasty is used in the ballad, it is commonly considered to be an indirect reference to the Emperor Xuan Zong who sought for Yang Guifei. We should also note that the basic plot and notion of *The Tale of Genji* is based on the Ode of the Emperor Xuan zong and Yang Guifei, described in this ballad.  
<sup>87</sup> NKBZ 33: 33.

<sup>88</sup> It is interesting to see the early usage of this word to describe a woman. In *Shijing* [J. Shi kyô] 詩經 (Book of Odes), we find a poem in the section of “Greater Odes of the Kingdom” 大雅, which goes: “A smart man builds a city, and a smart woman ruins a city” 哲夫成城、哲婦傾城.

<sup>89</sup> *Hankyou zakki, Soshû gahôroku, Tôyô Bunko* 29, p.113.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p.39.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p.230.

<sup>92</sup> *Jinrin kinmô zui, Tôyô Bunko* 519, pp. 250-5.

<sup>93</sup> Chikamatsu Monzaemon, *Keisei hangonkô*, Hakusui-sha, 1989.

<sup>94</sup> The expression used in Yûshi hôgen for the courtesans is *jorô* 女郎.

Other entries for the word “keisei” : In *Shikidô ôkagami* 色道大鑑 introduces the word, *keisei* first in his list of terms for courtesans, prior to *yûjo* and *jorô*.

*Shikidô ôkagami*, in *Zoku Enseki jisshu, dai-2*, p.407.

*Hitorine* also gives an introduction for the word *keisei*. *Hitorine, NKBT* 96: 27-108, esp., 174.

<sup>95</sup> ST 15: 233-254. Also in NKBZ 47: 123-147.

<sup>96</sup> ST 17: 109-126. Also in NKBZ 47: 169-189.

<sup>97</sup> There are also examples of applying a different set of Chinese characters for the sound, *keisei* (courtesans). For example, Tanishi Kingyo 田螺金魚 (?1770-1780?) uses the characters *kei* 契 (to vow) and *sei/jô* 情 (affection) to indicate *keisei*, i.e., the courtesans in his *sharebon* work, *Keisei-kai tora no maki* 契情買虎之卷 (Cheat sheet for purchasing *keisei*, 1778). ST 7: 301-330.

<sup>98</sup> The example of the poem by an *ukare-me*:

垂姫の浦をこぎつつ今日の日は楽しく遊べ言継（いひつぎ）にせむ  
遊行婦（うかれめ） 18: 4047

<sup>99</sup> 遊女（あそび）三人、いづくよりもなくいで來たり。五十ばかりなるひとり、二十ばかりなる、十四、五なるとあり。 . . . 声すべて似るものなく、空に澄みのぼりてめでたく歌を歌ふ。

*SNKBZ 26, Izumi-shikubu nikki*. Also in translation: *The Sarashina Diary, In Diaries of Court Ladies of Old Japan*, trans. Annie Shepley Omori and Kochi Doi, pp. 1-68.

*As I Crossed a Bridge of Dreams: Recollections of a Woman in Eleventh-Century Japan*, trans. Ivan Morris, London: Penguin Classics, 1989.

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<sup>100</sup> 濱千鳥飛びゆくかぎりありければ雲立つ山をあはとこそみれ  
いのちだに 心にかなふものならば なにか別れのかなしからまし  
(しろといううかれめ) 大和物語 145  
あさみどりかひある春にあひぬれば霞ならねどたちのぼりけり  
(しろ／大江玉淵の女) 大和物語 145,146

NKBT 9: 309-311.

Also in translation: *Tales of Yamato: A Tenth Century Poem-Tale*, Mildred M. Tahara, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1980.

<sup>101</sup> It says that the poem is written to the Chancellor Minamoto by the courtesan, Shirome 白女. It goes:

いのちだに 心にかなふものならば なにか別れのかなしからまし(Kokinshū; 8-387)

Translation:*Kokinshū; A Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern*, trans. Laurel Rasplata Rodd, Mary Catherine Henkenius, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984.

<sup>102</sup> *Jikkin shō*, ed. by Nagatsumi Yasu'aki, SNKBZ 51, pp.291-3.

<sup>103</sup> For example, in “Go-shūi waka-shū,” complied during 1075-1086, we see the following poem by yūjo Miyaki:

津の國はなにわのことか法ならぬ 遊びたはふれまでとこそ聞け 1197

SNKBT 8, *Go-shūi waka-shū*, 1994, p.389.

There is also a renowned Nō piece, titled “Eguchi” on the courtesan and a traveler who is commonly considered to be Saigyō. NKBT 33: 260-270.

<sup>104</sup> It writes:

雲客風人 為賞遊女

*Kodai seiji shakai shisō*, NST 8: 154-6, 307-8, esp.,p.308.

<sup>105</sup> *Yūjo anmon*, ST Supplement: 173-207, 535-540

*Yūjo daigaku*, ST 24: 239-276, 375-7.

<sup>106</sup> Nishiyama Matsunosuke, *Yūjo*, p.80.

<sup>107</sup> Chen Yixiu 陳羿秀, “Edo zenki to Min [Ch.Ming] matsu Shin [Ch. Qing] sho ni okeru yûkaku bunka ni tsuite,” In ‘*Taiwa to shinka’ no ji-sedai josei riidaa (“leader”) no ikusei*, Heisei 18-nendo katsudou houkousho; March 2007, Ochanomizu University, 2007, pp.158-162, esp. p.161.

<sup>108</sup> *Hokuri shi* In *Kyôbôki*, *Hokuri shi*, Tôyô Bunko 549, p.114.

<sup>109</sup> *Chûgoku shôsetsu shi ryaku* 中國小說史略 [Ch. Zhongguo Xiaoshuo Shilue] (A concise history of Chinese fiction) *Tôyô Bunko* 619, p.256.

<sup>110</sup> *Kyôbô ki*, *Hokuri shi*, Tôyô Bunko 549, pp.115, 252.

<sup>111</sup> *Hankyo zakki*, *Soshû gahô-roku*, *Tôyô Bunko* 29, p.18, 25, 28, 31, 33, 42, 47, 74, 75, 79, 80, 95, 105, 106, 108-109, 111.

<sup>112</sup> Wang Hongtai 王鴻泰, “Qinglou mingji yu qingyi shenghuo; mingqingjian de jinu yu wenren,” In Xiong Bingzhen and Lu Miaofen, ed. *Lijiao yu qingyu: qianjindai zhongguo wenhua zhong de hou/xiandaixing*. Taipei: Academia Sinica Institute for Modern History, 1999, pp.73-123.

<sup>113</sup> *Sato no odamaki hyô*, ST 6: 177.

<sup>114</sup> For example, in “Shûi waka-shû” 拾遺和歌集, we can find the following:

野宮に斎宮の庚申し侍（はべり）けるに、松風入夜琴  
という題を詠み侍ける

<sup>115</sup> *Kyôbô ki, Hokuri shi, Tôyô Bunko* 549, trans. Saitô Shigeru, p.128, 254.

<sup>116</sup> *Hankyô zakki, Soshû gahôroku, Tôyô Bunko* 29, trans. Iwaki Hideo, p.18.

This is a reference to a description of Vasumitra, the prostitute-bodhisattva depicted in the Avatamsaka Sutra [J. Kegon Kyô], see Taisho 10.365b-366a.

<sup>117</sup> Among the scholarship on the history of the courtesans, there are many works proclaiming their sacredness, such as the following:

Saeki Junko, *Yûjo no bunka-shi*, Chûô Kôronsha, 1987. Ôwa Iwao, *Yûjo to Ten'nou*, Hakusui-sha, 1993. Nakayama Tarô, *Nippon kon'in-shi*, Parutosu-sha, 1984.

Origuchi Shinobu, "Kami no yome," In *Origuchi Shinobu zenshû* 27, Chûô Kôronsha, 1997.

There are also the other aspects to the situation highlighted in works focusing more on the society and social norm that "women should be submitted to men" as the background to generate the system of prostitution and demimonde, such as:

Takigawa Masajirô, *Yûjo no rekishi*, Shibun-dô, 1965. Fukutô Sanae, "Ukare-me kara yûjo e," In *Nihon josei seikatsu-shi, dai-1 kan*, Tokyo daigaku shuppan-kai, 1990.

<sup>118</sup> *Sato no odamaki hyô*, ST 6: 177.

<sup>119</sup> *Sekifuden*, ST 1: 304 .

<sup>120</sup> Chô Bunsei, *Yûsenkutsu*, trans. Imamura Yoshio, pp.3-4, 295-306.

<sup>121</sup> There is also a tradition of Chinese Emperors having sexual encounters with supernatural women in the course travels to remote mountains areas, as in the famous tale of Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty meeting a divine woman at Mt. Wu, the origin of the phrase "clouds and rain" to describe sexual congress. It is commonly considered that we find evidence of the influence in Japan of these Chinese tales and rituals in the accounts of going up to the secret mountains, as for example in works such as *Nihon shoki* (Chronicles of Japan).

<sup>122</sup> Kojima Noriyuki, "Yusenkutsu no kage," in *Man'yo*, pp.48-9.

Kuranaka Susumu, "Shin-sen-ji-kyo to Yusenkutsu," *Man'yo*, no. 29, Oct., Osaka: Man'yo gakkai, 1958, pp.39-47.

<sup>123</sup> Keichû, "Man'yô daishô ki," *Keichû zenshû*, dai-1 kan, pp.322-3.

The story of Uma'ine can be seen in a picture book published during the Edo era. The topic seems to have gained certain popularity among Edo people. Please see the Appendix for the picture.

<sup>124</sup> Umehara Takeshi, *Ama to Tennô* (jô), Shinchô-sha, 1995.

<sup>125</sup> Maruya Saiichi, *Koi to Onna no Nihon bungaku*, pp.14-5, 49.

<sup>126</sup> Ishikawa Kyûyô, *Kanji no bunmei, kana no bunmei*, p.28.

<sup>127</sup> For example, please see:

Origuchi Shinobu, "Miko to yûjo to," and "Nihon geinou-shi roku-kou," in *Origuchi Shinobu zenshû* 21, Chûô Kôron-sha, 1996. Also "Nihon bungaku no hassei," *op.cit.*, 4. 1995. Yanagida Kunio, "Imo no chikara," and "Miko kô," in Yanagida Kunio zenshû 11, Chikuma shobô, 1990.

<sup>128</sup> *Tsuyudono monogatari*, p.1.

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<sup>129</sup> Translated from the Japanese translation of Jacques Lacan, “Nihon no dokusha ni yosete,” *Ecrits I*, trans. by Miyamoto Tadao et.al., p.iv.

<sup>130</sup> Please see Georges Bataille, *The Accursed Share*, vol. 1, pp. 63-77.

<sup>131</sup> Since the usual size and color of the sharebon books were considered to remind the konjac paste pudding (*konnyaku*), these books were also called *konnyaku-bon*. In actually fact, the *konnyaku* was the name of a popular food among Edoites. It is said that people believed the *konnyaku* had some cleansing power to remove ashes and sand inside their body. We are tempted to say that *konnyaku* shed out the sand and ashes from the body. When Mt. Fuji exploded in 1707 and the Edo area was covered with the volcanic ashes, the Edo people consumed *konnyaku* in great quantities.

There exists a cookbook exclusively using *konnyaku* as an ingredient. The title of the cookbook is “Konnyaku hyakuchin (konjac paste pudding in a hundred precious ways) published in 1846. In that sense, *konnyaku* must have been easy dish and consumed a lot. In that sense, also, “*konnyaku-bon*” can mean “book for shedding.” Probably not just the shape and color, but its usage fit the attribute of *sharebon* works.

<sup>132</sup> ST 12: 315.

## Conclusion

Qu'est-ce que l'art? Prostitution.<sup>1</sup>

Baudelaire, "Fusées,"  
in *Oeuvres Complètes*

This dissertation has been an exploration of the braiding together of official prostitution, classical erudition, authoritative exoticism, defiant mockery, and disposable jokes and episodes, converging in the aesthetics underlying the genre of *sharebon* in 18<sup>th</sup> century Edo Japan. The topic and setting of these works focuses exclusively on the demimonde, while their style is shot through with implicit references to, and perverse tweakings of, classical Chinese literary sources, combining to form a unique revelation of the sensibilities and identity politics embedded in the aesthetics of the emerging Edo samurai elite. Their sense of the beautiful, as embodied in these works on beautiful and unbeautiful behavior, on the intermixture of various registers of refinement and vulgarity, encode complex undercurrents pertaining to their sense of themselves, their relation to the authoritative models of China and Heian Japan into whose shoes they aspire to step, their unease with and defiance of these roles, the deployment of sexuality and desire in developing a sense of beauty as a breakdown of role responsibility, and finally a unique "potlatch of ideology" that displays an interesting self-negating structure, a form of status-building and status-consolidation that entrenches itself precisely by undermining

and mocking itself—a structure of perhaps more general interest than the narrower question of Edo aesthetics which is my immediate concern here. I chose *Yûshi hôgen* as a main focus of the discussion, because it is commonly considered a prototype of the entire *sharebon* genre. I also examined several other texts and authors.

In this thesis, first in Chapter 1, I examined the three Japanese conventional meanings of the word “*share*,” namely, “demimonde,” “word play” and “being stylish.” Then I suggested to add two more meanings, “pretending” and “dispersing,” the latter being one of the main meanings of the same word “*saluo*” in Chinese. I utilized these five meanings of “*share*” and explored the Edo aesthetics seen in *sharebon* literature.

In Chapter 2, I examined the reception of Confucianism from China in Edo and its transformation into Edo Confucianism. One of the main features of the transformed ethos is the “Eight Cardinal Virtues,” in ironic reference to which the demimonde was called “The Eight [Cardinal Virtues] Lost.” Then, I examined the rise of a monetary economy in Edo and observed its multifarious influence on the society and culture. The role of the demimonde was reconsidered in the context of these economic and social conditions, showing the manner in which it served as a “safety net” for Edo society. We also found some of these essays praising courtesans as filial, and when we considered this in its social context, the underlying thrust of these rather surprising evaluations became clear. We found here a countercurrent of moral torque by means of which the courtesans, far from representing a loss of the “Eight Virtues,” were at the same time considered to be filial and therefore exemplars of the prevailing official ethos. That also leads us to the examination of the peculiar Tokugawa social system, including its attitude toward its social outcasts. Sorai’s admonition against the mixing of classes illuminated the

comparatively free social intercourse among the classes in the demimonde. We also plumbed the sources revealing the degree to which the samurai class patronized the demimonde, bringing home to us the extent to which they sometimes suspended their allegiance to the Confucian ethos against both immoderation in sex and extravagant habits.

From these investigations into the socio-economic aspects of Edo society conducted in Chapter 1, we learned that the social place of courtesans and the demimonde in general was something wholly new from the perspective of the emerging economy and the class structure. And the tension in the contrasting depictions and evaluations of the demimonde in contemporaneous sources helped enrich our grasp of the complex contradictions in the literate discourse of the ruling class at that time, neither monolithically critiquing nor accepting the demimonde.

In Chapter 3, we tried to see *Yûshi hôgen* as a reflection of “pretending,” the second meaning of “share.” We found there are two strata of “pretending” operative here: 1) to “pretend to be some caricaturized figure to generate humor,” and 2) to “pretend to be refined and generate ironic beauty by distortion of refinement.” A prominent characteristic seen in *sharebon* lies in its light and frivolous quality, a kind of irresponsible wittiness, which is the literal denotation of the term “share.” There seem to be two main characteristics that underlie the setting for “share” seen in *sharebon* literature. One is what I call situationalism or transiency. This is likely related to the original creation of *sharebon* works as games at social gatherings, the “get-togethers” of a group of artists on a particular occasion. This situation-dependence is also seen in the fact that much of *sharebon* consists of faithful copies of vernacular conversation, popular

songs, and environmental sounds (as well as gossip about contemporary entertainers).

The other prominent feature of these works is the reception and parodying of Chinese classical texts. It is the balance and tension of these two traits that give *sharebon* its unique style, combining a light and often vulgar humor with a highly literary formal structure of thick intertextual resonance.

I focused more on the latter trait in this thesis. When we examine the *sharebon* works, the text per se usually shows the characteristics of the former trait, i.e., taking the form of a dramatic script consisting mainly of conversational dialogue, and the other parts that surround the text per se, such as titles, prefaces, postscripts and the pennames, show the latter, being heavy on allusions and erudite tweaks of those allusions. The format of the works also shows the latter characteristic. In other words, the vulgar-looking situational transiency embodied in demimonde dialogues heavy on colloquialisms and onomatopoeia is wrapped within the formal, solid and refined-looking structure. This analysis also led to the conclusion that “vulgarity within refinement and refinement within vulgarity” is the dominant aesthetic trait of this genre.

Chapter 4 was focused on an examination of the title of *Yûshi hôgen* in reference to several other *sharebon* works from the point of “word play,” the third meaning of “share.” I also examined the titles of other *sharebon* works, for which a study of the Edo education system was required. As we had partially seen in Chapter 2, the mastery of Chinese classical texts, especially texts in Confucianism, was an educational requisite not only for samurai children but also for the children from other classes. Through the examination of these titles and their relation to classical Chinese models, we learned that the sense of “vulgarity within refinement and refinement within vulgarity,” and a unique

concomitant sense of humor, are closely related to certain characteristics of the Japanese language (influenced by Chinese), as Jacques Lacan has pointed out. A grasp of the issue embedded in this context led to a detailed analysis of the title of *Yûshi hôgen*, from which we produced our translation of the title into English as “Vagabond dialect,” as a way of pointing to the connotation of the words of this title as they might have circulated against the contemporaneous background.

In Chapter 5, I examined the class and careers of the authors of *sharebon* works, utilizing the notion of “being stylish,” the fourth meaning of “*share*.” The discussion begins with the later *sharebon* authors such as Jippensha Ikku and Shikitei Sanba, whose names and works are traceable since the publishing industry had by their time become established, allowing the publication of *sharebon* to the general public, as opposed to its earlier status as an exclusive situational amusement restricted to a certain “in-group.” The discussion then traces the problem backwards to the earlier works. The identification of the authors for these works is difficult, most likely because at this time they were published only in limited editions available only to small groups, and purely for amusement rather than financial gain, as became the case later. In this early stage, it is probable that there were no readers of these works who were not also writers of the same. The possibility is that the same persons took turns creating amusing stories based on scenes in the demimonde, and serving as audience and readers to the stories of the others. In this sense, there might be more than one author involved in working on a single piece; that is, these works are likely joint compositions of a group of writers. Their pennames, as well as the titles, could be appreciated only against a background of knowledge of Chinese classics, and thus we can conclude that a high degree of erudition concerning the

Chinese cultural tradition probably worked as a passport to join this kind of literary group.

The middle stage authors were still using the pennames, but the identifications of the authors now become more traceable. Ôta Nanpo is the most prominent among them. He and other authors also use several other pennames, depending on the occasions and literary genre. The group members got together for making comical verses, funny stories and jokes, as well as *sharebon* books, utilizing their erudition of Chinese and Japanese classical texts. They are mostly from the samurai class, with the remainder coming from the class of learned merchants.

The last chapter was devoted to a close reading of the “Preface” to *Yûshi hôgen* (Vagabond dialect), and to investigating the trait of “*saluo*” or “dispersing,” the fifth meaning of “*share*.” The passage is written in Chinese. The close reading required attention to a sequence of three processes; “the first-impression,” “the pre-reading,” and finally, “the line-by-line reading.” This stratification of the reading process was analyzed in terms of its emergence from certain unique characteristics of the Chinese language and its use in Japanese literature. The stages of the first impression and the pre-reading are inevitable especially when Chinese discourse is read as Japanese. This stage of reading already suggests the reference to Chinese classical texts, in this case, especially Su Shi’s poem from Song dynasty China. Then we read the “Preface” to *Yûshi hôgen* (Vagabond Dialect) closely. By this close reading of the passage, we teased out two poles in the reception of Chinese classics to Japanese. One is that pertaining to “*shidaifu*,” the other to “*wenren*,” i.e., the official side of the ruling class and the private side of these very same people. The former approach to the Chinese texts prevailed among the samurai

ruling class through Neo-Confucianism, and helped to form what is known as “samurai dandyism.” The latter had already been accepted and appreciated by the court people in Japan from ancient times, and helped to form the so-called “courtly elegance.” We learn that Edo aesthetics was constructed through an encounter and complex intertwining of “samurai dandyism” as refinement and the vulgarization of “samurai dandyism,” i.e., by the “courtly elegance,” which was itself precisely the aesthetics used to maintain the hegemony of the ruling class, and thus another possibility of hegemony. Here, courtly elegance is included as the tradition of love, and in this sense, the demimonde visiting can be considered a kind of mimicking of the courtly customs and manners of classical Heian Japan.

The last chapter of the text of *Yûshi hôgen* has its chapter title, “Time of Dawn 志ののめの古ろ.”<sup>2</sup> As we already saw in Chapter 3, the last chapter ends with the parting scene between Hira, a samurai and his partner courtesan. This chapter title, “*Shinonome no koro*,” signals the sensibility between the lovers who are to be separated when the day breaks, derived from the court tradition illustrated in Japanese court literature. “*Shinonome*” automatically evokes parting, as we can see in the following poem by Monk Shinkei from Muromachi era.

te o orite  
aimishi hito mo  
yo owari ka  
so'emu to sureba  
akaru shinonome

Though I have counted  
on my fingers waiting to see him,  
the night is waning.  
Just as we are coming together  
the sky is brightening.<sup>3</sup>

Shinkei (1406-1475),  
Tendai monk and poet

“Shinkei sôdzu jittai waka”

手を折て逢見し人も夜終かそへむとすれば明るしののめ

心敬

心敬僧都十体和歌

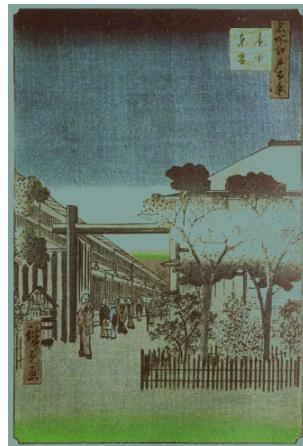
The word “*shinonome*” in *Yûshi hôgen* definitely belongs to the courtly vocabulary since there are other words such as *yo-ake* that were commonly used in several idioms in the Edo writings. Its use is definitely a juxtaposition of demimonde visit with the courtly tradition, especially courtly marriage style, with a demimonde visit “pretending” to be a courtly romance.

As we have seen in Chapter 2, the “Pax Tokugawana” brought many radical transformations of Edo society. In this peaceful era, the samurai, i.e., the ruling warrior class, were put in a position that did not require them to fulfill any of their original martial duties, leaving them with, we can easily infer, a certain excess of time and energy on their hands. Warriors with no wars to fight, but whose status depended entirely on their martial qualifications, began to develop another arena in which to distinguish themselves, the trappings of the traditional Confucian ruling class: erudition in classical Chinese tradition. But these two aspects of their elite status—as useless warriors and as pretenders to literary mastery—form the matrix of the emergence of their unique forms of literary expression, of which *sharebon* is one of the most striking. For the excess, the uselessness, of the warrior’s craft reflects back onto the newly acquired literary craft, which seems to be positioned as a mirror-image of their now-useless martial skills and virtues: these peace-bound warriors now find themselves with another useless excess on their hands: an excess of erudition. The importance of this for our topic can perhaps be gleaned by reference to Georges Bataille’s notion of the “potlatch,” the seeming self-

destruction is actually a crucial part of their self-preservation—and indeed, in Bataille's view, the central problem for all living systems, and for all societies, is the problem of how to handle their excess, rather than how to handle scarcity. More profoundly, the potlatch is a way in which living systems suffering from their discontinuity with the timeless, non-goal-directed world of a "general economy" manage to reconcile themselves to the lockstep of life in the world of work, of roles, of responsibilities, of a closed economy of ends and means. Sex and murder and self-torture and ritual sacrifice—anything that breaks the strict continence of ends and means, anything wasteful and useless and boundary-breaking—are Bataille's customary examples. But our close consideration of the *sharebon* works lead to an intriguing surmise: we may find the potlatch not just in sex, but in certain kinds of literature about sex, not just in murder, but in self-skewering satire, not just in torture but in torturous puns, not just in sacrifice of life but in sacrifice of one's good name. My suggestion here is that *sharebon* is a kind of "potlatch of prestige," a potlatch of erudition, a potlatch of cultural capital. It is a conspicuous destruction and deliberate waste of the very commodity—Chinese erudition—that qualifies one for membership in the ruling class, a deliberate vulgarization. But as in the potlatch, it is the demonstration that one is willing and able to waste one's erudition on silly jokes and ribald demimonde tales, that alone firmly establishes one's true sovereignty over that tradition, legitimizing the true mastery of the ruling class. To be a samurai is to be someone in the position to ridicule the samurai, to undercut the ideological supports of the samurai, the twist and tweak the gravitas and forbidding grandeur of the Chinese tradition in a bonfire of off-color jokes and frivolous puns. More than this, the excess in useless military skills converted into useless erudition

has locked this new ruling elite into a reconstructed Confucian ideology which fixes them into a social role founded on a certain exclusion of romance—which is, perhaps, nothing more nor less than the eschewing of rigid roles and familiar purpose-driven economy of ends and means. The aesthetic deployment of romance, however, had been precisely the class badge of a now defunct elite whose prestige these new rulers sought to appropriate as well: the Heian court, with its emphasis on love affairs and sacralization of courtesans. The samurai present themselves as beautiful in the *sharebon*, but also as profoundly vulgar and frivolous. They are Chinese Confucians. They are whoremongering mockers of Chinese Confucians. They are Heian aristocrats, lost in love affairs. They are embarrassing failed pretenders to courtly elegance. In both cases, they present themselves at once as both true possessors of the magical commodity of authoritative identity (Chinese erudition, courtly romance) and also the self-destruction of these very commodities (erotic puns on the Chinese, failed refinement). These two models of authority and identity to which the samurai aspire are, however, directly opposed: the more of a Heian aristocrat one is, the less of a Confucian moralist, and vice versa. The self-destruction of one is the establishment of the other, and vice versa. We can see here finally how complex the mechanism of beauty is in *sharebon*: refinement within vulgarity and vulgarity within refinement, a structure that allows two alternate sources of unstable authority to each undergo a “potlatch into the other,” forming a kind of loop of two extremes which sacrifice themselves, explode their own pretensions, thereby arriving at the opposite position, which in turn explodes its pretensions and feeds back to the first side.

The presence of these two alternate systems, “samurai dandyism” and “courtly elegance” or “*shidaifu*” and “*wenren*” mirrors the peculiar structure of the Japanese written language, which is a foreign (Chinese) language and a native language at the same time, connected and intermingled to form a coherent system precisely by the incompleteness, the failure, of each of them on its own. Potlatch is a transcendence of purpose; but in the *sharebon* we find two opposed economies of purpose, “samurai dandyism” based on Confucian-moral, and “courtly elegance” constituted by Imperial tradition, simultaneously undermining their own purposes, thereby making possible the establishment of both economies of purpose and, uniquely, their intermingling and synthesis: refinement as vulgarity, and vulgarity as refinement, and a conception of value—of beauty, of power, of identity, of authority—which subsists only in exemplifying both at once. It is a conspicuous destruction and deliberate waste of the very commodity, *bungaku*—here, Chinese erudition—that qualifies one for membership in the ruling class, its deliberate vulgarization.



Utagawa Hiroshige  
One Hundred Famous Views of Edo 38,  
*Kakuchi shinonome*

## ENDNOTES:

### Conclusion

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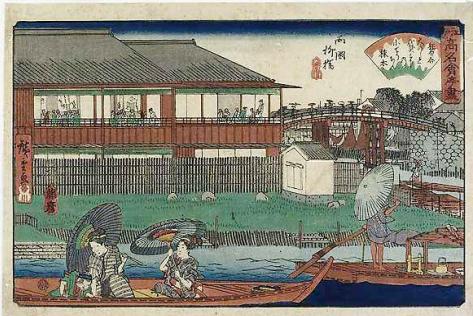
<sup>1</sup> Baudelaire, Œuvres Complétes, p.652.

<sup>2</sup> Though we see two Chinese characters in this title, these two are only used to indicate the pronunciation but not the cognitive content. This kind of phonetic usage of Chinese characters was common in Edo writings, especially casual ones.

<sup>3</sup> Shinkei, “Shinkei soudzu jittai waka.” In *Zoku Gunsho ruijuu, dai-15 jo, waka-bu*, p.45.

## APPENDICES

### 1. Hiroshige's *Kômyôkaitei zukushi* (Yanaghibashi in ukiyo-e prints)



*Ryōgoku Yanaghibashi, Ônoshi*  
両国柳橋 大のし



*Ryōgoku Yanaghibashi, Kawachi-ya*  
両国柳橋 河内屋



*Ryōgoku Yanaghibashi, Umekawa*  
両国柳橋 梅川



*Ryōgoku Yanaghibashi, Manhachi*  
柳橋夜景 万八

### 2. Honda knot and a Typical Man in Vogue



Honda-knot

*Tôsei fuuzoku tsû*, ST 6, p.80.



a man in vogue



a regular merchant



a samurai



a high-samurai in formal

Kitao Masanobu (Santô Kyôden as an ukiyo-e painter), *Edo fûzoku zukan* in Kawakami Shigeki, *Edo no Dandyism-Otoko no Bigaku*, Kyoto: Seigensya, 2007, pp.96-7

### 3: San'ya-bori in uiyo-e paints



Hiroshige, *Rokujû-yoshû meisho zukai 16, Musashi Sumida-gawa River Yui no asa*



← (a part of choik-boat, magnified)

### 4. A saiken street vendor



*Kinsei fûsokushi*

### 5. Katsuyama with Katsumaya knot



*Rekisei josô kô*

### 6. A rain ditch

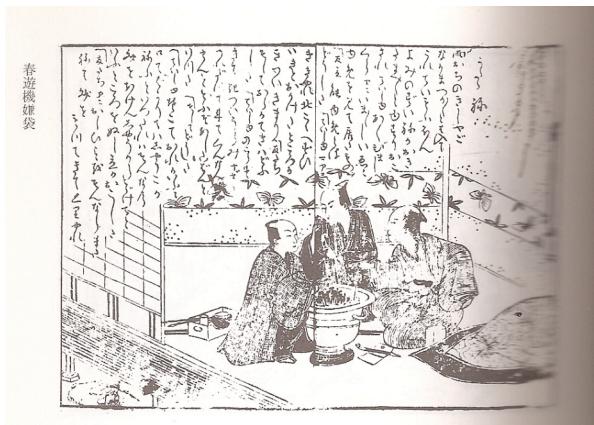


[http://www.ocm2000.com/k2\\_diary/diary200709/1502.jpg](http://www.ocm2000.com/k2_diary/diary200709/1502.jpg)

### 7. Button top shells (*Umbonium sp.*)



### 8. Share club illustrated in *Utatane* by Koikawa Harumachi



### 9. Dengaku hôshi

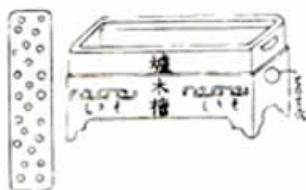


*Wakansansaizue*

## 10. *Dengaku* dish

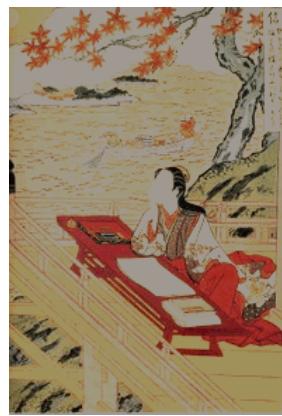


*Edo ryōri hyakusen*, p.11



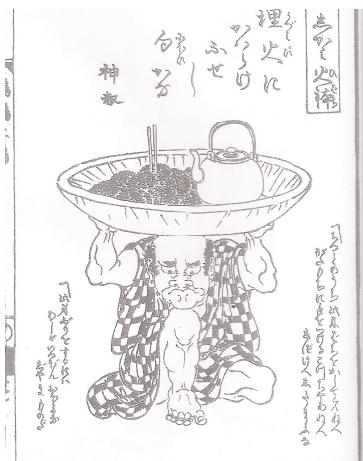
*Tofu Hyakuchin*, p.722.

## 11. “Five Constants” by Suzuki Harunobu



From the left: Jin (Benevolent), Gi (Justice), Rei(Courtesy), Chi (Wisdom) and Shin (Trustworthiness)

**12. Shikami hibachi**



**13. Hibachi in Harunobu's print**



Illustrated by Utagawa Toyokuni,  
Santô Kyôden, *Harasuji ômuseki*, p.73.

**14. Portrait of Ogyû Sorai**



**15. Shamisen in ukiyo-e**



**16. Yûshi hôgen Text, Waseda University Library**



**17. Katsushika Hokusai**



*Thirty-six Views of Mt. Fuji,  
Kanagawa-oki namiura*

**18. Zōri-sandal**



**19. Shubi no Matsu in ukiyo-e**



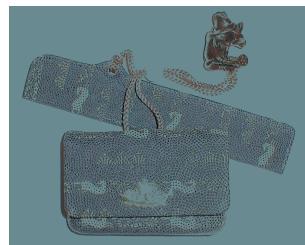
Utagawa Hiroshige,  
*One Hundred Famous View of Edo* 61,  
*Asakusagawa shubi no matsu*

**20. A party at Yoshiwara**



A man in the middle with his left hand on his head is considered to be Ogie Royū in *Yoshiwara daistsūe*, p.238.

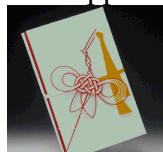
**21. Tissue holder and cigarette holder**



## 22. Tea caddies with *shifuku* sheath



A special wrapper for gifts of cash



For celebratory occasions

## 23. *Fifty-three Facial Expressions of the Tôkaidô*



“O, ita” for Oiso, “Ojisama” for Fujisawa and “toshshima” for Mishima:



The Cats version of the same parody:

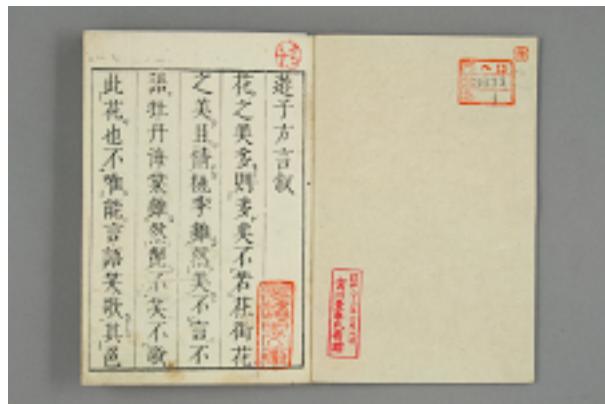


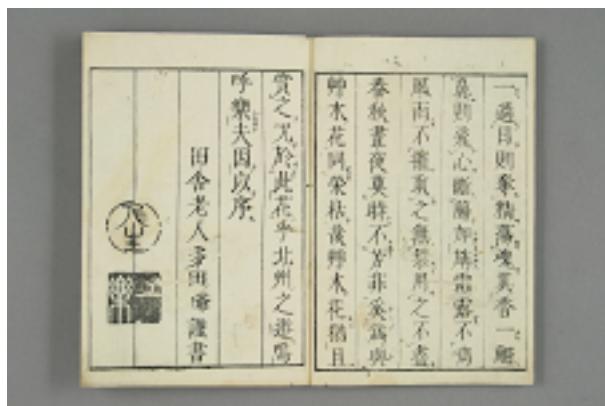
For example: Oiso 大磯 =omoizo(this is heavy), Fujisawa 藤沢 =buchisaba(calico-mackerel) , Kuwana 桑名 =kuuna(don't eat), Yokkaichi 四日市 =yottabuchi (gathering calicos).

#### 24. *Kushimatsu*



#### 25. Preface in *Yûshi hôgen* text





## 26. Flowers

Peach (*Amygdalus persica*) 桃



Japanese/Chinese plum (*Prunus salicina*) 李



Tree peony (*Paeonia suffruticosa*) 牡丹



Crabapple (*Malus halliana*) 海棠



Crabapples 海棠 seen in Jakuchû's painting:



## 27. Red Cliff in Paintings



Wu YuanZhi 武元直 (12<sup>th</sup> century, China)



Maruyama Ōkyo (Japan)

## 28. Umaine



*Saigoku sanjūsankasho meishozue*, p.732.

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